THE GREAT WAR

VOL·7·

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THE GREAT WAR

VOLUME. 7

Presented with PART 101 THE GREAT WAR"

Rear Admiral The Hon. Horace L.A. Hood C.B. M.V.O. D.S.O.

LOST WITH HIS FLAGSHIP THE INVINCIBLE, IN THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND

THE GREAT WAR

THE STANDARD HISTORY OF THE ALL-EUROPE CONFLICT

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THE GREAT WAR

THE STANDARD HISTORY
OF THE ALL-EUROPE CONFLICT

VOLUME 7

CHAPTER CXXII.

THE SPLENDID STORY OF THE CANADIANS.

By F. A. McKenzie.

Expectations with which the First Canadian Contingent went to France in February, 1915—Dreary Winter Warfare in the Trenches—Discipline and Soldierly Qualities of the Men—They Take over Part of the Line round Ypres from the French—Ypres in April, 1915, and the Great Bombardment—Germans first use Poison Gas and Rush the French Position—The Canadians at St. Julien—Four Days' Murder—How the Canadians Saved the Situation—General Alderson's Speech to the Troops—The "Princess Pat's" Prove their Quality—The Orchard at La Quinque Rue and "Bexhill"—The Battle of Givenchy: "Stony Mountain," and "Dorchester"—The Canadian Army Corps in 1916—Some Names in the Honours Lists—St. Eloi and the Fighting for the Mine Craters—Hooge—Canadian Trench Journalism—Canadian Philanthropy, Organisation, and Medical Aid—General Hughes—The Spirit of the Canadian People—Rapid Increase of the Army—"Can't We Do More?"—The Canadian Soldier—His Characteristics—Sir Robert Borden's Declaration.

IN February, 1915, when the First Canadian Contingent, after a winter of training on Salisbury Plain, proceeded to France there was universal confidence that it had gone to take part in the great drive that was to hurl the Germans back to the Meuse and back to the Rhine. The only nervousness of the Canadian soldiers was lest they should be too late to share in the decisive battles. A travelling kitchen had been prepared for their general in command, to follow him as he moved forward with his troops from point to point in the "great push." It remained for fifteen months in the same place.

The Canadians were not alone in their belief. It was shared by all ranks of the British Army. Official despatches encouraged it. "Eye-Witness," attached to Headquarters, wrote in mid-April that the feeling that we were growing stronger every day, while the Germans were becoming less strong, was the chief factor responsible for the undoubtedly excellent state of the high spirits of our forces. At this stage of the war we were ignorant of both our own deficiencies and the enemy's resources.

[Official photograph issued by the Press Bureau.
CANADIAN LANCE-CORPORAL RECEIVES THE D.C.M.

The Canadians immediately found themselves taking part in one of the dreariest and most trying forms of war—the winter occupation of the long lines of trenches. We British understood comparatively little of trench warfare in winter time, and we had to acquire our knowledge at considerable cost. We lacked skilled miners for the necessary tunnelling operations. We were short of searchlights, short of high explosives, and—above all—short of big guns, and without an adequate supply of shells. We understood so little of trench construction that many of our trenches were nothing but long, sodden lines of mud, in which men stood often up to their middles hour after hour, sometimes day after day, in the ooze, with the very minimum of protection from the enemy's fire. Our men were not properly clothed for such work, and they lacked even waterproof boots. The result was that disease from the cold—more particularly foot diseases such as trench foot—swept our ranks, and in some

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.
Successor to the Duke of Connaught as Governor-General of Canada. His appointment was announced on June 28th, 1916.

THE DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE.
A charming photograph of her Grace, who before her marriage was Lady Evelyn Fitzmaurice, daughter of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

cases put out of action over two-fifths of the men of the new battalions within a few days of their arrival at the front.

The enemy had worked out in advance this form of warfare as we had not. The German officers and men in their lines had well-drained and boarded trenches, sometimes even lighted by electricity. They had dug-outs which defied our shells. The Canadians suffered in common with the rest of the British forces from the weeks of work in the sodden and miserable country. They tackled the problem of the trenches, however, with great enthusiasm. Canadian doctors, familiar with frost-bite in their own country, were able to devise new means more successful than any yet known for dealing with trench foot. Men from the West, whose ingenuity had been sharpened in earlier years by work in a semi-developed country, started systematically improving their trenches. The Canadians quickly acquired a reputation for having some of the best trenches in the British lines, a reputation which they showed they deserved more and more in the months ahead.

Canadian resource and spirit

It must be remembered that when the First Contingent of thirty thousand Canadians went to the British front the Canadians were still regarded by many military authorities as a very doubtful factor in war. No one questioned their courage, their willingness, or their ingenuity, but many military men did question if they would show a sufficient sense of discipline to fit themselves into the regular organisation of the British Army without much trouble. They were much better paid than soldiers who enlisted in the United Kingdom; the traditions of the West made for individual independence; and exaggerated stories of the doings of a small section in the camps on Salisbury Plain had been taken to apply to all. In the early weeks of 1915 those who knew what the Canadians were and what they could do found themselves called upon time after time to defend them against foolish and ill-informed criticism. No one who had seen the work of the Canadians at first hand doubted for a moment but that they would make splendidly good. They were soon to show that the confidence of their friends was more than deserved.

The first experiences of the Canadians in Flanders have already been described in Chapter LIII. in this history. Early in April the Canadians moved up to take over a portion of the lines around Ypres from the French. The British position around Ypres at this time ran from Hill 60 in the south in a big salient running around from near Hollebeke to a point fronting the village of Poelcapelle. From here the French held the line to Steenstraate on the Yser Canal. The big salient, jutting out as it did over five miles in one direction from the city of Ypres, was from a military point of view an exceedingly dangerous and difficult place to hold. The Germans had it hemmed round in a semicircle. They could pour an enfilading fire on many of our positions. Their big guns could bombard Ypres itself. Sir John French had by the utmost gallantry saved Ypres from the enemy in the autumn of 1914, but it still presented a weak point in our lines where the enemy could attack with everything in his favour.

The population of Ypres, who had fled from the city during the first battle, had largely come back again. To the Canadians, as to the other British troops in the front trenches of the salient, Ypres itself at this time appeared like a city of refuge. It is true that the Cloth Hall had been almost destroyed by the purposeless vengefulness of the German gunners and that many parts of the city were in ruins. But the civilian population, hardened by experience of war, had come to treat occasional shell fire almost with indifference. Ypres, despite its ruins, presented during April, 1915, a picture of great animation. The civilian population was chiefly engaged in the work of catering for our men. Numerous tea-shops were running;

Animation at Ypres

amusements were afoot; baths were open—an unspeakable luxury to men soaked for days with trench mud. Here were warmth, comparative comfort, and dryness. And even the constant procession of the wounded being carried through the streets could not for long dull the cheerfulness of the men resting there.

Some of the Canadians moved out of their former billets north-west of Neuve Chapelle only a few days before the great fight they were soon to take part in. They marched through Poperinghe and through the square of Ypres out along the canal. They remarked on the Cloth Hall, then being used as a hospital. Many of the houses they passed had been repaired, others still had gaping holes from the shells. The boys knew that they were going to a part of the line where they were to have a hard time. They moved through Ypres singing. Some troops stationed in the city itself cheered back at them. "That's right, boys!" they called. "That's the spirit to go into the trenches with." But the stories that reached them as they marched out were not of a kind to encourage high spirits.

Marching through Ypres

"As we came out of the street into the market-place," wrote one Canadian soldier home, "suddenly down the street a Red Cross motor came. By the driver were three poor fellows, two with heads and arms bandaged and a third with trouser legs ripped from the thigh down and showing the discoloured bandage below. Inside the waggon the same sorry sight. They all seemed able to sit up, but were sorely wounded. It brought such a lump to one's throat. Presently along the road in twos and threes came a mournful little procession of men, who were more or less wounded, but still able to walk. I spoke to three of them, and one, a sergeant, gave us some particulars, his trembling lip showing the tremendous strain he had been under. He spoke of ill-made trenches taken over from the French, of the horrors of a night's shelling, of the wounded out there in the No Man's Land between the trenches, being unable to help themselves and no one being able to go to their aid. He spoke of a temporary shortage of bandages owing to the number of wounded, and still there shone such pluck and courage in his eyes that once again speech was taken away from me, and I was glad to look away and let him talk. I thought of his wounds, and advised him to go and rest now with his chums, and he said good-bye, and the trio moved away." But the Canadian finished up with: "All goes well. We are happy, looking forward to doing good work in the future and the speedy end of this ghastly dream."

On April 18th the German artillery fire began to increase. On the afternoon of April 22nd a hurricane of shells suddenly burst upon Ypres. The people of the place were too accustomed to shells to take notice of a few explosions, but this was beyond anything they had known or dreamed of. Shells came by the dozen, sweeping every street, smashing building after building, killing and wounding people in all directions. Troops were hastily ordered out of barracks into the fields beyond the city. The civilian population started an almost blind rush to escape. Weeks afterwards, when this writer visited Ypres, it was possible to see even then the signs of the sudden panic of the people. In one house the music still stood on the open piano, with the high stool for the pupil and the chair for the teacher close by. Pupil and teacher had fled out of the room, moved by a common impulse to escape death. In another house a little girl had taken her darling treasure, her doll's perambulator, a few steps from the door and then had to drop and leave it, whether because she herself was killed one could not say. Here were the papers on an open desk in another house. The man had been making up accounts and had stopped midway in his figures. Men, women, and children hurried into the streets. Some big men fought their way, disregarding everybody, down the Rue d'Elverdinghe or down the Rue au Beurre to the open. Mothers clasping their children to their arms, and white with terror, hurried on.

FAREWELL SCENES IN THE DOMINION.
Part of Canada's Second Contingent leaving an inland town to embark at Halifax, Nova Scotia, for the Home Country.

FROM THE OLDEST BRITISH COLONY TO THE FLANDERS LINE.
Newfoundland furnished a quota of splendid fighters. This illustration shows men of the First Regiment embarking on the transport Calgaria in St. John's Harbour.

SHORT SHRIFT FOR ALIEN ENEMIES IN CANADA.
German and Austrian civilian prisoners proceeding under armed guard to the eating-house of the internment camp at Petawawa. The services of these enemy aliens were utilised in road-building and clearing the land.

In these moments nothing that they left behind seemed to matter, whether gold or clothes, or great treasures. Here and there some man or woman burdened him or herself with the first thing they picked up in their rooms, some dainty wear, or the like. But most of them soon dropped it, unwilling to burden themselves with anything. The Canadian Provost-Marshal in the city did his utmost with the men under him to lessen the panic and to shepherd the people into safety, but with the rain of shells ever increasing, with the buildings tumbling into ruins all around, with the heavy detonations shaking even the old Flemish houses, calm was difficult.

Ypres was transformed in less than an hour from a busy, cheerful war city to the home of desolation which it was to remain for many and many a month to come.

One Canadian battalion stationed outside Ypres was having its afternoon sports of that day in its rest camp. The men noticed that the firing around St. Julien was unusually heavy, and some of them, gazing curiously over the fields, saw in the distance a low bank of what they thought was a yellow-greenish haze.

A few minutes later some French transport waggons which had gone slowly up the road came back at a terrific gallop. They were followed by a British motor despatch-rider tearing along, who shouted as he passed that the Germans had broken through the French lines and were using poison gas.

The first taste of gas

Then came hundreds of French Colonial troops hurrying back in frenzied retreat, their faces working spasmodically as though in terrible agony. They were all that were left from the men in the trenches who had been engulfed in the gas. As they hurried by they were gasping and spluttering in their agony. "Save yourselves," called some. "Allemands!" called others. "What a sight there was to behold," wrote one of the Canadian soldiers afterwards, "soldiers, hatless, coatless, without rifles or equipment, men on horses whose traces had been cut—utterly demoralised—and men, women, and children, all carrying packs—some few precious things they had hastily grabbed up. They went flying past, and as the evening came on still they came unceasingly, the old people plodding along as best they could, and many carrying babes and children. It was awful to see their distress."

Following the heavy bombardment that afternoon the Germans had attacked the French division on the left. Two simultaneous advances had been made east of the Ypres-Staden railway, both preceded by asphyxiating gases. These gases were so virulent and the troops were so unprepared for them that the French division was virtually wiped out of action at a stroke. A new form of death had come, a form so surprising that people at first could not realise what it meant. The smoke blew over the lines. Hundreds of men collapsed as it passed them, and the whole position with its fifty guns had to be abandoned.

As General French pointed out in his subsequent report, the French division could not in the least be blamed for this unfortunate incident. No man could stand up before the smoke. "After all the examples our gallant allies have shown of dogged and tenacious courage in many trying situations in which they have been placed throughout the course of this campaign," wrote General French, "it is quite superfluous for me to dwell on this aspect of the incident, and I would only express my firm conviction that if any troops in the world had been able to hold their trenches in the face of such a treacherous and altogether unexpected onslaught the French division would have stood firm."

The Germans swept on beyond the French trenches. There was a British battery—the 2nd London Heavy—of four 4·7 in. guns in a wood behind the French lines. Survivors told afterwards how the British gunners refused to run away when the Germans came on. They stood by their guns, fighting with bare fists and with anything they could pick up until almost every man was bayoneted or killed.

Germans sweep forward

The position of the 3rd Canadian Brigade on the left of the British line was very serious. The collapse of the French had left it without any support to one flank, and the Germans were quickly advancing onwards behind its lines. When the Germans occupied the wood there was great danger that the 3rd Canadians would be surrounded and cut off. They quickly readjusted their position, forming themselves into an acute angle, facing the Germans on either side. Every effort was made to hold the village of St. Julien, behind the original brigade lines, a village which quickly became the most important centre of the fighting.

The Canadians were greatly outnumbered. There were at least four divisions attacking them. The Germans continued to use poison gas. The Canadians held on, and hastily devised methods to enable them to resist it. Men took off their socks, tore pieces off their shirts, dipped them in whatever liquid they could obtain, bound them around their faces so as to cover their noses, and fought on. The Germans were supported by a very heavy fire of artillery. The British artillery was weak in numbers and had inadequate shell supplies. Our men fought under almost every disadvantage.

That night the road to Ypres lay open to the Germans. The 3rd Canadian Brigade was desperately holding its own in the position fronting St. Julien. The 2nd Brigade was closely engaged to the right. The 1st Brigade in

General Sir Sam Hughes congratulating officers of the Canadian Contingent stationed at Shorncliffe.

Reviewing Canadian troops in England. General Sir Sam Hughes (second figure from the right).

March past of Maple Leaf men before General Hughes, who is seen again in the third illustration standing underneath the Union Jack.

CANADIAN TROOPS UNDERGO INSPECTION BY GENERAL HUGHES AT SHORNCLIFFE.

A SERGEANTS' MESS.
Meal-time outside wood-constructed billets in France. One Canadian is holding a "mascot."

reserve was hurrying up to the support of the others. Why the Germans did not move straight in and occupy the place that night has never yet been explained. It, however, was one of the most striking examples this war afforded of how, time after time, the Germans for the moment exhausted their effort in the first part of their push and remained passive when the fruits of victory were almost within their grasp.

The Canadians threw themselves into the gap. They were determined to get back the guns, and during the night two battalions, the 16th and the 10th, moved out to attack. The 10th were Western Canadians, and the 16th were the Canadian Scottish. They marched through the darkness of the countryside under a heavy bombardment from shrapnel and "Jack Johnsons." When, as they believed, they were in the neighbourhood of St. Julien they were told that the Germans were holding the wood some hundreds of yards away. They crept on in the darkness. They first attacked a hedge barricaded with barbed-wire, which they captured. The Germans now were concentrating machine-guns on them. Nevertheless, after pausing to gather strength, they forced their way through the hedge and made straight for the wood, about a hundred yards off. Men fell like flies, but still the Canadians kept on. The Highlanders, shouting, yelling, triumphant, reached the German position. The German soldiers, after firing a volley, tried to retire. The Highlanders were too quick for them. Now came a brief spell of deadly bayonet work. Here was ample occasion for great heroism. The soldiers loved to tell afterwards how Captain MacGregor, their paymaster, a non-combatant officer, left his books, joined the battalion as it went forward and was in the front ranks of the charge, armed only with a walking-stick. They told, too, how the colonels led their men foremost in the fighting. Most of these soldiers here saw close fighting for the first time. Old British Army men who were with them could not speak too highly of them. "They went up like old-timers," said one. "They were steady, calm, and dependable. It was something to be proud of."

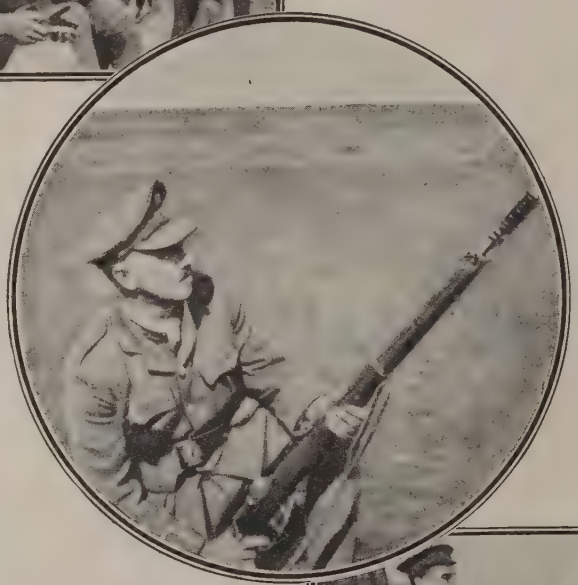
Captain MacGregor's heroism

The Canadians recaptured the woods. From there they attempted to go still farther. They now found themselves out in the open, too much weakened to continue the attack. They were unsupported on the flank, and the Germans were developing a strong advance there. It was impossible for them to bring back the guns, which were virtually destroyed, and a little later they had to fall back from the wood into the trenches, where they waited all day. But they had done their work. They had held up the German advance.

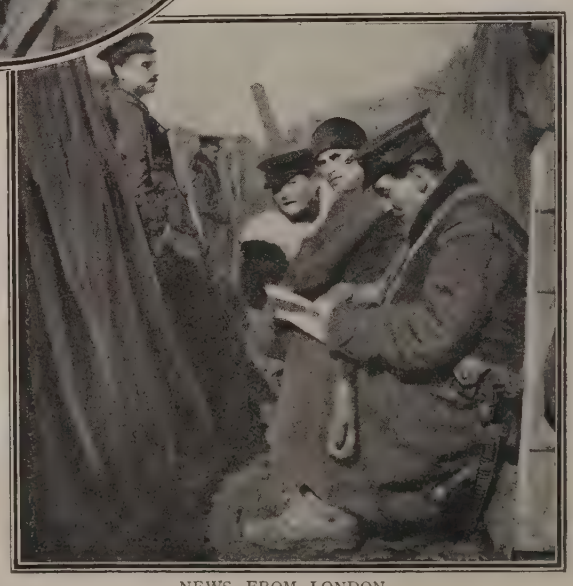
German advance held up

When daylight broke next morning the Canadians everywhere could see that they were faced by almost overwhelming forces of the enemy. "The most surprising thing," said one of the men afterwards, "was the terrific numbers of German troops that came on like a swarm of bees. We shot them down, line after line, but all our firing seemed to make no difference to their numbers. It was as though when they fell each sprang up again. There were times when there were fifty to one against us on particular points. Ten to one seemed the common rule."

The Germans evidently thought that they still had French Colonial troops against them, and they were apparently somewhat surprised when the Canadians got among them once or



USE OF THE GRENADE.
Officer in charge of a Canadian bombing-party about to fire a rifle-grenade.



NEWS FROM LONDON.
Canadian infantrymen in a muddy trench reading the London papers for news of the war.

twice with their bayonets. On the Friday morning, noting the steady attempt of the Germans to move farther and farther to the left and so completely outflank the Canadians, a fresh counter-attack was resolved upon. Two Ontario battalions, the 1st and the 4th of the 1st Brigade, which had now come up from reserve, were given the post of honour, a British regiment, the Middlesex, acting as their support.

Jokes under murderous fire

The attack seemed quite hopeless. The Canadians were at this point a considerable distance from the Germans, with about eight hundred or nine hundred yards of absolutely open ground to go over. The German trenches were on a slope and there was no shelter whatever between the attacking troops and them. As the Canadians rushed forward the Germans raked them with machine-gun and rifle fire. Men started dropping before the 4th Battalion got properly started. The advance was made in short rushes, two sections at a time. There was no cheering, no shouting, nothing but whispered words of command. The troops made short charges down a ravine and up a slope, dropping to the ground after each rush. There was no hesitation, no bravado, no hanging back. The machine-guns swept over the glacis. The German gunners timed their shrapnel so as to burst over the ranks. The German companies lining the trenches picked out their men. The British artillery did all it could to cover the advance, pouring shrapnel fire on the hill crest where the Germans lay dug in. Sometimes, when a heavier blast of fire than usual struck our ranks, the men joked together. "Say, boys, there seems to be a war on here," one remarked when things were hottest.

"Believe me, if hell is anything like Friday, I am for reforming," wrote one young soldier to his family afterwards. "How I lasted as long as I did, I hardly know, as at every rush the fellow next me 'copped it.' Once, when we were lying down, the man next to me got it square through the head. Only one sergeant and four men, including myself, out of our platoon got up to within two hundred yards of the trench, when the fellow next me was hit in the arm. I sat up beside him to get out his bandage to tie him up, when I got hit myself through the back, and the next fellow got it in the shoulder. Only two were left. I suppose they got it later." His experience was typical.

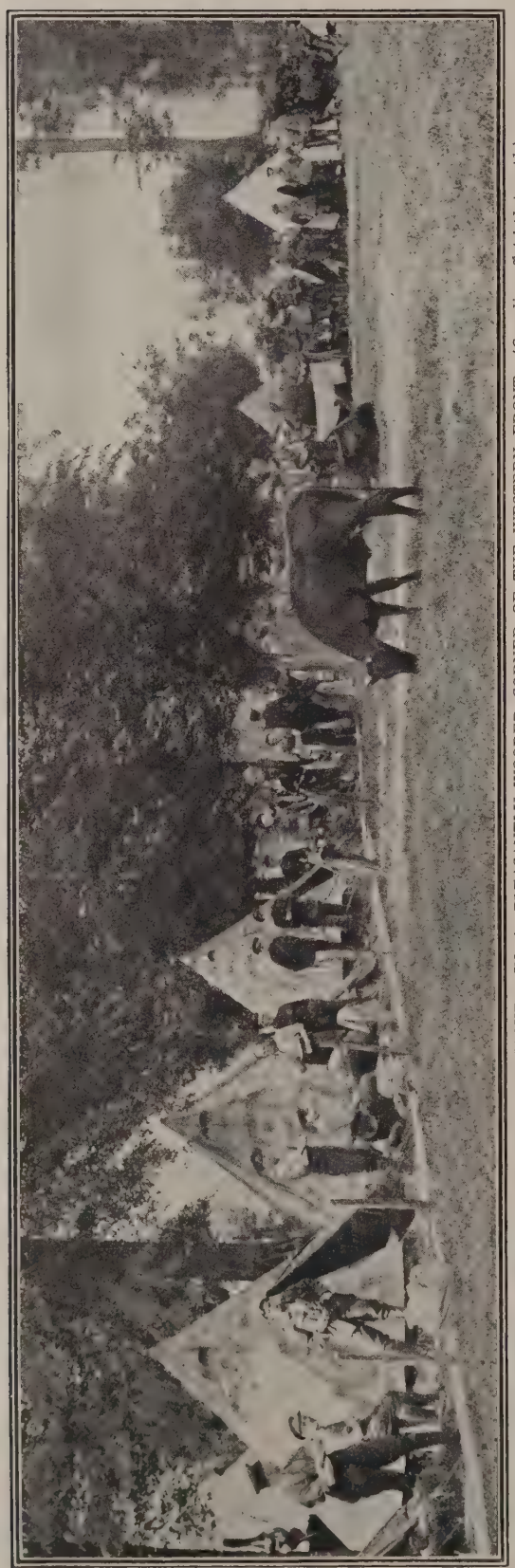
ON THE TRENCH SEAT.
More types of Britons in Flanders. A restful snapshot from the region of strife.

A TRIO OF "TROGLODYTES."
Corner of a British trench along the first line, where men grew accustomed to the life of cave-dwellers.

IN WINTER KIT.
Three Canadian soldiers, during the work of consolidating their position, pause to glance at the photographer.

Lieutenant-Colonel Burchill led the 4th Battalion. He carried nothing but a light cane. He moved ahead of his men almost as though on parade, cheering, inspiring—I was going to say encouraging—them, but they needed no encouragement. In six hours the men, or what were left of them, advanced about seven or eight hundred yards, finally reaching to within a hundred yards of the German trench. Then Colonel Burchill fell dead at the head of his battalion. That was the last touch. His soldiers, stung to fury by the loss of their beloved commander, made one final effort to avenge him. They flung themselves through the last hundred yards, despite the direct rifle and machine-gun fire. How a single man got through it is scarcely possible to understand, for by all the laws of war every one should have been wiped out long before. Possibly the sight of the yelling, cheering, infuriated men shook the nerves of the Germans, as well it might. The Canadians reached the trench and swept through it like fury, bayoneting, shooting, overcoming every German there.

Colonel Burchill avenged



WINNIPEG RESERVE BATTALION BIVOUACKED IN A PLEASANTLY WOODED CORNER OF THE WESTERN FRONT. *(Canadian official photograph.)*

The 4th Battalion had won, but at a great price. It was reported at the time that only one officer and twenty-five men were left. The colonel, the adjutant, and several officers were killed outright. But the 4th had covered itself with eternal glory.

Many of the officers and men afterwards tried to describe the scenes during these fierce days. "It was just hell," said more than one tersely, unable to find adequate words for it. "How anyone came out of those days, especially April 23rd, 24th, and 25th, can only be ascribed to a merciful Providence," wrote General Mercer, himself to be lost in the fighting a little over a year later in that very Ypres salient. "Shells fell like rain, and machine-gun and rifle fire was almost incessant, while gas bombs and trench gas appliances liberating poison fumes blinded and rendered the strongest as helpless as little children."

"It required all one's self-possession to keep control and give encouragement," wrote Colonel Rennie, who gallantly led the 3rd Battalion in some of the hardest fighting. "The days were bad enough, but the nights were the worst. So much work to be done, and so few hours in which to do it. The men all behaved splendidly. Not a man faltered where movements under fire had to be made, and the cheerfulness and willingness to share the work of relief to the suffering of other (British) battalions was marked, and filled me with pride."

"It would be useless to try to describe in detail," wrote another. "It was four days of murder, that's all it was."

The 7th Battalion, from British Columbia, was in rest billets behind the village of St. Julien when the fighting broke out. It promptly moved up in support of the 3rd Brigade, arriving under heavy artillery fire and digging itself in, in a position just on the right of the road to St. Julien. It was soon ordered to retire, and proceeded to take up another position some distance away on the right. Next day it moved on again, and dug itself in in a mangold field under heavy rifle fire, which, however, did very little harm, owing to the enemy being over the crest of the hill. Then, shortly after daybreak on the morning of the 23rd, it received orders to double across the road and line the cross-roads. A German aeroplane, flying very low, gave signals by dropping smoke bombs. These apparently informed the German artillery of the British Columbians' position. "It seemed as though Hades had broken loose," one soldier told me afterwards. "It also seemed as if nothing could live in this terrific artillery fire, shells dropping closely all around us, but fortunately slightly to our rear. Notwithstanding the terrific din, we did not suffer such very heavy losses. We stayed in that position until dusk."

Gallant rescue under fire

That afternoon the commander of the regiment, Colonel Hart McHarg, a Vancouver lawyer, Major Odlum, a Vancouver newspaper proprietor—who was soon to make a brilliant record as a soldier—and Lieutenant Mathewson, of the Canadian Engineers, moved out to reconnoitre the ground, in order that they might decide on the position of fresh trenches. They suddenly found themselves within a hundred yards of a large body of German infantry, who could see them quite plainly. They at once threw themselves on the ground. The colonel and major rolled into a shell-hole and the junior officer rolled into a ditch, while the Germans opened rapid fire upon them. The colonel was shot, and Major Odlum, leaving the lieutenant to look after him, raced away for medical aid, running uphill under fire. The doctor and a sergeant of the Red Cross came back with him. Captain Gibson and Sergeant J. Dryden their names were. They deserve to be named. They went under heavy fire right to the shell-hole and removed the colonel into the ditch. Later on he was carried back to Battalion Headquarters and to hospital, only, however, to die there a few hours later. The battalion found itself in a very perilous position. It had the enemy on two sides of it, and its ranks were cut down to about one hundred men. It had eventually to fall back.

These words only faintly convey a blurred impression of its experiences. Let us give what actually happened in the words of one of its own soldiers, who was wounded and made prisoner there and who described the scene when he returned home to England.

7th Battalion's experiences

We were told that our colonel had been shot through the breast and was not expected to live, and had received his wound a considerable distance in advance of our position where he had gone to reconnoitre. We felt his loss very keenly, for he was a very brave man.

We—No. 4 Company—moved across the road about 7 o'clock that evening, and dug ourselves in by platoons. We were told that the enemy was only a short distance away from us, and we must hold this position at all costs. We made ourselves as strong as possible, placed barbed-wire in front, and sent out patrols. Our task was completed shortly before dawn and then we took some rest. On the extreme right of the trench of No. 4 Company was our machine-gun section, in charge of Sergeant Peerless, who won the D.C.M. for his splendid work. Shortly after dawn the enemy aircraft again came over us and dropped some more smoke bombs, giving the range of our position to the German guns. They proceeded to open up an exceptionally heavy bombardment. It seemed as though they must have had hundreds and hundreds of guns. I asked my officer, Captain Haynes, if there were any orders to retire as yet. His reply was, "Our orders are to hold the trench at all costs." Word came from No. 3 Company to keep a sharp look-out to the left, and looking over the trench I noticed that quite a number of Germans were coming up on our left flank. These men were promptly cut down by our machine-gun, which was being fired by Private Ross. Ross showed special bravery, sticking to his gun when it seemed that he could not live owing to the number of rifle bullets whizzing past his head.

ARRIVAL IN THE HOME COUNTRY.
Men from Calgary marching with full kit along the road leading from Plymouth.

A KHAKI ASSEMBLY AT TORONTO UNIVERSITY.
One thousand five hundred members of the Canadian Officers Training Corps on their way to the Convocation Hall of the Toronto University.

I told him that he had better keep under cover or he would get hit. "What the hell are we here for but to get hit," he answered. I do not know what has become of him, but if any man deserved a decoration for bravery Ross was that man.

Their artillery seemed to be trying very hard to locate our machine-gun. Every minute a shell would break in the near vicinity, covering us with a mud bath. Shells were clipping off huge big trees, and these were falling across the road and across our trench. When things were hottest some of the boys would shout, "Are we downhearted?" The remainder would reply, "No." Everyone wanted to know when we were going to get at them with the knives. "I believe we'll have to give these sausage-eaters a licking before we are through," one lad would joke with another. Then as some poor fellow would get hit and quietly slide to the bottom of the trench we could hear his mates say, "Poor old Harry is done." In the next instant the mate would be asking for a cigarette, and swearing because his lighter would not work. One young fellow, who had the evening before received a large cake from home, calmly proceeded to cut up the cake and pass it around among his comrades.

No. 3 Company sent time after time for reinforcements. "Send us reinforcements, we are hard pressed," came the message. "Send us someone to take charge. All our officers and non-coms. have been killed," word came a little later. Captain Haynes turned to me and ordered me to take the two sections of my platoon across the road to reinforce No. 3 Company. The enemy had three machine-guns playing on this part of the road, making it very difficult to get across. We rushed over, but lost a number of men in doing so. The men seemed to be dropping like leaves off a tree. I shall never forget one moment shortly after I had got across the road and laid down, one fellow turned to me as he was about to lie down by my side, placed his hand on his breast and gently sank down. I saw blood trickling from his lips. He said, "I think I am hit." I told him to cheer up, we would get back shortly. "Do you think I have done my duty?" he asked. "Why, of course you have." He then proceeded to give me a message for his mother. He must have been badly hit, for he died with that word on his lips—"Mother."

After we had lined this hedge we proceeded to cross the road and get up on the trench beyond.. We were flanked both right and left, and the Germans were playing machine-guns on us from an enfilading position. We had now but very little ammunition left, and the enemy were preparing to make a bayonet charge. We gathered all the ammunition we could find from the dead men lying around and fired a volley into them just as they were about to make their charge. They recoiled for the moment, then they seemed to come on in thousands. They seemed to spring up from everywhere. "Are we ever going to retire?" I heard one man ask. His chum intent on firing, paused and replied, "To hell, you say."

Some Turcos were trying to make their way across the open space to our rear. I crossed the trench for a moment to direct them. Forgetting where I was, I stood in front of a huge gap made by a shell in a hedge.

Someone who had been wounded and was lying on the ground, said, "Don't stand there, old chap, six men have been killed there already." He had hardly finished the words when I received five bullets from that machine-gun in my left arm, and till I glanced at my arm and saw the streams of blood coming out I could hardly realise that I had been hit. I felt a weakness coming over me, and felt myself falling. The next thing I remember was being pulled by soldiers under cover of the hedge. I looked up and found one of the signallers in my company bending over me to give me a drink.

REST TIME BEHIND THE RAMPARTS.
Three typical Maple Leaf men whose nonchalant attitudes and genial expressions are typical of the spirits of Canadians on active service.

Here the man lost consciousness. The next thing he remembered was the Germans swarming over the parapets by hundreds, yelling like fiends. He saw several slightly wounded men, who had put up their hands in the air as a token of surrender, being bayoneted by German soldiers. He himself had a narrow escape of instant death as he lay there helpless, and had many hard experiences before he was taken back.

The 3rd Battalion, the Toronto regiment, played a splendid part in the fighting. It was in rest camp with the remainder of the 1st Infantry Brigade when the fighting started, and it hurried up that night to assist. At four o'clock on Friday morning the order was received by telephone to send two companies in haste to hold the line from the left of St. Julien to the wood a thousand yards to the west. Major Kirkpatrick moved out in command of the men. Then the remaining companies and machine-gun detachment were called upon to support the 2nd Battalion of the Buffs in an attack. Major Kirkpatrick lost rather heavily in moving up. The Germans were found to be occupying the north end of the wood, considerably reinforced. The British artillery opened fire on them. Major Kirkpatrick dug in, held his position, and fought hour after hour, almost exhausting his supply of ammunition. Fresh supplies were sent up to him.

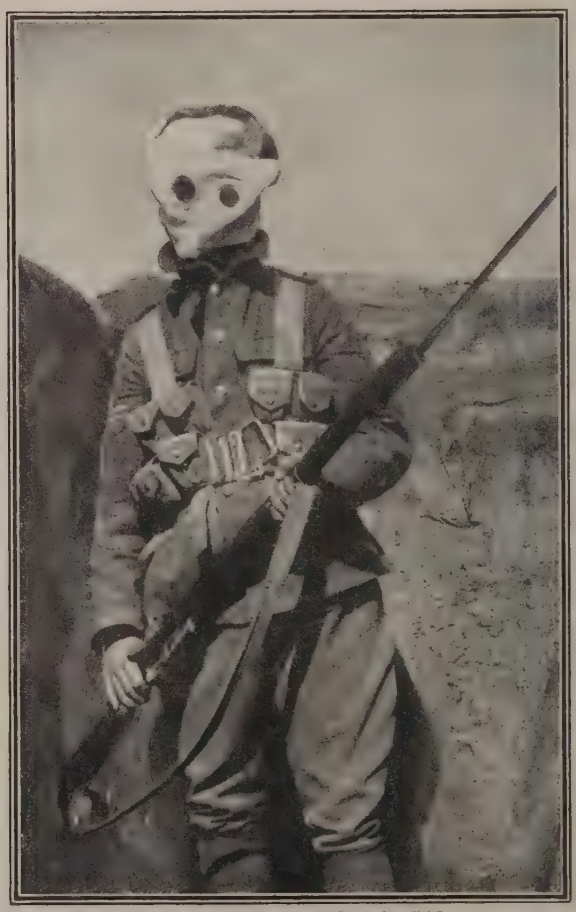
Toronto men splendid

Early on the Saturday morning the Germans opened a heavy bombardment on the 3rd Brigade Headquarters. This brigade lost so heavily that it was compelled to fall back from St. Julien east of the town. It was a case where every man was wanted, and even the bandsmen and orderlies of the Headquarters Staff were ordered to the trenches. The falling back of the 3rd Brigade left Major Kirkpatrick and his men almost isolated. The Germans noticing this, launched attack after attack against their position. A machine-gun had been sent up, and was reported to have made deep lanes in the ranks of the enemy. The other troops could see considerable forces moving on these trenches, but it was not possible to send up support in time to render aid when most urgently required. "You must hang on," the message was sent to the major. "We are holding on very nicely," he replied. "Every time the enemy starts something he goes back before he comes close. But we have been lucky, as the enemy's artillery has left us alone fairly well." His position grew more and more critical. The Germans continued to attack in considerable numbers, moving from north to south on St. Julien. His flank was being turned. Soon he had to report that the enemy had secured all the front trenches in St. Julien. He suggested that they should drop back on their right flank and hang on. "Don't lose touch with St. Julien," came the instructions to him. "Hang on, a counter-attack is being made on your right."

Hard pressed at St. Julien

To quote from a Canadian description published at the time:

At two o'clock, however, it was realised that the gallant C and B Companies had done all that was humanly possible to stop the onrush of the Germans. With the air east of St. Julien laden with poison gases and the 3rd Brigade compelled for the time being to turn its left flank, Major Kirkpatrick's body of men was in a precarious position. He was, therefore, instructed to fall back to the newly-formed General Headquarters line, about twelve hundred yards to his rear. When the order to retire was received the platoon on the right (nearest St. Julien and the most advanced) was first withdrawn. The enemy concentrated his



READY FOR GERMANS—AND GAS.
Impression of a Canadian in full fighting kit, including the respirator and rifle, to which is affixed an unusually long bayonet.

fire on the trench to prevent the movement, with the result that a number were wounded while getting out of the trench, and only a few came away. Only two reached Headquarters unhurt. Hard pressed as never men were before, the survivors of the two companies endeavoured to carry out the order of the retirement, but they were cut off.

Here let the official report take up the story. "From the trenches on the left could be seen a tremendous force moving on the trenches held by the two companies of the 3rd Battalion, under Major Kirkpatrick. But the reinforcing brigade was not near enough to render aid when most urgently required. No further report has been received from Major Kirkpatrick as to the position of himself or his command." The major and several of his officers were captured and taken as prisoners of war to Germany.

How Major McCuaig held on

To attempt to tell the story of all the heroic deeds in this great fight is impossible. Every battalion that was engaged distinguished itself. All Canada rang with the story of Major McCuaig, who took charge of the Royal Highlanders of Montreal when other officers were shot, and held an important position against enormously superior German forces from the afternoon of the 22nd until the morning of the 23rd. His communications were cut, and he was without artillery support. Had the enemy advanced they must have overwhelmed him. By sheer bluff he held on, and eventually, when daylight showed the Germans his weakness, got his men away, protecting their retirement by heavy machine-gun fire. He even carried his wounded off. He himself waited with the rearguard to see the last man back in safety, and while he was thus waiting he was shot down and made a prisoner.

CLEAN TOWELS FOR CLEAN FIGHTERS.
Going up to "Dug-out Town" with a welcome load of towels, which had been hung out to dry in the camp laundry.

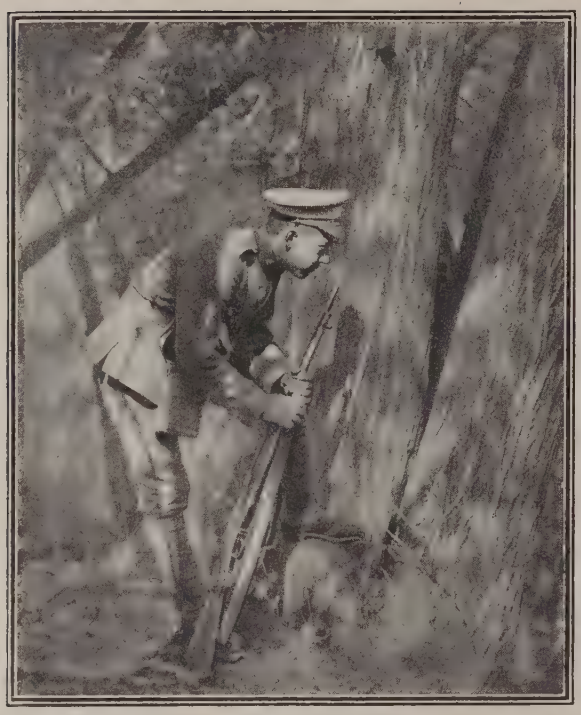
A VARIANT TO OFFICIAL VICTUALS.
Canadian, in the interval of sniping Boches, secures a rabbit by way of an additional item to the front-line menu.

The 3rd Brigade, which had so brilliantly held the left of the position, was forced steadily back by the overwhelming nature of the sustained German attacks. It held on to each point to the last possible moment. Battalion after battalion was wiped out. Had we had adequate artillery fire, even now the situation might have been saved. But it was impossible for the Canadians to continue for many days with enemy shells raining on every spot they held and with our heavy guns few and inadequate. When the 3rd Brigade retired, the 2nd Brigade, to the right, now found its position seriously threatened. By Sunday, as already told, the village of St. Julien was in German hands. Fresh troops were now hurrying up. Two British brigades came to the help of the Canadians, and attempted by a brilliant counter-offensive to save the village. The 2nd Brigade, exposed to the full fury of the German attack, had in turn to repeat many of the experiences of the 3rd Brigade.

Canadians save Ypres

In the end it had to take up a fresh line. Here the troops, worn out by their days and nights of ceaseless fighting, were gradually relieved by fresh regiments coming up from the British front, and on the Wednesday they moved back to billets in the rear. The brigades had suffered heavily. The 3rd Brigade had battalions almost wiped out. The 2nd Brigade was little more than a quarter of its original strength. The 1st Brigade had paid a very heavy score; but the Canadians had done their work. They had saved Ypres. It is not too much to say they had saved the whole British position in the north, and they had given the Empire a story of great heroism that will be told to rising generations as long as Britain endures.

When the details of the great battle became known the whole Empire was swept with a wave of mixed admiration



FROM THE PRAIRIE TO THE FIELD OF WAR.
Canadian scout on duty in a wood. One who brought his experience of prairie life to the task of defeating the Hun.

and grief. Canada had lost the very pick of her young manhood. Hundreds of her best families were in mourning. Every great city was in mourning. But for every man who fell, ten promptly volunteered, and recruiting throughout the Dominion received an impetus which lasted for many months to come. In London a memorial service was held at St. Paul's, which gave the British people an opportunity, of which they gladly availed themselves, to show their feelings. In the Army it was felt that the Canadian soldier had won for all time his right to an honoured place in British fighting ranks. Sir John French, in an official message, made full acknowledgment of the Canadians' service, declaring that "the Canadians saved the situation." General Alderson, the commander of the Canadian Division, in a speech to the troops, said :

General Alderson's fine tribute

I tell you truly that my heart is so full that I hardly know how to speak to you. It is full of two feelings—the first being sorrow for the loss of those comrades of ours who have gone; and the second, pride in what the 1st Canadian Division has done.

As regards our comrades who have lost their lives—let us speak of them with our caps off—my faith in the Almighty is such that I am perfectly sure that when men die, as they have died, doing their duty and fighting for their country, for the Empire, and to save the situation for others—in fact, have *died for their friends*—no matter what their past lives have been, no matter what they have done that they ought not to have done (as all of us do), I am perfectly sure that the Almighty takes them and looks after them at once. Lads, we cannot leave them better than like that.

Now I feel that we may, without any false pride, think a little of what the Division has done during the past few days.

I would first of all tell you that I have never been so proud of anything in my life as I am of my armlet with "Canada" on it. I thank you, and congratulate you from the bottom of my heart, for the part each one of you has taken in giving me this feeling of pride.

I think it is possible that all of you do not quite realise that, if we had retired on the evening of April 22nd—when our allies fell back before the gas and left our left flank quite open—the whole of the 27th and 28th Divisions would probably have been cut off. Certainly they would not have got away a gun or a vehicle of any sort, and probably not more than half the infantry would have escaped.

This is what our Commander-in-Chief meant when he telegraphed as he did, that "the Canadians saved the situation." My lads, if ever men had a right to be proud in this world, you have.

I know my military history pretty well, and I cannot think of an instance, especially when the cleverness and determination of the enemy is taken into account, in which troops were placed in such a difficult position; nor can I think of an instance in which so much depended on the standing fast of one division.

You will remember that the last time I spoke to you, just before you went into the trenches at Sailly, now over two months ago, I told you about my old regiment—the Royal West Kents—having gained a reputation for never budging from their trenches, no matter how they were attacked. I said then that I was quite sure that, in a short time, the army out here would be saying the same of you.

I little thought—none of us thought—how soon those words would come true. But now, to-day, not only the army out here, but all Canada, all Britain, and all the Empire are saying that you, too, stand fast.

There is one more word I would say to you before I stop. You have made a reputation second to none in this war; but, remember, no man can live on his reputation. He must keep on adding to it. And I feel just as sure that you will do so as I did two months ago, when I told you that I knew you would make a reputation when the opportunity came.

I am now going to shake hands with your officers, and as I do so, I want you to feel that I am shaking hands with each of you, as I would actually do if time permitted.

Ordeal of the "Princess Pat's"

A few days after the attenuated ranks of the First Contingent had reached their rest camp, the Canadian regiment at that time outside the contingent, Princess Patricia's Light Infantry, was called upon to give full proof of what it could do. The "Princess Pat's," as they were commonly called, was a regiment specially raised at the entire cost of Mr. Hamilton Gault, a Canadian millionaire, who himself became a major in the corps. It consisted at first almost wholly of old soldiers of the British Army, and it was its boast that more men in it had seen actual war service previous to this war than perhaps any other British regiment. The Patricia's were in barracks at Ypres, in mid-April, when the Germans began shelling the town with their heavy guns. They were moved to a wood to the north-east, and held the line there day after day against the German advance, the Germans attempting to drive them farther to the right at this point and to cut them off from the Canadian front.

During the heavy attack upon the remainder of the Canadian lines they were mainly called upon to hold their trenches, under almost continuous shell fire. Their turn for more active work was soon to come. On the night of May 6th the battalion, after a few days of duty as reserve, relieved the King's Shropshire Light Infantry in the trenches. Early next morning a tremendous bombardment opened out on it. The Germans began at 4.30 with some ranging shells. An hour later the real bombardment began. Seventy-eight heavy guns kept up a continuous fire from three different sides, with high explosives, upon the section. The guns enfiladed the Patricia's lines. By six in the morning every telephone wire was cut and all direct communication with other parts of the line broken. The Patricia's, seeing their desperate state, called every man to the trenches, from the cooks to the orderlies. Soon the lines scarce deserved the name of trenches, for the German shells had flattened them out. There was nothing to do but to lie still in the craters and shell-holes and wait. Then the Germans came out and tried to storm the Patricia's position. They expected no resistance. They were soon undeceived, for the men who were left opened a steady rifle fire on the advancing lines and swept the enemy back. Time after time the enemy tried to come on. Time after time the ever-dwindling band of Patricia's met them firmly.

The second advance was attempted at nine o'clock in the morning. Most of the Germans who set out fell, and those not shot down staggered under the heavy Canadian fire, reeled, broke, and hastily retreated.

Machine-guns were buried by the exploding shells; men dug them out again. Officers and soldiers who were shot

After Langemarck, April, 1915: Playing the Canadian Scottish through Ypres.

Lieutenant Campbell and Private Vincent, Canadians, at "Stony Mountain," May, 1915.

How Private Smith, Ontario, took bombs to his comrades at "Stony Mountain."

Canadians cheered, after their great stand at St. Julien, April, 1915, by the relieving West Kents.

continued to fight on and do their work after their wounds had been bandaged up. By noon the small-arms ammunition was beginning to run short. There were many ready to go over the shell-covered ground behind the trenches to bring fresh ammunition back. By early in the afternoon less than two hundred men were left. By now the Rifle Brigade arrived to help the Patricia's. They needed it. Almost every officer had been shot or wounded. There was only a subaltern in command. The Patricia's were almost wiped out. They had gone into the fight six hundred and thirty-five strong; they moved back to the reserve trenches that afternoon with only one hundred and fifty left. It is worth noting that the officer who commanded them as they marched back was Lieutenant Papineau, descendant of the famous Canadian rebel, himself living evidence that in Canada all races and all sections were now one for the Empire.

"It was slaughter," said one of the surviving officers, when afterwards describing the scene. "But we Patricia's stood firm throughout. We held our lines."

Three Canadian V.C.'s

Three Canadians received the Victoria Cross for the deeds during the Ypres battle, and seventy other Canadian officers and men were decorated on the recommendation of Sir John French. Captain Francis Scrymgeour, of the Army Medical section, a son of the Principal of the Montreal Presbyterian College, was given the cross for heroism. On April 25th he was in charge of a dressing-station for the wounded that was being heavily shelled. He directed the removal of the wounded with great coolness, and personally carried a badly wounded officer to a stable. He attempted to reach a safer place, but found this impossible, and remained with the officer, facing a terrible shell fire for several hours until assistance came. Colour-Sergeant Hall, the second of the three, made two attempts to aid a wounded man near Ypres on April 24th, though under heavy fire. He dragged a British soldier to within fifteen yards of the British trenches on the first attempt, and called for help. When aid was not forthcoming he stooped to lift the wounded man, and was himself shot in the head and mortally wounded. Lance-Corporal Fisher was only nineteen years old at the time of the battle. He was attending the engineering school at the McGill University when the war began, and was well known in college athletics as a football and hockey player, playing in University teams in the Intercollegiate Rugby and Hockey Leagues. He was in reserve at St. Julien, and when the French retreat began he brought up a gun and covered the retirement of a battery of heavy guns. He then borrowed four machine-guns and reinforced the 14th Battalion by a deadly fire, enabling it to retake a trench. He set up a gun to protect another machine-gun section which was being shelled, and enabled it to retire safely. He was shot through the heart while working his gun.

If the Germans thought that they had eliminated the Canadians by the fighting around Ypres, they were soon to find their mistake. The skeleton battalions were reinforced by heavy drafts from the Canadian troops under training in England. On May 17th the battalions again took up their position at the front, the division being moved into the First Corps area, under Sir Douglas Haig. The Canadians found themselves face to face with an orchard held and entrenched by the Germans. They had a small post in front of La Quinque Rue, which the Canadians captured on the night of the 19th and 20th.

The Canadian Scottish on that night crept up to a deserted house close to the German lines and occupied it with a garrison of thirty men and two machine-guns. This was done so quietly that the Germans evidently had no inkling of what had happened. Our artillery directed a heavy fire upon the enemy position in the orchard, and the Germans replied. But although they maintained a continuous fire against the Canadian lines, the house near them with the troops in it was left untouched all the next

CLEARING UP DÉBRIS ON THE BATTLEFIELD.
Canadian soldier shovelling débris into an improvised incinerator erected just behind the foremost line in Flanders.

day. Early in the evening our artillery fire suddenly ceased, and two companies of the 16th Canadians rushed out of their trenches on the Germans. Simultaneously the two machine-guns in the house opened out. The enemy greeted our advance with a very heavy fire. Our men kept on unflinchingly. Some officers of the Coldstream Guards near by, who watched the move, paid the Canadians the highest compliment they could. "Short of the Guards," they said, "we would rather have the Canadians behind us in a hard fight than anyone else."

The Canadians reached the edge of the orchard. Here they came upon a deep ditch with a hedge, well protected with barbed-wire at the opposite side. They plunged through the ditch and made for some broken points in the hedge, where they got across. Soon they were in the orchard itself. They went through it at one great rush. The Germans occupied a formidable position twice as strong as our own men. They were hopelessly defeated, and in the end the orchard remained in our hands. A number of prisoners and some machine-guns were captured, and the German line was pushed considerably back. The Canadian losses were naturally heavy, but the result of Festubert gave great satisfaction to the whole division.

Progress at La Quinque Rue

The troops were justified in some self-congratulation. To advance in broad daylight on an enemy position, to rush it under the fire of modern rifles and machine-guns, and to force a way over open ground through a ditch and through barbed-wire entanglements held by a stronger foe was a high military exploit.

Doubtless the success of our troops was due to good discipline, to great rapidity of movement, and to the exact timing of artillery fire which continued to the last possible moment. But, above all, it was due to the high temper of the men, eager to avenge recent losses.

Another attempt was made about the same time to capture a German position near by, known as "Bexhill." This was not at first a success, the machine-gun fire of the enemy being so overwhelming that the companies

which tried to face it on the left were practically wiped out. Our men on the right, however, did succeed in reaching the enemy's trench lines to the south of the position, and drove them four hundred paces down the trench, there building a barricade to hold what they had won.

The attack on "Bexhill" was renewed on May 23rd. This time part of "Bexhill" was taken after a very brave advance. The attack was renewed on the following day with strengthened forces, and now succeeded. "Bexhill" had cost us dearly. When it was in our hands it was found that it was very difficult and costly to hold. The German positions around us were such that it was impossible to make further progress. Our men were exposed to an exceedingly galling fire. Several days of heavy fighting followed here. One battalion alone was under continuous fire for ten days and eleven nights.

On May 31st, in the language of the official report, "the Canadian Division was withdrawn from the territory it had seized from the enemy and moved to the extreme south of the British line."

In June there came another outstanding fight in which the Canadians took a prominent part—the Battle of Givenchy. Sir John French in his official report dismisses the matter very briefly, saying that, "By an attack delivered on the evening of June 15th, after a prolonged bombardment, the 1st Canadian Brigade obtained possession of the German front-line trenches, but were unable to retain them owing to their flanks being too much exposed."

The Battle of Givenchy

The 7th British Division was ordered to make a frontal attack on a strong enemy position known as "Stony Mountain," and the 1st Battalion, from Ontario, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Hill, was directed to secure the lines of German trenches stretching from "Stony Mountain" to another German position known as "Dorchester." The Ontario troops were reinforced by men from the Edmonton Fusiliers. The Canadians knew some hours before that they were picked for this dangerous advance, and waited in their trenches, eager for the onslaught. Two 18-pounder guns were planted in their own front trench, and played havoc in the German ranks for a quarter of an hour before the advance began. "We could see portions of their trenches falling in and accoutrements flung in the air," said some of the men when describing the scene afterwards. Two minutes before the hour fixed for the advance a mine exploded under the first German trench. As the débris and dust were still in the air, the Canadians leapt from their trenches and rushed straight across the seventy yards between them and the enemy. The German guns fired among them, but nothing could stop them. They had agreed on a battle-cry, "Gas devils!" and they hurled the words out in bitter shouts as they rushed along. The Germans fired on the Canadians until they were quite near; then some tried to escape while others remained, and as the Canadians jumped into the trenches threw their arms up with the call of "Kamerades!" The trench was soon in our hands. The Germans now concentrated their artillery fire on this captured front trench. From it the

ARRIVAL OF STRETCHER CASES AT ST. CLOUD.

Arrival of a wounded soldier at the Hippodrome, St. Cloud, in France, which was converted into a hospital for Canadians. Many of the most distinguished medical men in the Dominion abandoned private practice to serve with the troops abroad. Circle: On June 22nd, 1916, the King invested Sister D. E. Winter and Sister M. K. Lambkin, Canadians, with the Royal Red Cross conferred upon them in the Birthday Honours List.

WELL-EARNED REST.
Canadians resting in the lovely grounds of the Massey-Harris Convalescent Home at Dulwich.

SHEARING SHEEP WITHIN SIGHT OF ST. PAUL'S.
In 1916 the Massey-Harris Company, a prominent Canadian business organisation, presented and maintained an estate on the southern heights of London, as a Convalescent Home for wounded Canadians.

Canadians rushed the second trench and captured it. The German fire grew heavier and heavier, and our men in the trenches attempted in vain to secure some shelter for themselves. Their supply of bombs ran short, and one lad, Private Smith, son of a Methodist minister of Southampton, Ontario, volunteered to go back for some more. He went back singing, was caught by a mine explosion and buried. He dug himself out, gathered a number of bombs from dead and wounded bomb-throwers around him, and returned to the second trench with them. He repeated this five times. It is said that the fire was so hot that several times he could not get into the trenches of the men who needed them most, and had to lie down and toss the bombs to them. But even with the work of such as Smith, enough bombs could not be had. Men who tried to bring them up were nearly all of them killed. The British advance had been held up by the strength of "Stony Mountain." The Canadians held their position as long as they could, but in the end had to go back.

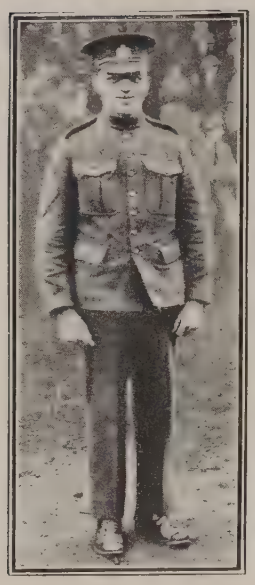
From division to army corps

From the Battle of Givenchy for many weary months to come the Canadian troops now found themselves engaged in the routine of what was virtually siege warfare. It was their business to hold a section—an ever-growing section—of the British lines, to keep the enemy engaged, to prevent surprises, and wherever possible to surprise the enemy. The one original division grew, as further reinforcements were sent to the front after training in England, to a Canadian army corps.

By early in 1916 the Canadian Army Corps consisted of three divisions, with General Sir E. A. H. Alderson in command. The 1st Division was under Major-General Currie, and its three brigades were commanded by Brigadier-Generals Garnet Hughes, Lipsett, and Leckie. This division included the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Brigades. The 2nd Division was under Major-General Turner, V.C., and his brigadiers were Generals Rennie, David Watson, and Kitchen. The 3rd Division, with the 7th, 8th, and 9th Brigades, was under Major-General Mercer, with Brigadier-Generals John Macdonald, Victor Williams, and Hill under him. While the supreme command of the Canadian Army Corps was given to a general of the Imperial Army, the divisions were all placed under Canadians, and the brigadiers were in nearly every case Canadians. These officers were drawn from the most varied ranks of civilian life. General Turner, who had won his V.C. in the Boer War, and who proved time after time at the front his splendid abilities as a military leader, was in times of peace a wholesale grocer in Quebec; Garnet Hughes, brother of the Canadian Minister of Militia, was a railway engineer; David Watson was a newspaper proprietor; Mercer was a lawyer.

Business men as officers

What was true of the generals was equally true of other ranks. The officers were, as a rule, business men, lawyers, engineers, bank managers, and the like. "Look for officers among those who are able to handle men well in their own business," was the general principle. "They will be able to handle men well in the field.' The 39th Infantry Battalion afforded a typical example of this. When this battalion arrived in England the officer commanding was a lawyer. The second in command was a retired business man. One major was a financier, two were farmers, one a builder, and one an express agent. One captain was a railway engineer, another a real-estate agent,



ONE WHOM HIS COUNTRY DELIGHTED TO HONOUR.

In the presence of troops and of a large crowd of spectators assembled in Alexandra Park, Montreal, Corporal E. Casstles was presented with the Distinguished Conduct Medal conferred on him for gallantry at Ypres. Left: Corporal E. Casstles. Right: The 5th Pioneers cheering the hero.

a third a business man, and a fourth a Y.M.C.A. worker. The case of two of the lieutenants of this regiment shows the difference between the Canadian and the Regular Army. These two lieutenants were ordered to remain behind when the regiment started from Belleville to England. They dressed themselves in privates' uniform and joined the train. They were discovered and ordered back. They disobeyed, tried to go forward once more, and were again caught. Finally they hid themselves in the transport as the troops were embarking. Luck was apparently against them, for they were hunted out once more. General Hughes, the Canadian Minister of Militia, was there bidding the soldiers goodbye. The colonel hauled the two incurable offenders before him. General Hughes looked at them, and his eyes twinkled as he heard the story of their crime. "Let them go along with you," he said. And they went.

These men proved their capacity on the field, and they and many of the younger men under them demonstrated how widespread real fighting ability is among classes of our countrymen at ordinary times largely or wholly removed from military influences. It might have been expected that in an army such as this, officered largely by men whose traditions up to a few months before had mainly been civilian, would have been somewhat amateurish in its methods, and that while the men might have fought bravely, there would have been a slackness in the routine details of army administration. This was certainly not so. The condition of the trenches, the health of the men, the excellence of their equipment, the regularity of their food supplies, the steady discipline, and all those great qualities which make an efficient army and not a mob, were found among the Canadians in a very high degree. This was the considered opinion of every competent military man who studied their work.

It was during the months of long waiting that some of the best qualities of the Canadian troops revealed themselves. It is one thing to take part in a brilliant dash against the enemy. It is quite another to sit down day after day, week after week, in the exacting monotony of trench warfare when occupying the front trenches under shell fire, when the main tasks are the taking of fresh trenches, bringing up supplies, watching for the enemy, sniping, and attempting little raids. In time work such as this grows drearily dull, and nothing but a strong sense of discipline and of duty sustains the zeal of the men. The Canadians adapted themselves splendidly to the hard conditions. They became noted all along the lines of the Allies as trench-builders.

HONOURED BY TWO COUNTRIES.

Corporal W. H. Baker, of the 10th Battalion, Canadians, won the French Croix de Guerre and the British D.C.M.

Each brigade pitted the excellence of its trenches against all comers. The old shallow, muddy, irregular lines of earth that in the earlier months had done work for our troops as trenches, gave way to splendidly arranged lines, giving the maximum of protection. Dug-outs were so solidly constructed that they would stand anything save direct blows from heavy shells, and some of them, it was claimed, would stand even that. Trenches were so well drained that the troops stood on firm emplacements even in the wettest weather. A trench school was established, where selected men from the different battalions went for training. Every new device was examined, tested, and, if of any use, adopted. Western ingenuity came well into play here.

A FIELD-AMBULANCE WARD.

(Official Canadian photograph. Canadian Government copyright reserved.)

A BOMB-PROOF TESTING STATION.

(Official Canadian photograph. Canadian Government copyright reserved.)

At the beginning many Canadians were victims of German snipers, whose ingenuity and resource drew unwilling admiration even from our men. But before many months the Canadians turned the tables here also. They developed special groups of snipers, adepts at concealing themselves, men who never fired but to hit; who would lie hour after hour, and if necessary day after day, for a single sure shot. The Canadians, like every other part of the British Army, developed bomb-throwing to an amazing extent.

In one special line of trench warfare the Canadians gave a lead to the whole of the allied armies. Colonel Odlum, who had distinguished himself prominently in the fighting at Ypres, worked out a system of night raids on the enemy lines that for some time kept the Germans very uneasy.

The British and the German lines were separated by a space of land generally known as No Man's Land, and called by some Canadians "the Great North-West." In this long stretch, varying in depth from thirty or forty yards at some points to two hundred yards and more at others, both British and Germans had protected themselves by long stretches of barbed-wire—thick, strong, and deep. In some threatened points the Germans had two tangles of wire, the first sixteen feet deep, the other forty feet deep, and between these two their patrols would move at night-time to prevent the possibility of their being surprised. Colonel Odlum planned a regular method by which raiding parties would go out at night, wriggle silently to the enemy wires, make a way through the entanglements with wire-cutters, throw themselves into the enemy trenches before the Germans had realised that they were there, capture the men, destroy the machine-guns, and go back with their prisoners before it was possible to capture them. These reconnaissances were repeated time after time by the different brigades at the front. They gave opportunity for the display of great individual heroism. In one case a young officer led his men into the trenches, emptied his automatic pistol twice, firing from the hip, then sprang at a German, wrenching his dagger out of his hand and flinging it in the face of another, and finally returned with his men and his prisoners, himself the last to leave the trench. When he reached the safety of our own lines it was found that he had received nine wounds.

Raiding "the Great North-West"

The Honours Lists gave many examples of individual heroism among the men. It is only possible to mention

LITTLE USED IN THE SIEGE WAR, BUT READY FOR EMERGENCIES.

Canadian cavalry undergoing a severe test during a practice ride. The smaller illustration depicts a group of mounted officers taking a fence in splendid style during manœuvres somewhere in England preparatory to their departure for the western front.

CAMP COOKERS FROM CALGARY.
Camp cookers of a Calgary battalion. (*Canadian official photograph. Crown copyright reserved.*)

a few. Captain E. C. Jackson, of the 5th Battalion, received the D.S.O., Lieutenant Kenneth Taylor-Campbell received the Military Cross, and several of the men were given the D.C.M. for their conspicuous coolness, courage, and gallantry in attacking an advanced German barricade on the Messines Road in December. Six men of the 7th Battalion were given the D.C.M. for conspicuous gallantry on the night of November 16th-17th, 1915, near Messines. They worked for four hours in the bright moonlight cutting lines in the wire close to a heavily-manned German trench. They then placed a bridge over the Doube River about sixteen yards from the enemy's parapet, and guided bombing-parties through the lines they had cut.

Lieutenant Chetwynd, of the Engineers, received his commission and was given a D.C.M. for his conspicuous gallantry and ability on many occasions. He had frequently, as a non-commissioned officer, prepared bridges for demolition and carried out difficult engineering work under heavy shell and rifle fire. On one occasion he was present as a volunteer in an attempt, with a detachment, to link up the Canadian lines with the advanced line, and, after the non-commissioned officer in charge and many men had been killed and wounded, he rallied the survivors and led them forward with great bravery and skill under an intensely heavy fire.

Names in the Honours Lists

Sergeant Ferris, of the same company of Engineers, received his decoration for a deed of great bravery. While in charge of a detachment he was ordered to advance on a prearranged signal to link up communications between trenches. The signal was given, and he attempted to do what he was ordered in face of very heavy fire, the German trenches at this point being only one hundred yards from our own. Several men were killed in the attempt to carry a line through. Then Sergeant Ferris advanced alone. He had barely set out before he was shot through the lungs; but he kept on, found out what was wrong, struggled back, and made his report. Sapper Harmon, of the Engineers, was decorated for constructing a barricade with sand-bags across a road under heavy fire, and keeping it repaired when apparently demolished by heavy shell fire. The same man accompanied the assault on another occasion in charge of a blocking-party to barricade trenches when gained. The first line of trenches was taken, and nearly all of the party killed or wounded. Then Harmon

A GAME OF CARDS.
Men of a Winnipeg battalion on the western front. (*Canadian official photograph. Crown copyright reserved.*)

AMMUNITION LORRIES IN WAITING.
A line of lorries ready to take ammunition to the firing-line. (*Canadian official photograph. Canadian Government copyright reserved.*)

ALL SMILES.
Members of a Calgary battalion as they appeared after leaving the trenches.

armed himself with bombs and continued to force his way forward, in spite of the fact that he was severely wounded in several places, until his supply of ammunition was exhausted and he could get no more.

There were no fewer than eighty-seven names of Canadians in one list alone published in March, all decorated for deeds such as these. This was only one list out of several.

In the early summer of 1916, Lieutenant-General Alderson retired from the command of the Canadians and was succeeded by Major-General the Hon. Sir Julian Byng. The Canadians parted with General Alderson with great regret. From the days when he took charge of the 1st Canadian Division on Salisbury Plain, in the autumn of 1914, he had held unbroken the confidence, affection, and respect of his men. "General Alderson is a human being, not a ramrod," wrote one soldier home. Frank, open, cheerful, with a gift for saying the right word at the right time, he showed great tact in dealing with the prejudices which existed among some Canadians at the beginning against an Imperial commander. He took every opportunity to keep himself in real touch with his men and to show them how he appreciated their services. "I love these men," he said once, before the Canadians had proceeded to the front. "They are always cheerful and willing, in spite of the discomforts they have on Salisbury Plain, and I know they will make splendid soldiers."

Move towards St. Eloi

Early in April the Canadians moved up towards St. Eloi from positions they had held farther south. A British division immediately on the left of the Canadians exploded several mines under the German lines and advanced, capturing two lines of German trenches for a length of about six thousand yards. One of these lines of trenches was about twenty yards behind the other. There was a third line of trenches some eight hundred yards behind these, with communicating trenches connecting them. This third line remained in German hands.

On the night of April 2nd-3rd the 6th Canadian Infantry Brigade relieved the British troops in the new line. As they advanced they saw a party of German prisoners, three officers and one hundred and twenty men, being taken back. These German prisoners declared that the British artillery fire against their position had been so well directed that it had been impossible for them for three and a half or four days to bring up any supplies of food. They were caught in a crater, and kept there starving until they had finally climbed up from the crater and surrendered. The Canadians in the new lines found themselves in an exceedingly difficult position. Our own artillery was active, but that of the Germans was equally so. A terrific fire was concentrated on the craters and on the trenches which our troops occupied. In ordinary times it is not usual for more than a few trench-mortars to fire into a position during the day. Now it seemed as though all day long trench-mortar shells were hurtling through the air. It was estimated that in two hours alone there were two hundred of these great bombs falling around our lines. Every form of shell came—high explosives battering the parapets, trench-mortar projectiles bursting all around.

The Canadians had to hold the craters made by our mine explosions. The whole neighbourhood was one mass of mud and dirt. The troops could only approach the craters during darkness, often crawling along with mud up to their ankles.

It soon became evident that the Germans were making supreme efforts to recapture the craters and their lost trenches. The prisoners brought in said that troops had been brought from Verdun to make the attempt.

[Canadian official photographs. Crown copyright reserved.

ON THE FRINGE OF WAR.
This photograph has more the appearance of a Thames backwater than a scene within sound of the guns. Here members of the Calgary battalion performed their ablutions after leaving the front line.

Early on the Tuesday morning a terrific artillery fire opened on the Canadian lines. After slackening for a few hours it was renewed with redoubled force. Parapets disappeared under it. The troops made every effort to strengthen their positions and to bury some of the British dead still lying around. Aerial torpedoes, "Jack Johnsons," weeping shells, and apparently every other kind of shell, now fell. Men caught in this raging hell of fire at first thought that all was finished. It seemed as though no man could hope to live. Here it was, however, that discipline told. They automatically and coolly continued their work, even when death seemed inevitable. Some in the craters climbed up the steep sides to fill trench-bags and put them in position, forming fresh parapets. Bombers crawled out for counter-offensives. In the line of communicating trenches Canadians and Germans met time after time—met and died. It was in the craters that some of the most terrible aspects of war were seen.

ISSUING RATIONS.

Canadian official photograph of the issue of rations to men of a Winnipeg battalion.

WHERE "SOMEWHERE" WAS REALLY LOCATED.

A Canadian field post-office on the western front. (*Canadian official photograph. Crown copyright reserved.*)

Day after day and night after night this ding-dong fight continued, swaying now this way and now that. The Canadians would advance through the mud at every opportunity, bombing the enemy; the enemy would rush back, bombing them. Now a crater would belong to one, now to another. Time after time the Germans made rushes forward, only to be met, as they drew near, with our machine-gun fire, which swept them wholesale away. Soldiers who witnessed some of these rushes declared afterwards that they would retain to their last days impressions of men staggering, reeling, rushing into inevitable death.

If the German shell fire was terrible, that of the British was soon more so. As the fight developed the British brought more and more artillery strength on this point. "This seems like heaven," said one German prisoner when dragged into our lines. "If you want to know what gun fire is, go into our lines when your shells are coming in."

In one case the Germans made a great attack upon two central craters, covering their advance by a heavy curtain of fire. These craters had already suffered heavily, the dead lying thickly all around. The defenders, almost stunned and deafened by the concentration of shell fire, suddenly found Germans among them. Men climbed over the bodies of fallen comrades to reach the enemy. "I shot one, clubbed another, tried to use a bayoneted rifle against a third," said one survivor, "and then——" And then the crater was in the enemy's hands!

In the Ypres salient

The two craters were seized. Our men who were left were hopelessly outnumbered, and a gap had been made in our front lines through which it seemed that the enemy might come right back again. Then it was that the Canadians from other points redoubled their efforts, holding the enemy in check. "Men climbed on to the parapets and parados," said an official account, "the better to fire at the advancing foe. Machine-guns were lifted into the open and worked with desperate courage, until they became clogged with mud splashed on to them by exploded shells, or else were smashed and buried." Again the craters were recaptured. When early Saturday morning came the brigade was able to hand every crater over to its successors. The Canadians had lost severely, but they had held their own against heavy odds.

Soon afterwards they were to face a still more dreadful experience. They had now moved up to the foremost point in the Ypres salient, and they were holding the line between Hooge and the Ypres-Menin railway. Shortly after nine o'clock on the morning of June 2nd, Major-General Mercer, accompanied by Brigadier-General Williams,

was visiting the front lines held by the 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles when an artillery fire of the most severe nature covered the entire Canadian front of some three thousand yards. Simultaneously a great line of shells fell continuously far behind the front lines, making it impossible to bring up reserves. The artillery fire at St. Eloi had been severe, but it was almost as nothing to the rain of shells here. Men who had been in both called the first "child's play." The Germans had carefully and secretly accumulated a great force of guns—such strength of guns as probably never previously existed in the history of war. The Canadian troops caught in the front lines could do nothing to reply. They could not advance. They could not retire. For any man to show himself was to seek immediate death, and had he shown himself he could have done nothing against the enemy. In this rain of shells trenches disappeared, parapets were wiped out, and the British front was reduced to little more than a blurred and broken line. Some of the troops got into tunnels and into dug-outs waiting for the fire to die away. Other troops in reserve, some eight hundred yards behind, were hastily called upon to dig themselves in, for it was seen that the front lines would form little protection against the enemy.

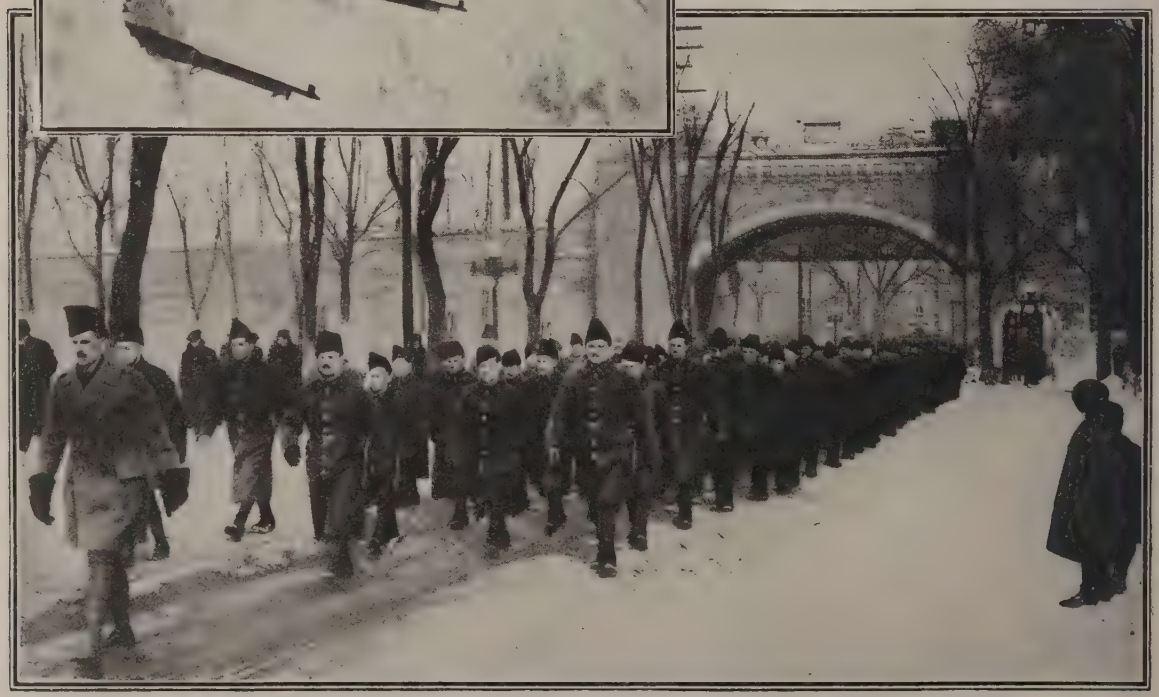
Caught by a rain of shells

General Mercer, who had done such brilliant service in former battles, apparently went into the battalion headquarters dug-out, accompanied by his two A.D.C.'s. General Williams, wounded in the face, went into a trench called the Tunnel, slightly to the north-east of the headquarters dug-out and running towards a still deeper trench known as the Tube. General Williams was accompanied by the commander of the battalion, Colonel Ussher, and a considerable number of men. The shell fire soon blocked the Tunnel and the men inside it were nearly suffocated before it was possible to dig their way out again.

After several hours of this artillery fire the Germans came up to our lines. They were so satisfied that no man could be living that they approached without any great haste, some smoking cigarettes and all carrying heavy packs. One Canadian corporal and a few men had got into an excavation at the bottom of a trench and had dragged in a machine-gun with them. Here they lay low during the firing. When the German shell fire suddenly ceased they crawled out and looked around. They saw the Germans coming up. They placed their machine-gun in position, waited until the enemy were comparatively close, and then poured their fire into them. Many of the Germans fled and very many fell.

Mystery of General Mercer

But incidents like this could not affect the final result. The Germans reached the trenches; they came to the Tunnel and apparently all inside it were captured. General Mercer, after staying in the battalion headquarters dug-out for a considerable time, started to walk back in the direction of Maple Copse through Armagh Wood. It was his frequent custom to stride in front of his aides, leaving them to follow him as best they could. Apparently he did so this time. It was said



HARDY SONS OF CANADA PREPARING FOR FLANDERS ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

Men of the 33rd Battalion, Canadian Contingent, passing through the St. Louis Gate of the old fortifications of Quebec, which were built by the British regulars after the occupation of 1759. The smaller illustration depicts men of the 57th Battalion in training on the historic snow-covered Plains of Abraham, the scene of the Battle of Quebec.

SIMPLICITY AND STRENGTH.

Sleds of simplest design and stoutest build were fashioned on which to draw fallen trunks from the forest.

that he had been rendered stone deaf, but whether as the result of a blow or merely from the noise of the shock of the shelling was not clear. First reported wounded and a prisoner, he was on June 19th "unofficially reported" killed.

Some details of what happened during this fighting in the front lines were obtained shortly afterwards from German newspapers. According to these, many a nest in the front lines contained Canadians who defended themselves desperately, refusing quarter, and who had to be overcome with hand-grenades. One paper told of a general, possibly General Victor Williams, who was caught in the Tunnel. He drew his sword and struck the sergeant who summoned him to surrender in the face, whereupon the infantryman attacked the general, who, in the language of the Germans, was fighting like a madman, and ran him through. Numerous other officers, so the report stated, were killed because they refused to surrender.

The Germans, by the explosion of mines, still further wrecked the Canadian position. It was impossible either to hold the front lines or to rescue the men there. A fresh line was hastily constructed, but in attempting to bring troops forward to support it we suffered heavily, for the German artillery was playing now far back, not only in Ypres but beyond it. During the night the Canadians launched attack after attack upon their old position. A party of German bombers had got through as far as Zillebeke. All of them were destroyed. Some of the old British trenches were recaptured, but it was found impossible to hold them, the German artillery fire being at this stage stronger.

The end of it all for the moment was that we held our new line and the Germans held our old trenches, with important positions such as Sorrel Hill, Observatory Wood, and Maple Copse, all of the utmost importance for the retention of Ypres. From some of their new positions they commanded vital sections of our lines, and it was plain to every man that we must drive them out. The Canadians had lost very heavily indeed. Their record further showed many instances of their splendid gallantry, but no one denied that the Hooge fighting was for the moment a German victory. This thought itself added bitterness to the grief for the brave men who had fallen.

Two of the corps that had suffered most were the Canadian Mounted Rifles, drawn from all parts of Canada, and the famous Princess Patricia's Light Infantry. This latter regiment, after having been almost wiped out at Ypres a year before, had for a time seemed in danger of extinction. Then the Universities of Canada, more particularly the Universities of the West, had given the pick of their young men as recruits for it. It had become in the main a great University Corps. Now hundreds of its men were among the killed and wounded in the Hooge fighting.

The losses at Hooge

The British steadily brought more and more artillery to bear upon the captured trenches. Day after day a heavy bombardment was maintained. The 1st Division, the veterans of the Canadians, was brought up for the attempt that was to be made. The weather now was in our favour—wet and cold, an ideal condition for attack. Day by day the Canadians lay in their new trenches waiting their opportunity.

Late on the night of Monday, June 12th, a heavy British bombardment was maintained for two hours. After a brief pause the bombardment reopened. Then it paused again, thus keeping the Germans in a state of nervous anticipation of an attack. Soon after midnight the Canadians moved into position and the British artillery opened up in full force. German prisoners afterwards said that they had never experienced such gun fire. Heavy

CANADIAN LUMBERMEN IN WINDSOR GREAT PARK.

Vast quantities of timber were required for the construction of the trenches in France, and Canadian lumbermen were formed into a Forestry Battalion to fell fir-trees in England for that purpose.

shells swept the whole position at intervals of a few yards. While the artillery was firing, the Canadians crept up through the rain in the darkness. The move was so exactly timed that the troops were almost on the trenches before the British gun fire ceased. Then, before the Germans had time to recover, they were in among them. It was a grim business that night, men moving through the trenches, exploring every corner, bombing wherever they suspected the enemy, and clearing the Germans out of line after line at the point of the bayonet. The whole final move from first to last took about twenty hours.

Four German officers and one hundred and thirty-one men were made prisoners. The Canadians were delighted to find some of their own wounded from the earlier days were still left in the trenches and had been well looked after and kindly treated. One of them had a label on him, "We do not kill the wounded."

The loss of life, considering the importance of the operation, was comparatively small, yet some of the battalions that took a foremost part in the fighting suffered very heavily in proportion to their numbers. The Toronto Regiment, which had already distinguished itself in the great Battle of Ypres, at Festubert, and at Givenchy, once more played a prominent part. Its casualties amounted to over fifty per cent., and out of twenty officers engaged, seventeen were killed or wounded. One small section of twenty men mounted a hill at the final objective of the advance; five were killed and ten wounded. The old British front trench was reoccupied in the early hours of the morning. It was difficult to recognise it. It had been crushingly bombarded, first by the Germans against the British, and then by the British against the Germans, and shortly before the big advance the British guns had planted a line of 12 in. shells twelve yards apart along the entire trench. The Canadians, after capturing this front trench, held it for several hours under an almost overpowering German shell fire, while certain readjustments were made immediately behind. Then they fell back to our new permanent line, about forty yards behind. The old trench front was untenable by either side, and had to be left. The bodies of many gallant men, friends and foe alike, lay there.

Journalism in the trenches

No account of the Canadian troops would be complete that did not touch on two aspects—both of them outside the usual routine of their military life—trench journalism, which flourished among the Canadians as it did in perhaps no other section of the British Army, and the liberality of all classes of Canadians in providing supplementary comforts for the men and special accommodation for the wounded and convalescent.

During the first year at the front no less than ten Canadian regimental or brigade papers were issued. Their titles ranged from "The Listening Post" to "The Dead Horse Gazette," and from "The Growler" to "The Brazier." The Canadian Medical Service alone had three separate papers: "The Iodine Chronicle," "The Splint Record," and "Now and Then," which were eventually amalgamated under the title of N.Y.D "The Listening Post" was generally accorded premier place by reason of seniority and a very bright editorial management. As with nearly every other paper, jokes, chaff, and merriment filled most of its columns. It was typical of the high spirits of the fighting men.

Some of the matter, full of brigade and battalion allusions, was not easily comprehensible outside—for example, "Is the R.Q.M.S. still in love with the girl in Bailleul?" But most appealed to a wider public. Take, for example, these directions for the game of "Craters." "This fascinating pastime is now (May, 1916) in full swing at the Ypres salient. Crater parties are organised nightly both by the British and German Governments. As bombs and blighties are issued free of charge the game is becoming popular. The rules of the game are simple. According to Hoyle, it is a mixture of hop-scotch and checkers."

The game of "craters"

Here and there men allowed their real selves to be seen. Take, for instance, an extract from some verses, "To Ypres, May, 1916":

> A year has passed, and still your battered walls
> Spell grim defiance to the crouching Hun;
> He lying in waiting, seeing your mighty halls
> Standing in ruins, thinks the time has come
> To strive once more, accomplish his desire:
> Kill your defenders, and work out his will.
> Fear not, brave City! We have faced the fire,
> And will again; Ypres, we guard you still!

High spirits were even more pronounced, if that were possible, in the note of "The Brazier." Its manager, a full private, was in the days before the war a publisher of newspapers in British Columbian mining camps. Its compositor, a Highland drummer, was once an expert linotype operator on a great Vancouver paper. Its pressman, a Highland piper, was in civil life a partner on a Manitoba newspaper. These three leased the use of a French jobbing office, and turned out a very creditable production. Two or three extracts will show the note of its contents. Here is a menu of a Hogmanay Eve dinner for the Machine-gun Section:

Olives, celery, salted almonds.
Soups: Puree of Mud, Cream of Tomato.
Fish: Salmon Croquettes à la Hand Grenade.
Entrees: Macaroni au Pull-Through, "Colt" Mutton.
Roasts: Turkey and P.P. Sauce, Old English Roast Beef and Yorkshire Pudding. The function of the turkey is to transmit motion and energy to the mechanism of the M.G. Section.
Salad: A la German Kultur (Boche !).
Game: Sniper, potted au Telescope Sight.
Vegetables: "Bombardier Fritz" (fried potatoes), Carrots, "Shrapnel" (shelled peas).
Sweets: "Belt-fillers" with Ammunition Sauce (plum pudding), "Jack Johnsons" (a trifle ?), "Bomb Proofs" (mince-pies), Cheese, Nuts and Raisins.
Coffee.

One "Brazier" story was of a junior Staff officer who was asked to interrogate some German prisoners in the absence of the official interpreter. The youthful officer jumped at the opportunity of displaying his linguistic talents, and addressing the nearest Hun, he politely asked: "Parlez-vous sprechen the Allemands?" Even the Hun grinned. Another story was of General Alderson. The first commander of the Canadian Army Corps was in the habit of getting around everywhere, and seeing things for himself. On one occasion, looking over some transports, he congratulated the driver on his well-combed and well-kept team. "Thanks, cap," the Westerner replied. "A little encouragement once in a while don't do a fellow any harm."

KILTS IN THE DOMINION.
Squad of the 5th Royal Highlanders, forming a guard at the headquarters of Valcartier Camp, the Canadian Aldershot.

There were many accounts in some papers of sports and amusements. The 3rd Infantry Brigade had been given a moving-picture machine. There had been field sports galore at the rest camps, football matches, boxing contests, and baseball. Great things were to be done by the Soccer League. "We shall attempt to prove that it is not only in the rebuilding or destroying of obsolete or tottering trenches that we hold the palm." There had been a big entertainment at the Y.M.C.A., with a boxing contest and singing, dancing, and piping. The guest of the evening was a hero from Ypres, who had been away for months wounded, and had now come back as camp commandant His voice had been badly damaged by his wound, and the paper told how, since he was unable to make himself heard, someone else had to repeat his speech for him.

But it was not the chaff and merriment of "The Brazier" that made the most lasting impression on the reader. In number after number glimpses were given of the tragedies and the horrors of war. Sometimes it was simply the "In Memoriam" list of the officers of their battalions killed in action. "Few indeed of the original 16th, or for the matter of that the first draft, are now with us," wrote the editor. "But this is war." Then in one number there came a description of the actual life of the men in the camp, grimly realistic. The camp was lying in a hollow, surrounded by low hills, topped here and there with fringes of trees stripped bare of foliage. On the other side was the "front," a bleak and wintry aspect, forming a very fitting background to the great drama of Armageddon.

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GETTING READY FOR BUSINESS.
Canadian Highlander cleaning his rifle.

Human endurance seems to gaze with equanimity on the daily deluge of high explosives, machine-gun and rifle fire under the pitiful shelter of parapet, trench, and dug-out. But with the elements also to combat, life at the front takes on a greater physical strain. For these temporary earthworks and shelters have indeed suffered more severely from the elements than from the enemy's cannon. Due to the continuous rain, communication trenches, dug-outs, and even massive parapets constructed of many thicknesses of sand-bags have collapsed, and for days on end miles of parallel and connecting subterranean passages have been temporarily rendered useless in places, through being undermined by the running water. Happily the weather god plays no favourite, and the Huns' earthworks have during this trying period suffered equally as much as our own.

In the most prominent place in one issue were two quotations printed in the biggest type, quotations which typified the spirit of Canada. They were headed "Lest we Forget." The first was part of the declaration by Sir Robert Borden: "The sword, which we reluctantly drew, will not be sheathed until the triumph of our cause has been full and unmistakable." The

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MEAL-TIME IN THE CANADIAN TRENCHES NEAR YPRES: A MID-DAY IMPRESSION FROM THE WEST FRONT.

second was words by Sir Samuel Hughes: "Canada demands that the war shall be continued not to a draw, but until the Hohenzollerns have been humiliated and the world has been freed from the menace of Prussian militarism."

"N.Y.D.," the amalgamated organ of the medical service, admirably sub-edited and printed, was equally typical of Canada, and its sometimes mocking, sometimes serious, pages were by no means confined to the medical aspects of the army's work.

When war broke out the people of Canada, more particularly the women of Canada, came together to help by personal service and personal gifts all engaged in the war. One of the first Canadian moves was to send a great national present of foodstuffs to the people of England to meet anticipated distress. These foodstuffs were in part sold, and the proceeds used later on to relieve some of the great distress on the East Coast. Canadian women formed local working associations in every city and in every village. They produced comforts for the troops in such quantities that at one time it was difficult to know how to deal with them. The Canadian troops at the front were amply supplied with everything they could want, and so much was left over that it became possible to distribute great quantities of goods among other less fortunately placed soldiers.

Gifts from Canadian women

The Canadian community in London formed itself into a War Contingent Association. It opened a hospital at Beachborough Park, Shorncliffe, a fine old house placed at the disposal of the Canadians by Sir Arthur Markham, M.P. Sir William Osler, the Canadian Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford, supervised the medical, and Colonel Donald Armour, the well-known Canadian consulting surgeon, supervised the surgical side. Beachborough Park was of great use in the early days of the war, and its accommodation grew as the demand increased. Mr. Astor, M.P., placed the house and magnificent grounds of Taplow Lodge at the disposal of the Canadians, and a very large military hospital under Canadian nurses and Canadian doctors was built there. The Ontario Government, as a gift to the Empire, built a large temporary hospital holding some 1,200 men at Orpington, and sent a Canadian staff to man it. It was the justified boast of the Ontario authorities that everything had been done to make this hospital one of the most completely equipped of any in the country.

A new departure, even in Canadian philanthropy, was made in the summer of 1916, when a prominent Canadian business organisation, the Massey-Harris Company, presented and maintained a convalescent home at Sydenham for Canadian soldiers. This home, planted on the southern heights of London, with all the metropolis stretched out as a vista in front of it, consisted of a splendid mansion in the midst of thirty acres of pleasure ground. It would have been difficult to imagine more handsome surroundings for men fresh from hospital.

The Canadian Red Cross, the main Canadian organisation for the collection and distribution of gifts for the sick and wounded, established a headquarters in London in the late autumn of 1914, under the direction of Colonel Hodgetts, and from there it directed a shower of gifts not alone on the Canadian troops, but on the British also. It equipped the hospital at Taplow. It presented tens of thousands of pounds to the British Red Cross, it helped to provide British hospital trains and ambulances, it brought large numbers of Canadian doctors and also nurses to England for service, and it also distributed tens of thousands of other gifts in kind.

Canadian doctors on Empire service

A word may well be added about the prominent services of Canadian medical men. Canadian doctors were foremost even among the people of the Dominion in volunteering their services for the Canadian Medical Department, under the direction of Surgeon-General Carlton Jones. It would be invidious to select names, but it will be enough to say that a number of the best known and most highly placed

HOW THE 16TH CANADIAN SCOTTISH AND 10TH INFANTRY SAVED YPRES IN THE SPRING OF 1915.

Owing to the Germans using poison gas the Canadians had temporarily to abandon a battery of 4·7 in. guns, but they rallied, and with incredible courage recaptured the weapons at the point of the bayonet. The action took place at midnight amid the tall trees of a wood in the neighbourhood of Ypres. In the words of the official record, "the Canadians undoubtedly saved the situation."

HOW THE CANADIANS RETOOK LOST TRENCHES AT YPRES.

In June the Canadians won fresh laurels by their heroic recapture, under heavy enemy fire, of lost ground in the vicinity of Ypres. The fighting was of the fiercest character, and though our men lost heavily the ground was covered with German dead.

surgeons and consultant physicians throughout Canada—men at the very height of their practice and in the fullness of their fame, distinguished medical professors at the universities, and leading specialists—abandoned their private practice to serve with the troops at the front or in the base hospitals of England. The list of great Canadian doctors who swept their private practice on one side to serve the Empire at war was a long and distinguished one.

The Canadian Expeditionary Force began in the early days of the war as a single division. Twenty thousand men were asked for, but before the expedition had left Canada its numbers had increased to thirty-three thousand. By the summer of 1916 there were over three hundred thousand in the Canadian ranks, including a complete army corps in Flanders and large reserves in training centres in England. Sir Samuel Hughes, the Minister of Defence and Militia—an office corresponding in Canada to that of Secretary for War in England—announced the intention of the Government eventually to increase the army to half a million men.

General Sir Samuel Hughes

This is the more remarkable when it is remembered that up to the outbreak of the war Canada was one of the least military nations of the world. Its population was almost wholly absorbed in commercial and agricultural expansion, and in conquering the West for civilisation. There was no national military training as in Australia, and the only military organisation to hand was the old militia, a small regular army, and an allied semi-military body, the North-West Mounted Police.

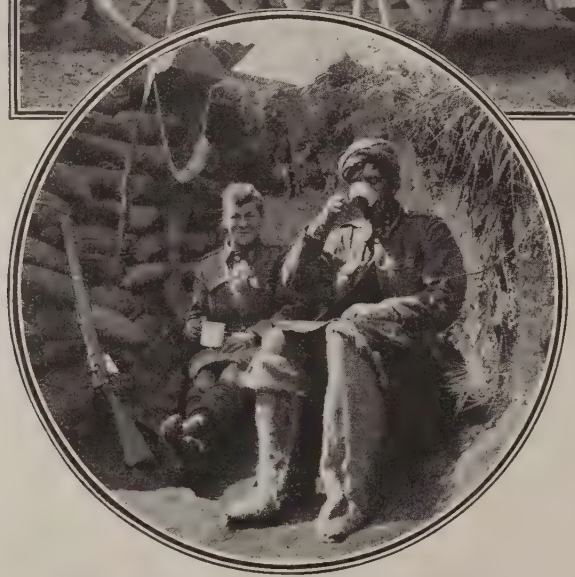
Much of the credit for the way in which Canada rose to the situation must go to the one man whose name has been previously mentioned, General Sir Samuel Hughes. When, some years before war began, Sir Robert Borden was elected to power, he chose Colonel Hughes, as he then was, as his Minister of Militia. Colonel Hughes was well known as a man with a hobby, his particular hobby being the duty of the Dominions to render military assistance to the Motherland in war time. Politician, editor, a noted amateur athlete when young, a university lecturer, and a militia officer, he had seen service and done good work in the Boer War. He had travelled throughout the Empire, preaching his gospel of unity for Imperial defence. His bitterest enemies could not deny him the possession of a forceful, magnetic, and very unusual personality. Big, blustering, indifferent to critics and criticism, more concerned to get things done than about the way they were done, he started years before the war to make Canada ready. His militia officers were sent to Aldershot for training. He fought hard for efficiency. On one occasion, in the autumn of 1913, he took a number of commanding officers, hired a fleet of motor-cars, and conducted them over the Belgian, German, and French frontiers, the very land soon to be the field of war. He knew that war was coming, and he thought it wise to let his officers learn something in advance of the ground over which they would have to fight. When news went abroad of what he had done, politicians were aghast. "Sam Hughes' joy-ride" was denounced almost everywhere. Even some of his colleagues thought that he had gone too far. But Hughes did not mind.

This was typical of General Hughes. When he was satisfied that a thing ought to be done, he had it done, and left explanations until afterwards. This sometimes left him open to criticism, which culminated in the early summer of 1916 in a very serious charge of corruption in the issue of war contracts brought against men for whose conduct he was responsible. Sir Samuel—he had been knighted a short time before—had arrived in England for a short visit to the Canadian troops training in Britain at the time when the charges were made. He promptly closed up his work in England and returned to Canada to face his accusers. A judicial committee had been appointed to investigate the matter. General Hughes handed over the external duties of his office to the Canadian Premier. Then, even while the commission was busy with its inquiries, he continued his work of military expansion.

Facing the music

"A man who has been scrutinised by two Judges and eight millions of his fellow-citizens because he has been

THE INEVITABLE AFTERMATH.
The first casualty after an advance being put on board a horse ambulance which waited for the wounded under cover of a farmhouse on the western front.



THEIR "LITTLE GREY HOME" IN FLANDERS.
Canadian Highlanders regaling themselves with some official beverage. One of them seems to have felt the need of special covering for his lower limbs.

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CLEANING THEIR KILTS.
Canadian Scottish engaged in an essential, if officially unrecorded function, preparatory to being inspected. An unkilted critic is watching the operations with interest.

assailed in Parliament is usually regarded as being under a cloud," wrote Mr. Arthur Hawkes, one of the most brilliant Canadian journalists, at the time. "Sam, when this particular cloud hove into sight, was relieved of his duties as Minister of Militia. Any other Minister of the Crown so situated would observe a discreet reticence about his situation. Not so, Sam. He assumes a garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.

"Cloud, is it? Cloud did you say? All right, it shall be a pillar of cloud to let the whole world see where he is. Cloud? Nay, verily, no cloud, but a shekinah."

And everyone, whatever their side of politics, apart from a very small clique, was more than glad when the judicial committee cleared those involved in its inquiry of the charge of personal corruption.

It would be a mistake to suppose the Canadian people, glad as they were of what they had been able to do, were by any means satisfied with what they had done. They measured their duty not by what had been done, but by what needed to be done. Thus it was that many of the most influential newspapers in Canada led, in the summer of 1916, a soul-searching inquiry into the questions, "Can't we do more?" "Are we playing at war?" One prominent Toronto newspaper asked—Toronto, be it noted, the city that had given more of its sons to the war than perhaps any other in Canada—"Is Canada mobilised at all as she should be?" Then it framed its indictment: "Wherever you turn what strikes you is that we have not begun to organise; we have not begun to appreciate what we mean when we say we are fighting for national existence. We are so fighting, but, as heaven is above, we do not seem to know it. We need a few Zeppelin raids to wake us up. We may not be to blame for what we do not know, but the people who do know are blind or foolish or wicked if they do not tell us that we are foozling around the edge of a precipice without direction, without inspiration, without humility, or without justice to ourselves or to our future." And so it was that the Canadian people, whose sacrifices and endurance had aroused the admiration of the whole Empire, felt themselves not proud at what they had done, but humiliated that they had not earlier tackled the things waiting to be done. It was fit mood for ultimate victory

Canada asks to do more

that the Premier of the Oversea Dominion should, in the hour when she was reckoning her wounded sons by the tens of thousands, dash away the tears of grief, fight down the exultation over great deeds well done, and sturdily prepare herself for yet greater sacrifices that the Empire in which she formed so big a part might attain to victory, and that the freedom of all humanity for all time might be made permanently secure.

. . . . . .

At the beginning of the war some extraordinary misapprehensions prevailed in England about the character and personnel of the Canadian Army. It was believed by many in England that this army was mainly made up of cowboys, pioneers, backwoodsmen, trappers, and hunters. The British military authorities evidently entertained this notion, for they planted the 1st Canadian Division down for some months in the bleakest and most inhospitable plain in England, under conditions which permanently wrecked the health of many men. This was a great misapprehension. To quote some words written at the time:

A great misapprehension

"All these—cowboys, trappers, and hunters—are found in the ranks, but none of them represents the typical Canadian soldier. There are the thick-limbed giants from the Yukon, and others who abandoned their traps and their dog-trains in the northern hills, and hurried post-haste to the Peace River when they heard that war was declared. There are French Canadians, speaking with musical accent, men whose forefathers fought against Wolfe and who led the rebels in the early struggles against British rule. A Papineau, directly descended from Papineau, the splendid rebel, was one of the heroes of the great stand of the Princess Patricia's. A Riel, close relation to Louis Riel, the half-caste hanged for treason a little over thirty years ago, was one of the first to join the Winnipeg Regiment. You will find in the Canadian ranks lumber-jacks from the Soo, pioneer farmers from New Vermilion, and many young Americans who crossed the border and concealed their nationality to get a chance of fighting for the Old Land. But these are the picturesque elements rather than the basis of the army."

The First Canadian Contingent was largely composed, so far as the rank and file were concerned, of young immigrants from England and Scotland who had spent a few years in Canada and had become Canadian in spirit and in aspiration. The most of these were townsmen. To them had to be added the splendid Canadian stock found in such corps as Strathcona's Horse, and found especially in the North-West Mounted Police, the picked irregulars of the world. It was estimated at the time that at least sixty per cent. of the First Contingent of the Canadians were British born, particularly Scottish born, for the Highland regiments played a very large part in the Canadian ranks. A large proportion of these British-born men came from the West, and in the West the young Englishman or Scotsman soon learns a resource and adaptability not always fully brought out in the Homeland. In the subsequent contingents this major proportion of British born did not hold, for many of the battalions now were overwhelmingly composed of Canadian-born units.

Part of the Highlanders

At the time when the Canadian Army had reached its 300,000 figure the army represented no group, no section, and no particular interest in the country, but it represented faithfully the whole Dominion; every class shared alike in the duty and glory of service. Canada's purpose was well expressed by Sir Robert Borden, the Dominion Premier, in words quoted earlier in this chapter: "The sword, which we reluctantly drew, will not be sheathed until the triumph of our cause has been full and unmistakable."

PANOPLY AND CIRCUMSTANCE IN MODERN WAR.

Canadian Highlanders cheering the King on his arrival at their part of the front. Though a utilitarian sameness of dress prevailed among the fighting forces of the belligerent nations, the kilt and glengarry introduced an element of picture and romance even into the drab landscape of siege warfare.

Training at home for serious work at the front. Officers of the Royal Engineers receiving instruction in the very necessary art of bomb-throwing.

Teaching rapid firing under active service conditions.

Practising trestle bridging. Floating a trestle on a barrel pier raft.

Engineers constructing and placing obstacles to protect trenches.

THE HANDYMEN OF THE ARMY: ROYAL ENGINEERS AT HOME PREPARING FOR ACTIVE SERVICE CONDITIONS.

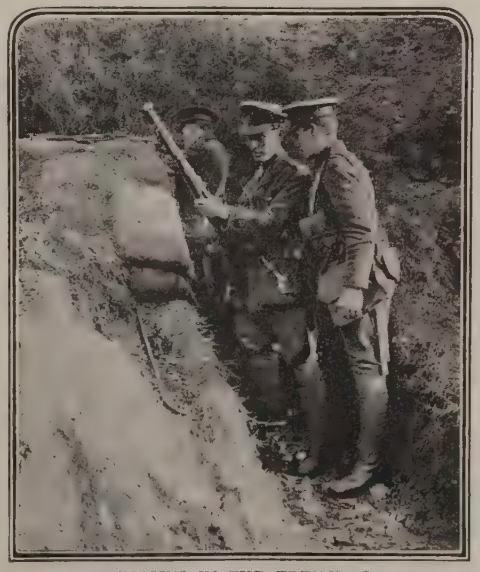
NEW RECRUITS LEAVING WHITEHALL FOR TRAINING.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

THE CONVERSION OF BRITAIN AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COMPLETE NATIONAL SERVICE.

Creation of a Field Army of Two Million Men—Britain Prepares to Shoulder a Larger Burden of the Land War—Cabinet Minister Organises Opposition to Conscription—Approaching Crisis in the Coalition Government—Labour Conference at Bristol Votes Against Repeal of Military Service Bill—Reasons for Prejudices of Trade Unions—Rate of Production in Some War Factories Still Unsatisfactory—Strikes on the Clyde and in Belfast—Unpatriotic Organisations for Covering "Slackers"—Conscientious Objectors and the Cant of Non-Resistance—The Philosophy of Decadent Cowardice—Suffragettes Try to Hold a Peace Meeting in Trafalgar Square—Trouble with Surplus of Starred and Badged Men—Unexpected Call on Married Groups—Attested Married Men Agitate for Equality of Sacrifice—Grand Crisis in the Cabinet—Compromise Bill Rejected by House of Commons—Bill for General Compulsion Passed by Large Majority—Great Speech by Mr. Lloyd George—Influence of Labour Premier of Australia on British Working Men—First Direct Step in Conscription of Wealth: Government Call for £200,000,000 American Securities—Compulsion Extended to Early Rising in Summer—Call to Married Groups and Upheaval of Home Life—Fear of Conscription in Ireland—Farmers Flock Into the Sinn Fein and Priests Advocate Revolt—Mr. Birrell Afraid to Disarm the Disloyalists—Nationalist Leaders Advocate Policy of Inaction—Our Government Continually Warned of Increasing Dangers—How the British Navy Smashed Up a Rebellion—Ammunition Ship Captured and Casement Made Prisoner—Effect of Insurrection on British Policy—Compulsory Service Established in Britain as Result of German Intrigues in Ireland.

DURING the apparent deadlock on all fronts in the early spring of 1916 the domestic problems of Great Britain attracted the attention of both friend and foe. Even when the Germans tried to put an end to the deadlock by their great thrust towards Verdun the new military situation only intensified the general interest in our home affairs. There was, indeed, a strong probability that the persistence and ferocity of the enemy's offensive movement against the French lines were related to the revolution of ideas which was taking place in Britain. The passing of the first measure of compulsion for unmarried men, which was arranged to come into force on March 2nd, 1916, had seriously disturbed the General Staff of Germany and also the German people. It was clear to them that our nation was at last moving in the direction of a system of general compulsory military service. Tardily and reluctantly did our Coalition Government arrive at the decision to make this critical change in our national condition. For long the enemy had thought that so profound a transformation in the structure of British society was impossible by reason of financial difficulties, of strong-rooted political prejudices, and the habit of insular egoism.



CYCLISTS IN THE TRENCHES.

Divisional cyclists receive training in rifle shooting in a properly-constructed trench.

The Germans always reckoned that we should conduct our part of the war in accordance with our traditions of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. That is to say, they expected we should throw our full fighting power mainly into naval operations, and employ in land warfare a force of quite secondary strength when compared with Continental standards of military power. They had been disagreeably surprised when, by a tremendous voluntary effort, we increased our Army from a total of twenty-six divisions in August, 1914, to seventy-one divisions in the autumn of 1915. Our Army of seventy-one divisions was then augmented by twelve divisions of British stock from the Overseas Dominions, making eighty-three divisions in all, numbering some two million men. Moreover, a further reinforcement of our military power had been obtained from India by a splendid volunteer movement among the Indian races, which was checked only by our incapacity to supply large numbers of new officers

with a knowledge of native ways and speech. Our complete naval and military enlistments, including the forces existing at the outbreak of war and, it is believed, men who offered themselves but were rejected, exceeded at last 5,000,000 men.

No doubt our enemy hoped that this enormous growth of our forces was all that he would have to contend against. But in July, 1915, a Cabinet Committee, presided over by Lord Crewe, had reported that the weekly inflow of recruits was becoming insufficient to maintain the strength of the new British Army of seventy divisions. And by September, 1915, Mr. Lloyd George, the most energetic and foreseeing man in the Cabinet, was convinced that a general system of compulsory service would be necessary to end the war in a victorious peace.

Dawn of compulsory service

The terrible blows which Russia had received had temporarily reduced to a very serious extent the great army with which she had invaded Prussia, Austria, and Hungary. In addition, the Russians had lost millions of rifles, thousands of machine-guns, and a very large number, of pieces of artillery. Their munition factories were woefully inadequate to their needs, and the process of building up another immense army, with the help of Japanese, American, and British armament firms, was likely to take a considerable time. Meanwhile, the reserve forces of France were coming almost within sight of exhaustion. Austria-Hungary, it is true, was in a worse condition than France, but this did not alter the main situation. Germany was still extremely formidable in both men and armament. Her artillery was more powerful than it had ever been. She was replacing her outworn field-guns of 3 in. calibre by new standard guns of 5·9 in. calibre, and her control of shell production had been developed in a tremendous manner, until it reached a daily output of 400,000 shells. Our Army Council could see that, if the Germans continued to hammer at Verdun in order to deplete the French reserves, at any sacrifice to themselves, our country might have to shoulder at last the main burden of the land war as well as maintain a Fleet of predominant strength while financing allied and friendly nations.

And the trouble was that it was not a matter of immediate danger. The sense of immediate, overwhelming danger would have excited to intense effort every true man of our race. It was only a danger seen from afar by special observers, and requiring hard and vehement preparation to counter it in time. There was a temptation for us to gamble on the chance of the Germans being unable to exhaust the French reserves and on the possibility of Russia regaining strength to break the Austro-German lines. Some members of the Coalition Government were at first inclined to abide by the method of the older and younger Pitt, and maintain fully our export industries at the cost of restricting our military power, and rest contented with giving our Allies naval and financial help of the first class, with military assistance of the second or third class.

Such had been the policy of Sir John Simon, one of the leading members of the Cabinet that had engaged our Empire in the war. Happily, he resigned; but after his resignation he publicly stated that there still remained in the Cabinet members who fully shared his views. This appeared to be the case, for, in the House of Commons on March 9th, 1916, Mr. R. McNeill drew attention to a statement reported to have been made by the member of Parliament for Tottenham, Mr. Percy Alden, to the effect that he had been asked by a member of the Cabinet to organise opposition to the Military Service Bill. According to the reported statement, this extraordinary thing occurred shortly before the introduction of the Military Service Bill of January, 1916, which was designed to carry out the pledge given by the Prime Minister to attesting married men that single men should first be brought into the Army. So to many persons it appeared that, while the Cabinet as a whole was loyally preparing to redeem the Prime Minister's pledge, one member of the Cabinet was using Mr. Alden to organise opposition in the country against the action of the Cabinet.

Crisis in the Cabinet

Wide and indignant attention was given to this revelation, which was made quite inadvertently by Mr. Alden when trying nervously to excuse himself at a meeting of

SMART YOUNG BRITONS EAGER TO DEFEND THEIR COUNTRY.

March-past of the Sussex Yeomanry Cadets at an inspection at Preston Park, Brighton, by Colonel Rawson, V.D., M.P. They were taken over by him on behalf of the Sussex Yeomanry. Many looked to a development of the Cadet movement to furnish universal training for the youth of Great Britain.

MOTOR MACHINE-GUN BATTERY IN READINESS FOR THE FRONT.

One of the most effective of the new units was the Motor Machine-Gun Corps, a battery of which is here seen photographed prior to its departure for the front. This particular battery had the reputation of being the best that ever left the headquarters of the corps.

his supporters for the opposition he had organised against the Government Bill. It shocked the country. Attempts were made in the House of Commons to obtain the name of the Cabinet Minister who had organised opposition to a Cabinet measure. The design, of course, was to compel the resignation of the unknown Minister; but after some weeks of baffled inquiry and smothered discussion, the extraordinary affair merged into a general Cabinet crisis in regard to the problem of conscription.

The crisis had inhered in the general situation since July, 1915, and the solution of it was only delayed by the series of inadequate measures of palliation extemporised by the strong middle party in the Cabinet. Between the compulsionists and the anti-compulsionists the balance was held by a section of Cabinet Ministers, largely of Unionist principles, who were apprehensive of a great strike movement by the trade unions. On January 27th, 1916, the Labour Party held a conference in Bristol. At this conference a card-vote division on conscription resulted in 219,000 votes in favour of universal military service, and 1,796,000 votes against it. The Bill enforcing compulsory service only on single men was favoured by 360,000 votes and opposed by 1,716,000. But a proposal to agitate for a repeal of the Bill was opposed by 649,000 votes and favoured by 614,000 votes. There was thus a majority of 35,000 votes tacitly consenting to the compulsion Act for single men being put in force. As one representative put it: "These divisions mean we Labour men are very angry, but don't intend to do anything."

Trade unions and conscription

The fact was that the Labour delegates, especially those representing 600,000 miners' votes, were uncertain of the feeling of the trade unionists. The trade unions had supplied most of the men of the new armies. And the men who had volunteered for military service and left their dependents to struggle along on a small Government allowance were not anti-conscriptionists in 1916. At first all our trade unionists had been bitterly prejudiced against any form of compulsory service, and many of the finest and most thoughtful spirits among them had given up valuable skilled work for the country and entered the recruiting offices in the hope of making any measure of conscription unnecessary. Their great fear was that the system of conscription would remain in force after the war, and that justifiable strike movements would then be dishonestly defeated by calling the men up as soldiers and making them obey the will of their employers by means of military discipline. A French Minister, M. Briand, had used the conscription service in this manner in order to break the great strike of French railwaymen during one of the very critical periods of tension with Germany. Our trade unionists did not then know how perilous was the European situation and what part German agents had played in paralysing an important section of the French railway service. They saw only that the instrument of conscription had been apparently perverted in a great democratic State and used to quell what seemed, on the surface, to be a fair, legal attempt on the part of French working men to improve their conditions of work.

What Labour feared

None of our statesmen took the trouble to meet the British trade unionists in a frank manner and explain the secret history of M. Briand's action in the somewhat too notorious French railway strike. Our Government might have brought M. Briand himself over, when he became Prime Minister in succession to M. Viviani, to explain to our working men the reason why he had used the instrument of conscription in what had appeared to be merely an ordinary economic struggle. As it was, the field was left open for pro-German agitators of the pseudo-Socialistic or the falsely pacifist school continually to suggest, with an increasing virulence of expression, that the movement

towards compulsory military service in our country was the consummation of a great plot to reduce the working classes to impotence after the war and make it impossible for them ever to come out on strike, no matter how just were their grievances. The pro-German agitators also went on to develop the still wilder and more fantastic theme that military conscription was only a step to industrial conscription, and that when the war ended the employing class would have the working class reduced to a condition worse than that of ancient serfs.

Attitude of railway workers

The British railwaymen seem to have been the most important body of labour with a dread of the industrial aspect of conscription. The men themselves were splendid; they were working our lines at an unending high pressure, feeding the fleets and the armies and saving the civil population from a famine of both materials and food. In spite of the great strain upon them day and night, railway accidents remained small in proportion to the enormous traffic, and, though the men themselves worked as hard as any other war workers, and received some increase of wages to balance the higher cost of living, they were not repaid for their intenser labours in the way that many skilled men were. Perhaps it was the long stress of their

FLIGHT! A NEW VERSION.
Army Service Corps motor-cycle despatch and test rider making a jump test with a new machine, prior to its being sent on foreign service.

work that made them a little nervous and fanciful. A heart-to-heart talk with M. Briand might have done them good, for it was his action during the Morocco crisis that weighed upon their minds.

The miners, as they had shown in their great consenting vote, were in a warlike mood. One of the great mining constituencies had returned a Labour member distinctly in favour of conscription, and in the front of battle, where many of the miners had become tunnellers, they were among the keenest fighters in the world. Some of the Socialists among the miners had been inclined to make difficulties, with a view to bringing about the nationalisation of the mines, and a large number of men were indignant at the high price at which coal was being sold, and anxious either to force the price down, or at least to get a larger share of the profits they thought were being made. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, representing a great and important body of highly-skilled men, was somewhat disturbed by sinister agitation. It was among them that the friends of Germany created the phantom menace of a system of industrial conscription, which was used to hinder the work being done by the Ministry of Munitions in the great number of controlled factories working for the Army and Navy.

Even in the spring of 1916 the speed of production in some of our war factories was not satisfactory. Some trade unionists, men with years of experience, were outpaced in their special work by women, who had picked up their skill since the outbreak of war. The trouble on the Clyde, engineered by the Clyde Workers' Committee, became serious in March, 1916, when men engaged on heavy guns urgently needed by the Army in the field came out on strike. One of the Clyde agitators was the chairman of the Independent Labour Party in Scotland. Some of the ringleaders were deported, and about a score of men fined, and the strike ended on April 3rd, 1916. The vital problem of the dilution of skilled labour by new and half-trained or untrained men and women also produced a strike at the Harland & Wolff yard in Belfast at the end of March, 1916, and in other places the hesitation of some sections of trade unionists to co-operate loyally in the general interest with the new-comers in the shops and factories delayed the development of our warlike strength. On the other hand, skilled mechanics, urgently needed at home, were doing ordinary infantry work in the Army; and, as was said at the time, boilermakers were tending camels in Egypt. Magnificent as the results of our voluntary enlistment had been, it had seriously interrupted the expansion of our vital war industries.

Great as was the worth of a trained soldier, the value of a man skilled in armament work was greater. France had for months been "combing out" her armies to recover all her first-rate mechanics, and it looked as though our country would also have to revise the mistakes made in our first great burst of recruiting energy, which had impoverished our workshops. There had been no forethought and no organisation of the nation's energies during the volunteer movement. Tens of thousands of men had become tyros in war who were already, without knowing it at the time, the finished pillars of our military and naval power. It was because so many highly patriotic men had left the Clyde yards for the barracks that the work of the sinister agitators there went on with such increasing virulence. In the trenches there were many men who began to desire to return to the shop and the yard, not because they were tired of fighting, but because they longed for an opportunity to discuss matters by coming into personal contact with some of their former shopmates.

Agitation on the Clyde

The leaders of the trade unions were not unaware of the angry feeling pervading the very large section of trade unionists who had enlisted for military and naval service. The leaders knew also that the majority of men remaining at home were anxious to win the war at all costs, and that only a small, noisy minority of born "slackers" and ca' canny working-class profiteers, with hopeless cranks, fishers in troubled waters and agitators of a dubious sort, were, when matters came to the ultimate test, ready to help Germany by preventing us from becoming a great military Power on the Continental scale.

From the point of view of those Labour leaders who were supporting the Coalition Cabinet, the difficulty was that they represented a most important class that still needed to be educated in the matter of national service. We may fairly say that no effective strain of insular egoism remained in our country. Members of Parliament of the pro-German school now and then proclaimed to the world that their design was to save the loss of British lives; but the people of Britain did not agree that French, Italian, and Russian conscripts ought to be allowed to fight to exhaustion for the freedom of civilisation while the fine volunteer British Army grew smaller in the autumn of 1915 because our casualties could not be made good by compulsory service.

With the 3 19th London (St. Pancras) Regiment bomb-throwing from practice trenches.

Instruction in machine gunnery at the famous Eastern Command School of Musketry at Hythe.

Squad of A Company, 8th (Service) Battalion the Leicester Regiment, digging trenches at Wokingham.

THREE PHASES OF BRITAIN'S MAMMOTH MILITARY MACHINE IN THE MAKING.

A great effort was made in February, 1916, to bring in sufficient "unstarred" (*i.e.*, not employed in munition factories or in indispensable trades) single men as volunteers to make the Military Service Bill, that came into operation on March 3rd, 1916, a dead letter. Mr. Redmond issued a manifesto to young Irishmen calling them to the Colours, and Lord Derby addressed a personal letter to every single man of military age who was liable to service. But the single men began to search for cover. In one district in London—Islington—it was found that some thousands of single men had departed, leaving no address. Published reports of proceedings at the Military Service Tribunals also exhibited a deplorable amount of tragically farcical cowardice on the part of a great number of conscientious objectors. Too long a start had been granted to the unpatriotic organisations which worked to discourage recruiting and to instil conscientious objections into "slackers" searching for any excuse to escape the risk of death. These organisations had practically covered England, Wales, and Scotland with their branches, and when the Military Tribunals were opened it was alleged that one anti-conscription society arranged a mock tribunal for coaching curs in all the arts of pious humbug by means of which they might be able to escape the drill sergeant.

Appeals to the single men

PRACTICE SHOOTING IN THE TRENCHES.
Members of the 69th Divisional Cyclists at practice shooting in the trenches. During the long months of siege warfare the cyclists to a great extent played the part of "cavalry" scouts.

The reports of proceedings at the Military Service Tribunals helped to augment the extraordinary number of able-bodied young men belonging to the new school of religious hypocrites. Amazing conversions occurred when ordinary "slackers" read in the newspapers the excuses brought forward by trained evaders belonging to fellowships and societies that had made a long study of the craft of evading legal military duties. Men with as much pluck and brains as the rabbit and as much conscience as the skunk became of a sudden philosophical disciples of Tolstoy, who was himself a genius, but at the same time the promoter of some of the most theatrical insincerities in modern life. Young infidels of the Agnostic sort also became suddenly converted to a new form of Quakerism, that did not require any belief in God, but only a belief that the man who would not fight could steal the job of the man that did—which was a new version of the beatitude that the meek should inherit the earth. The Quakers themselves, some of them men of wealth, who increased the funds of the unpatriotic associations, were also inclined to expand the very small and doubtful part of the Gospel that suited them, and to overlook the fact that Christ used force to drive the money-changers from the Temple and was far clearer in His condemnation of rich men than He was of soldiers.

The Society of Friends was on its trial before the nation during the spring of 1916. Some of its members were doing noble work at home and abroad and maintaining the glorious traditions of practical humanitarianism. But the general feeling was that the Friends had flourished for centuries in trade and finance under the protection of forces which they had no right to contemn. There was no question of their sincerity, but considerable doubt of their bias and narrowness in interpreting the Christian Gospel. It was felt that the primitive Christianity which they professed to restore went with personal poverty and a community of goods. They had totally disregarded Christ's attacks on wealth, and, while themselves growing one of the richest bodies in the kingdom in proportion to their numbers, had escaped the ultimate duties attaching to their wealth by exaggerating, in such a way as to pervert it, the doctrine of non-resistance. Christ Himself certainly resisted evil. Some of our modern Christian sects do a partial amount of good by emphasising neglected aspects of the Gospel, but it cannot be said that those members of the Society of Friends who helped in organising the movement to evade the duty of military service established by Act of Parliament did any benefit to the general cause of religion. Had they, like St. Francis of Assisi, carried out the spirit of Christ's teaching in regard to the possession of wealth, the quality of the conscience that made them object to war service would have been more generally respected.

Oxford and Cambridge, having poured their stores of virile and gallant youth into the Services, were strangely stricken by the blight of conscientious objection. Cambridge produced in Mr. Bertrand Russell the philosophic pillar of the new doctrine of pacificism. He was able to give the convenient dogma of non-resistance a larger scope than Christianity afforded, and so make it a weapon to the hand of every pro-German agitator of an irreligious cast of mind. Another light of Cambridge, Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson, who had been working in the interests of the Union of Democratic Control, also became the intellectual guide to all the young men of Britain whose attitude encouraged the view that they would rather be ruled by the Kaiser than fight against him. A considerable strain of decadence in the educated English middle-class was revealed by the organising energy of the leaders of the conscientious objectors. A century of naval supremacy and unparalleled prosperity had produced a kind of sickly idealism and rhetorical sentimentalism which enabled some men and women to enjoy roast lamb and mint sauce while condemning the brutal work of the butchers who fed them.

The dogma of non-resistance

All the routine, regular work of slaughter underlying our food supply was passed over by the new race of genteel

German observation balloon destroyed by bombs dropped from an aeroplane.

Great British howitzer, on railway mounting, in action on western front.

"Lucky Jim": British heavy howitzer well screened from the enemy.

Gun team ramming home shell in heavy howitzer seen firing in opposite photograph.

One of the many big guns in action on the western front. (Official photographs.)

Canadian officers training in the art of "sniping."

Soldiers being instructed in "sniping." (Official Canadian photographs.)

minds that fed on meat three times a day and discussed over the dinner-table Tolstoyism and the Higher Thought, with remarks about Futurist art and the last play by Bernard Shaw. In the highly organised world in which they lived the fundamental realities of life had been divorced from the graces of civilised intercourse. That section of our enriched middle-class, which neither had to work for its living nor take any active part in administrative and directive labours of the Empire, was the chief source of all the symptoms of decadence seen in our civilisation since the days when Oscar Wilde walked up Piccadilly with his sunflower. It incarnated all the fatal elements of sentimentalism that George Meredith had first clearly discerned as the gravest danger in our national life.

The terrible shock of the war saved many members of this class from perishing through fatty degeneration of the soul. But there still remained a considerable body of sentimentalists, whose spirit was so weakened by their long divorce from the realities of life that they succumbed to the menace of the armed power of Germany. At heart they were ready to remain at peace on any terms that the enemy cared to impose upon them. It was, indeed, from them that the Germans had obtained the idea that we should stand out of the war and gradually decline to a position of vassalage, and become in the greater Teutonic Empire what the Greeklings had become in the Roman Empire.

The Non-Combatant Corps

Such was the class that provided the larger number of conscientious objectors of the intellectual type, who joined forces with some members of the Society of Friends and with some Nonconformist congregations, though moved by no religious principles themselves. It was only the immediate selfish value of the doctrine of non-resistance that inclined this last rally of decadents to interest themselves in religion. Most of them, however, were put in the way of salvation by the Military Service Tribunals, through which, to their indignant surprise, they were passed for duty in a new Non-Combatant Corps. By the end of the spring of 1916 there were grounds of hope that many of them would be made into real men after working behind the battle-front, for a large proportion began to volunteer for the work of fighting.

A somewhat unexpected reinforcement to the party of conscientious objectors was the East London Federation of Suffragettes, which, led by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, tried to hold a peace meeting in Trafalgar Square on April 9th, 1916. The meeting, however, was broken up by a large crowd of soldiers and civilians, and Miss Pankhurst and her supporters were collected by the police and moved from the danger zone. On the same day, at a meeting of the No-Conscription Fellowship in the Friends' Meeting House in Bishopsgate, the chairman, Mr. Clifford Allen, was alleged to have declared that young recruits who deserted would be received in the homes of married men in sympathy with the no-conscription movement. Then, amid much cheering, Mr. Clifford Allen went on to say that the only alternative to conscription allowed by the conscientious objectors was that the Government should immediately enter upon peace negotiations. This statement lent colour to the suggestion that the unpatriotic movements were not entirely disconnected with the German intrigues for bringing about a premature truce which the German war leaders required to enable them to reorganise their resources for a greater effort.

But all this agitation to impede the development of our national strength was but the buzzing futility of some flies round the wheels of our new war machine. A very strong majority of the people of the United Kingdom and the Overseas Dominions was determined to win a lasting, victorious peace. The only difficulty resided in the attempts made by some of the civil departments of the Government to maintain our commerce even at the expense

CHIEF OF THE STATE WITH THE CHIEF OF THE IMPERIAL GENERAL STAFF.

Notable photograph of his Majesty the King talking with General Sir William Robertson in the grounds of the Royal Pavilion at Aldershot.

of our military power. An Interdepartmental Committee existed for the purpose of representing the industries of the country against the War Office, and marking what men were indispensable. At the time when the National Register was made, in August, 1915, the reserved occupations—the workers in which were starred—were munition making, certain branches of agriculture, coal-mining, railway work, the merchant service, and public utility services. These were presumed to represent four-fifths of the exemptions of men of military age, while the remaining fifth was reckoned to be made up largely of men in export trades. When Lord Derby made his report as to the numbers of men available for service, he had a fairly precise idea of the number of starred men, but he was mistaken in regard to his calculations of the number of men in certified trades.

Lord Derby and Lord Selborne

He afterwards discovered that the number of men who were able to get into reserved occupations between November, 1915, and January, 1916, was much beyond his estimate. The result was that the Military Service Bill for single men did not produce the recruits needed by the War Office. The whole cause of the shortage was the reserved occupations list. Lord Derby appealed to the Interdepartmental Committee to reduce the number of starred men and remove certain industries from the reserve list. He approached Lord Selborne, President of the Board of Agriculture. But Lord Selborne would not agree to the proposals, as he regarded the men engaged on the food resources of the country as absolutely indispensable. In Germany in times of peace the number of women

AIMING AT AN INVISIBLE TARGET.
Firing a rifle-grenade at a bombing school somewhere in France.

engaged in agricultural pursuits was about eighty-nine per cent., and in France before the war the percentage of woman workers was sixty-seven per cent. But in England and Wales, in the same circumstances, only eight per cent. of women workers were engaged in agricultural pursuits. Lord Selborne would not admit that, when the need arrived, our women also could look after our farms while our men fought.

But men had to be got for the Army, and as Lord Derby could not get the Interdepartmental Committee to unstar some men and remove some trades from the reserve list, he made a direct appeal to the Government to take action. The result was a conference, under Mr. Walter Long, the President of the Local Government Board, and attended by the Secretary of State for War, the President of the Board of Trade, a representative of the Board of Agriculture, the Home Secretary, and other representatives of Government departments. But while the conference was trying to obtain more men from the reserved industries and the munition works, Lord Kitchener stated on March 15th, 1916, that he would need more groups of married men than he had expected. He also went on to say that, even if he had obtained all the single men anticipated from the Group System, he would still have required a large number of married men in the spring of 1916.

Single men "slackers"

By this time there was considerable unrest throughout the country in regard to the married men who had attested under Lord Derby's scheme. The immense number of homes that would be broken up by calling the married men up for service made the women of the nation angry about the large exemptions that had been given to single men. Lord Derby candidly admitted that the Military Service Bill had only carried out the letter of the Prime Minister's pledge. There were 1,100,000 men of military age unattested, and the number of single men among them was very large. Some forty per cent. of the 1,600,000 munition workers under Mr. Lloyd George's scheme were reported to be single men. Doubtless a large proportion of these bachelors in our war factories were skilled mechanics who could only be gradually replaced, but tens of thousands of them had fled to the war factories for refuge since the making of the National Register.

Injustice to married men

On March 4th, 1916, the first call on attested married men was made. Proclamations were posted in regard to the eight groups, Nos. 25-32, referring to married men between the ages of nineteen and twenty-six. April 7th was the date fixed for their calling up, and it was reported that nine more groups of married men, between the ages of twenty-seven and thirty-five, would be called by proclamations to be posted in the middle of March. Thus, only six groups of married men would be left in civilian life, and it was stated that all attested married men would be serving long before the autumn. The unexpectedness and sweep of this recruiting measure shook the country. The attested married groups held mass meetings and protested against the injustice being done to them. They quickly formed themselves into a National Union of Attested Married Men, and strongly agitated by letters to members of Parliament, by public meetings, and by deputations to the leading men in the Government.

They had two principal grounds of complaint. In the first place they argued that their homes were being broken up in order to fill

A WEAPON OF PRIMITIVE TIMES.
Catapult used for hurling bombs from trench to trench.

THE CATAPULT AT WORK.
The bomb fuse having been ignited, the missile was released. For the perilous work with the bombs men were selected and carefully trained.

THE BOMBS EXPLODE.

Taking cover in the deep trenches after hurling bombs on to an imaginary enemy position. The natural instinct of self-preservation was developed by special training.

the ranks at a time when hundreds of thousands of single men in the flower of their strength were escaping from military service. In the second place they called attention to statements made, apparently upon official authority, during the working of Lord Derby's scheme, which had led them to think that if a married man did not attest he would have no right to appeal. The representatives of the National Union stated that many of the married men had attested on the understanding that there would be compulsion for all. They also accused Mr. Asquith, when he received a deputation from them, of not having fully carried out the pledge given in regard to compelling single men to serve before married men were called up.

Call for equality of sacrifice

The National Union of Attested Married Men made a stand upon the principle of equality of sacrifice. In other words, the attested groups asked for a general system of compulsory national service for all men of military age. Their grudge, of course, was heaviest against the single men who had escaped service, but they also wanted to include all available married men who had not attested. There were reckoned to be 1,029,231 unattested single men and 1,152,947 unattested married men. The two groups were estimated to be capable of yielding together more than 800,000 fit recruits. The feeling in the attested groups ran deep and strong, and practically every member of Parliament felt some of the stress of it from his electors. Mr. Asquith had a somewhat angry interview with a deputation of the National Union on April 12th, 1916, but he was not inclined to adopt their policy of conscription for every fit man up to the age of forty-one.

BOMBS AND BAYONETS AT THE READY.

Soldiers in training getting ready to advance against a hostile position—the most thrilling moment in warfare.

Two days before the deputation to the Prime Minister, Sir William Robertson, our Imperial Chief of Staff, made his final report to the Cabinet in regard to the number of men needed to end the war. Then, at a Cabinet meeting on April 15th, which was held in consultation with the military authorities, a decision was arrived at not to pursue a national policy of compulsion. A sub-committee of the Cabinet, composed of Mr. Asquith, Lord Lansdowne, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, was reported to have gone thoroughly into the question of recruiting, and to have discovered that the men needed by the Imperial Staff could be obtained by three methods. The first was the compulsory enlistment of all lads reaching the age of eighteen, the second was the "combing out" of some 300,000 single men from reserved occupations, and the third was the embodiment of all attested married men.

This scheme did not come into operation. A strong

THE BRITISH COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN LONDON.
General Sir Douglas Haig photographed leaving the War Office on the occasion of his last visit there before the British offensive opened on July 1st, 1916.

party in the Cabinet, headed by Mr. Lloyd George, stood out for the principle of equality of sacrifice. The dispute turned largely upon the point whether the attested groups of married men should bear all the burden of service, leaving a very large body of unattested fit men of military age free from the obligation of training for battle. The lowest estimate of the number of married men of military age fit for service and unattested was given by Mr. Asquith as 200,000. But Mr. Lloyd George reckoned that a considerably greater number than 200,000 could be spared from munition work and other vital industries and brought into a general scheme of compulsion.

For some days neither party in the Cabinet would yield. April 17th, 1916, was the first day of public anxiety, and the tension continued until April 19th, when Mr. Asquith announced:

There are material points of disagreement in the Cabinet, and if these points cannot be settled by agreement, the result must be the break-up of the Government. The Cabinet is united in believing that this would be a national disaster of the most formidable kind. It is in the hope it may be averted by a few days' more deliberation that I shall propose that this House, at its rising to-day, adjourns till Tuesday.

But on the afternoon of April 20th the Cabinet came to an agreement upon the proposals to be made to Parliament upon the subject of recruiting, and it was arranged that these proposals should be submitted to a secret session on Tuesday, April 25th. The fact was that under the influence of Mr. Arthur Henderson, President of the Board of Education and sole Labour member in the Cabinet, Mr. Lloyd George and his group had made concessions in order to save the Coalition Government. Bitter attacks were afterwards made upon Mr. Lloyd George in two of the principal organs of the Radical-Liberal school of politics. The famous Welsh democrat was charged with personal treachery and treachery to the cause of democracy, and with various other sins. His former friends and admirers attacked him in a vein of virulent meanness that defeated itself and merely revealed the depth of character in a certain class of political writers, for Mr. Lloyd George and the other members of the Cabinet who agreed with him in regard to the necessity of general compulsion had saved the Coalition Government by surrendering for the moment their principles.

Secret session of Parliament

A secret session was a novelty in our Parliamentary history, and it was not regarded with favour. Among the thousand men who listened to the secret revelation of our military position and our military needs were some notorious persons who had paraded their disinclination to co-operate towards a decisive close of the war. It was, besides, against the spirit of our system of Government to hold a secret session, and members of Parliament felt uncomfortable while listening to information they were bound not to reveal. In the secret session the Prime Minister impressed the majority in the House with the fact that the military situation was such as demanded a change of policy. He made an especial attempt to win the general consent of the representatives of organised labour, to whose anti-conscription views, he afterwards publicly admitted, he attached great importance. He proposed a plan that did not involve immediate compulsion, but carried on the scheme of getting recruits by instalments if they could be got to come forward in requisite number by the dates required by the military authorities. Four weeks of voluntary recruiting were arranged, as had been proposed by the Labour member of the Cabinet, Mr. Arthur Henderson. Then, to meet the immediate needs of the situation, the Government put forward a measure to keep time-expired men in service until the end of the war and to transfer Territorial troops into Regular battalions where needed, and also to apply conscription to all lads reaching the age of eighteen.

Mr. Stephen Walsh's protest

These proposals were embodied in a Military Service Bill, which was brought before the House of Commons on April 27th, 1916. Mr. Walter Long asked leave to introduce the measure, and the result was an astonishing situation, for which no parallel can be found in recent times. The bill was killed before it was born. In the debate not a voice was raised except in criticism or condemnation, and the strongest attack was made by Mr. Stephen Walsh, the Labour member who represented a large body of miners. He said that there was no fair play in the measure, and that the Prime Minister had led the Labour members to understand he would resign if a measure of the nature of any compulsion was introduced. Yet Mr. Walsh went on to say that if a scheme of general compulsion were introduced he would now vote for such a measure.

Why temporise any longer? It is simply fooling with the whole business. When the last Military Service Bill was before the House I suggested that men who had gone into reserved occupations since August 15th should be brought within its scope. Now, several months after, the Government are endeavouring to "comb out" those who ought never to have been there. We were told this was being vigorously done.

I know something of the area in which I act as miners' agent, and there not a single man is being brought out of the mines. That is the vigorous way in which the process is going on! Not a single one! Papers have been supplied and have been filled up, but not a single person has been brought out, though there is the very best ground for believing that at least 3,000 men between eighteen and forty-one, who never worked in mines before, have gone into the mines for the purpose of escaping their military obligations. And that which is true of my part of Lancashire is true, I believe, in a greater degree of the whole area of Great Britain.

The rights and privileges of citizens have been advanced. I know nothing that gives me a right to skulk in safety at the expense of others. Let us have a straightforward Bill. Let the Government take its courage in both hands and say, "This necessity has arisen and must now be resolutely met." If it make an appeal such as that to the country it need not despair of a response.

It was clear that the proposal for general compulsion was the only measure which the House would support. Mr. Lloyd George and his group, whose resignations had been expected ten days before, proved to have a majority in Parliament as well as overwhelming support in the country. It was the Cabinet group that had not agreed to equality of sacrifice, and had threatened to break up

SIR CHARLES WAKEFIELD (IN MOURNING) CONVERSING WITH A GENERAL OFFICER.

the Government rather than consent to it, which was patently without either national or Parliamentary support. In these circumstances Mr. Asquith accepted the defeat of the Cabinet Bill—which in peace time would have meant the defeat of the Government—and arranged to bring in a measure for general and immediate compulsion.

The Prime Minister asked leave to introduce the Bill on May 2nd, 1916. In his speech on this occasion he summarised some of the reasons given in the secret session for the necessity of obtaining more recruits. The forces of the Empire consisted of forty-two Regular and twenty-eight Territorial divisions, with one Naval division and twelve Dominion divisions, which, excluding India, made eighty-three divisions. The average number of men in each British division was 25,000. For the purpose of maintaining a British Army of seventy divisions a weekly inflow of 25,000 to 30,000 men had to be obtained. The provision of at least 200,000 recruits from the unattested married men class was, the Prime Minister stated, of vital importance to the maintenance of the strength of the Army in the field, in view of the contingencies of the summer and autumn campaign. Moreover, the number of men needed could, it was estimated, be spared from industry without crippling our financial power, our output of munitions, or the maintenance of our sea-power and ocean transport.

Parliament and compulsion

The new Bill laid down that every male British subject between eighteen and forty years of age was to be deemed to be duly enlisted in the regular forces for general service, unless he came within the exceptions set out in the schedule to the Military Service Act of January, 1916. Time-expired men were to be retained in service for the duration of the war. Members of the Territorial force were to be transferred to the Regular forces if the Army Council so required, and the Army Council was given power to review the medical certificates of men who had been rejected for unfitness since August 14th, 1915. The main outlines of the Bill were not altered in its passage through Parliament, except that time-expired men over military age who had done twelve years' service were exempted, and men dismissed from certified occupations were given two months' grace instead of being made liable to be called up in two weeks. This step was taken to avoid the appearance of industrial conscription and prevent employers from threatening to turn men quickly into the Army if they did not give way on some disputed point. On the second reading of the Bill, on May 4th, 1916, Mr. Lloyd George made a speech of striking vigour and sweep in support of it. He stated that the Imperial General Staff had made an irresistible demand for every available man to be called up and trained for the field, and he asked his critics if they could bring forward some ground of principle that would override even military necessity.

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON AT THE FRONT.

Sir Charles Wakefield visited the front in June, 1916, taking a message of good cheer from the metropolis to men of the City regiments. He is here seen inspecting trenches.

He pointed out that every great democracy which has had its liberties menaced has defended itself by resort to compulsion. Washington won independence for America by compulsory measures, and Lincoln kept democracy alive by conscription. He maintained that when his critics said that conscription was contrary to the principles of liberty they were talking in defiance of common-sense and the whole teaching of history. Even if the measure produced only 200,000 men, which was an underestimate, that meant ten divisions of infantry. In the first critical Battle of Ypres, when the troops on both sides were at last exhausted, a single fresh British or German division would have meant victory to the country that could bring it up. The Minister for Munitions went on to say that we might even have to take greater risks in regard to our financial power and form a larger Army should certain contingencies arise.

Mr. Lloyd George and his critics

Then the Labour Minister, Mr. Arthur Henderson, frankly admitted that of all members of the Cabinet he had hitherto been the greatest drag-weight on the question of compulsion, but now that compulsion had become a military necessity he stated he was convinced that the alternative of conscription or defeat would unite and not divide the nation. He pointed out that, owing to the rough-and-ready system of voluntary recruiting, men from skilled trades had gone into the Army, and thereby directly created our grave difficulty in regard to a shortage of merchant ships. He agreed with Mr. Lloyd George that considerably more than 200,000 unattested fit men of military age could be spared from industry in order to increase our means of making a victorious peace. The House then divided on the Bill. There were only thirty-six votes against it, while the votes in favour of it were 328.

Mr. Lloyd George addressed a meeting of his constituents at Conway after his great victory in the House of Commons. He said that he had 300,000 women in his munition works, engaged upon tasks which no one before the war assumed a woman was capable of discharging—such as metal-work, chemical work, and other heavy labour. In his young days, he observed, a far larger proportion of women were engaged in agricultural work than was now the case, and, if the need arrived, women could still look after the farms and let the men fight. He remarked that the colossal effort made by Lord Derby to recruit the men in groups had a mixture of compulsion in it, and a great many disadvantages of both conscription and voluntaryism, without the advantages of either. He stated that, while working harmoniously under the Prime Minister, he had had some differences of opinion with his chief, and he asked what use he would have been if he had not stated his views freely, frankly, and independently. Free discussion was wanted in the council chamber—counsellors were not

"Time not an ally"

ONWARD—EVER ONWARD—FOR THE GLORY OF BRITAIN!

The tramp of armed men livening a deserted village street in the Somme district. With steady step and stern resolve a regiment of Britain's new citizen soldiers is seen advancing to take up its position in the great allied offensive of July, 1916.

merely penny-in-the-slot machines, and, if the nation required only automatons, Mr. Lloyd George said he would not be one of them. In a very remarkable passage he observed:

I want to say one thing: time is not an ally. It is a doubtful neutral at the present moment, and has not yet settled on our side. But time can be won over by effort, by preparation, by determination, by organisation. And we must have unity among the Allies, with design and co-ordination. Unity we undoubtedly possess. No alliance that ever existed has worked in more perfect unison and harmony than the present one. But there is still left a good deal to be desired in regard to design and co-ordination. Strategy must come before geography. The Central Powers are pooling all their forces, all their intelligence, all their efforts. We have the means. They, too often, have the methods. Let us apply their methods to our means and we shall win. I believe in the old motto, "Trust the people." Tell them what is happening. There is nothing to conceal. They are a courageous people, but they never put forward their best effort until they face the alternative of disaster. Tell them with what they are confronted, and they will rise to every occasion. You can trust the people. I read a story the other day about a mining camp at the front of a black mountain in the Great West. The diggers had been toiling long and hard with but scant encouragement for their labours, and one night a terrible storm swept over the mountain. An earthquake shattered its hard surface, and hurled its rocks about, and in the morning, in the rents and fissures, the miners found a rich deposit of gold. This is a great storm that is sweeping over the favoured lands of Europe. But in this night of terror you will find that the hard crust of selfishness and greed has been shattered, and in the rent hearts of the people you will find golden treasures of courage, steadfastness, endurance, devotion, and the faith that endureth for ever.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE WAR.
General Broadwood inspecting members of the Westminster School O.T.C. at St. Vincent Square.

AFTER THE REVIEW.
General Broadwood (next to the Headmaster of Westminster School) with Captain Trench, A.D.C., and Captain Willett, of the Westminster O.T.C.

On the platform at Conway beside Mr. Lloyd George was another famous Welshman, Mr. W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of the Labour Cabinet of Australia. The arrival of Mr. Hughes in Britain during the crisis over compulsory service was a fortunate thing for the Motherland. Mr. Hughes was the first Labour Premier in the history of mankind, and the working men from whom he had sprung regarded his views with a peculiar consideration for of all the leading men of the Anglo-Celtic race he could least be charged with working in favour of the employing classes. He dragged the modern German system into the full light of democratic criticism, and showed it to be the abnegation of every democratic principle—an unholy alliance between a caste of aggressive conquerors and a powerful organisation of Trust magnates who aimed at the economic conquest of the world. In speeches of clear eloquence and telling feeling, the leader of democracy in Australia pointed out that the German capitalists had prepared for a victorious war by getting a monopoly over some of the most important pivotal industries connected with warlike manufactures.

Mr. Hughes was principally concerned at the time in inviting such arrangements in regard to the working of the resources of the Empire that German intriguers could never again control the spelter market and other pivotal trades. But, at the same time, he urged the working classes of Britain to organise all their forces for victory. "Time is the essence of the contract, and if we now fail, then surely as I live, and as the Lord our Saviour lives," he said at Conway, "we shall go down to hell." He meant an earthly inferno on the Prussian model, with two or three hundred Trust magnates dominating the workmen, grinding them into economic serfdom, and calling on a military caste to shoot the populace down if they tried to rise and strike for industrial and political liberty of action.

Battle-cry of Mr. W. M. Hughes

In January, 1916, there had been some talk of civil war occurring if a general measure for compulsory service were passed. Even Mr. Stephen Walsh, who afterwards became so impassioned an advocate of the principle of equality of sacrifice, was inclined at the beginning of the year to think that an attempt to carry out the Prime Minister's pledge to attested married men might bring about a great strike leading to a revolt. Then, Mr. J. H. Thomas, one of the leaders of the railwaymen, was still more openly afraid of some great national disturbances if general compulsion were used. Indeed, Mr. Thomas's language became, at times, almost menacing towards the Coalition Government. Other Labour members were still more hostile, and some of them seemed to work rather

with a view to make things easy for the German capitalist and military castes by enabling them to secure the peace that Germany wanted than to ensure the triumph of the root principles of every form of free life. Against the agitation of this latter group of strangely doubtful working-class representatives the influence of the Labour Premier of Australia told with quelling effect.

The new Military Service Bill received the Royal assent on Thursday, May 27th, 1916. Thus was accomplished the greatest revolution in our social system since the institution of feudalism under William the Conqueror. The nation had reverted in the great crisis of its fate to the method of Saxon and Norman times, when the king had a right to take for the purpose of national defence every man, ship, and available chattel in his dominion. In English history this ancient right to press men, ships, and wealth continued in a vague and indefinite form through the feudal era, and became the ground of the common law tradition for our old press-gang system. It was not until the merchant ship became absolutely inferior in fighting power to the warship that the king's right to collect all the available merchant marine for the purpose of defence became vaguely obsolete. But some modern authorities maintained that the common law right of the monarch to call up every man to defend the country still survived from the days of Alfred the Great; compulsion for home defence was enforced by Pitt.

Soon after general conscription was revived in a modern form in regard to persons, our country took a direct step in regard to the conscription of wealth, which had already begun with the very high income tax.

Conscription of men and wealth

There were some two hundred million pounds' worth of gilt-edged American securities held in Great Britain in the spring of 1916. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had then been engaged for nearly six months in mobilising American stock in order to obtain ready capital in the United States to pay the debts of Britain and her Allies. The vast orders for munitions given to American firms by Russia, Britain, and France required vast payments. It was impossible for us to develop our exports to the United States into the enormous volume of commerce required to balance the amount of food and manufactures pouring from American ports into the ports of the Grand Alliance. Despite the gold we sent across the Atlantic, the rate of exchange fell against us, until the British pound sterling could not purchase anything like five dollars' worth of goods. We therefore had to sell to the Americans more of our holdings in their joint-stock concerns.

But in May, 1916, Mr. McKenna, our Chancellor of the Exchequer, was not receiving at the National Debt Office the amount of American securities he needed. So on May 29th he proposed to establish a special tax on American securities which had not been lent to the Government. A preliminary tax of two shillings in the pound was fixed to come into operation on July 1st, but the Chancellor frankly explained that, if this tax did not bring in the securities he needed, it would be increased even up to twenty shillings in the pound. It was, of course, understood that nobody lost the value of the securities he lent to the Government. It was only a kind of forced loan under the threat of an overwhelming tax. But the menace of taxation began to produce the desired effect upon British holders of American securities, and at the beginning of June, 1916, the clerks in the National Debt Office had to work at high pressure collecting the two hundred million pounds' worth of American stock that had been skilfully conscripted for Government requirements.

Daylight saving introduced

About the same time a still more extraordinary form of compulsion was instituted by the Government. Practically everybody was compelled to rise an hour earlier and work longer in daylight, in order to save the lighting resources of the country. An ingenious scheme of daylight saving had been proposed some years before by a London master-builder, Mr. William Willett. In our conservative country, in the lethargic days of peace, Mr. Willett was regarded partly as a crank and partly as rather too clever a man of the employing class, who wished to get more labour out of his workmen. But his brilliant idea of reverting in industries, during the long summer days, to the ordinary conditions under which agricultural work was done, was taken up in Germany and reduced to practice. All the clocks were put on an hour in summer, so that the ordinary day's work should end at evening in full daylight, thus saving the expense of lighting, and obviating the fatigue due to lessening natural light at the close of the day.

Many millions of pounds were, it was estimated, being saved in Germany by the adoption of this English idea. In times of peace we should have gone on, no doubt, neglecting our own discovery as we had formerly neglected our dye discoveries, our electrical discoveries, our vacuum-flask invention, and various other British ideas which the Germans had annexed and then energetically developed. But during a great war we could not allow the enemy to win over us the advantage of saving an annual sum equal to the interest on a £400,000,000 war loan by monopolising

GAS DRILL, AN ESSENTIAL DUTY OF BRITISH SOLDIERS IN TRAINING.
How a regiment before its departure to the front underwent a severe course of training in the application of respirators.

FROM AUSTRALIA TO FLANDERS VIA GALLIPOLI.
A column of the splendid Anzacs on their way to the trenches.

Mr. Willett's idea. So our Government brought in the Daylight Saving Bill, which received the Royal Assent on May 17th, 1916, and at 2 a.m. on Sunday, May 21st, the nation temporarily lost an hour in summer-time, and had to rise an hour earlier and labour every full working day an hour in brighter light.

Meanwhile, the calls to the remaining groups of attested married men, which had been postponed during the great agitation in March, were gradually posted by the military authorities. Groups 33-41, including men of from twenty-seven to thirty-five years of age, were called up by proclamation at the end of April, and on May 29th these married men went out to join the Colours. June 24th was fixed as the date for the calling up of all remaining married men, and July 24th was the ultimate date for all men to report at recruiting offices.

It was a profound upheaval of home life in Britain. Though the men came up with brave faces, attended sometimes by their wives and children, there was deep anxiety of mind in all the emptied and emptying homes. The only class of married men in uncertified occupations who were likely to be released from military duties were those who were the sole head of a business with a family of three persons depending on them. These men, according to instructions sent to the tribunals, were to be released in the national interest by reason of their value as contributors to the national revenue. The State had made certain special allowances to the new married recruits. Besides the usual cost of their upkeep on military service and the ordinary allowance to their families, there had been established a system of Government relief to meet the rent, insurance, and other liabilities of married recruits up to the sum of £104 a year. Then in order to prevent the permanent breaking up of the homes of the wives and children, the Local Government Board, towards the end of May, 1916, empowered all local authorities to make arrangement for the storage of furniture belonging to men serving in the forces. The plan was intended to apply, in particular, to married men whose wives and children were preparing to live elsewhere during the absence of the breadwinner. The local authorities were permitted to incur reasonable expenditure in storing the furniture of recruits, though they did not seem to move very quickly in the matter when the first new groups went into the recruiting offices. All this tended to increase the cost to the nation of the services of married men at the very time when their value as contributors of revenue

Great upheaval of home life

THE BROAD SMILE OF ANZAC.
Confident expressions of Overseas Britons, men who came from the ultimate end of the earth to help shoulder the Empire's burden.

BUSY MOMENTS IN THE NEW ZEALANDERS' TRENCHES.
Consolidating a position on the firing-front with stones and wire.
(*Official photographs. Crown copyright reserved.*)

AT THE MILITARY TAILOR'S.
Scene in a workshop where thousands of uniforms were turned out to clothe some of the magic millions of Britain's fighting men.

was annulled. But so urgent was the need of more soldiers that the process of gathering in the married men went on with great speed in order to recover the time lost during the final agitation for general compulsion.

The people of Ireland had from the beginning been left out of all schemes for national service. For the trouble was that a considerable body of men in the Catholic regions was not merely hostile to all recruiting schemes, but actively disloyal. In Galway the Clan-na-Gael, the Irish-American secret society of murderers, maimers, and terrorisers, still maintained an active branch, which was connected with the Sinn Fein. The Sinn Fein had started long before the war as a literary-political association, which was chiefly remarkable for promoting the spread of Gaelic speech and encouraging the study of the ancient literature of Ireland and Gaelic Scotland. There was a good deal of fanciful amateurishness among the early Sinn Feiners in Dublin, who were drawn largely from the middle-class followers of the Irish literary movement, but this little local back-wash of æstheticism became a potent source of trouble when the Sinn Fein was organised into connection with the Clan-na-Gael and the powerful Teutonic-American forces working in preparation for the Great War.

German intrigue in Ireland

Certain Sinn Feiners in the United States boasted, at a convention held in New York in the first week of March, 1916, that they had submarines of their own. Before this the Sinn Feiners probably had petrol supply bases for German U boats along the Kerry coast. According to an allegation afterwards made before the Royal Commission in Dublin, a German, who managed a large number of hotels owned by the Great Southern and Western Railway, filled the hotels with alien enemies, escaped internment, and worked around Killarney in the interests of Germany. The man appeared to have powerful friends, and was allowed to remain in the area scheduled under the Defence of the Realm Act. Throughout Catholic Ireland certain of the young priests helped in promoting a movement of rebellion, and in some cases urged their congregations to acts of bloodshed. Then there were a great many farmers' sons enjoying extraordinary prosperity owing to the high rise in the price they were getting for their crops and cattle. They wished to avoid military service for purely mercenary reasons, and, probably without intending to resort to acts of war, joined the Sinn Fein and brought many of their farm hands with them.

This class used the Sinn Fein simply as a shield against military service. A considerable number of young officials in the Irish Post Office and other Government offices also joined the movement, seemingly with a wild desire to be in any shindy that was preparing. Ireland, however, was fairly quiet in the early part of the war, and it was principally alien enemies and bribed traitors that helped the German submarines with oil supplies. The police noticed, in both Galway and the south, that certain men in poor circumstances suddenly and strangely acquired more money than they could handle

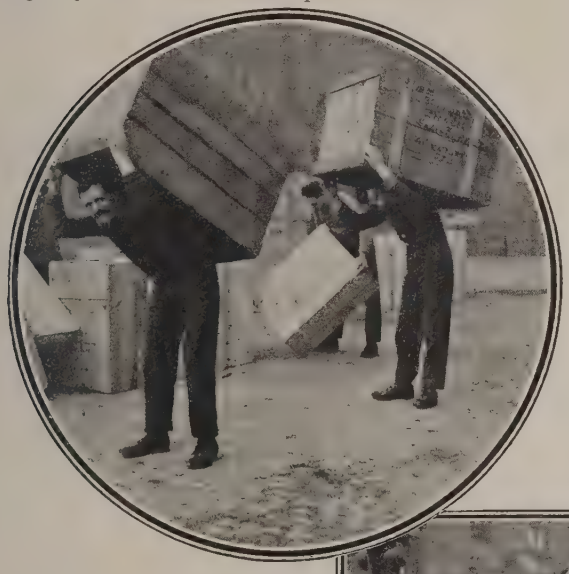
RECLOTHING A NATION.
Automatic packing of a dozen Army greatcoats to be sent to the men in the expeditionary forces overseas.

with discretion. But for nearly twelve months recruiting for the British Army went on with good results, especially in the towns. The proportion of recruits in Catholic Dublin was only about half that in Protestant Belfast, but, owing to the appeal made by Mr. John Redmond, even Dublin produced nearly a division of men.

The establishment of the National Register and the stoppage of emigration of men of military age, however, produced a bad effect on the Catholic population. The fear of conscription then led a large number of men to join the Sinn Fein movement, and many people who at first rather favoured the British cause began to sympathise with the rebel movement. Sinn Fein organisers became extremely active in many parts of the West and South of Ireland, and in January, 1916, some of the young priests began to deliver seditious sermons, calling on the people to arm with any weapons they could find, even axes. Sir Neville Chamberlain, the Chief of the Irish Police, reported to the Under-Secretary for Ireland, Sir Matthew Nathan, that the arms and explosives in the hands of the extremists were a public danger, and he urged that all persons unconnected with the Crown should be compelled to get a permit to carry arms. But

the warning and recommendation of the Inspector-General of Constabulary were disregarded, and the Irish constables were discouraged in their activities and inclined to turn their eyes away from what was going on.

The fact was that Mr. Augustine Birrell, the Secretary of State for Ireland, was largely governed by the views of Mr. John Redmond and Mr. Dillon. The leaders of the Nationalist Party were in many ways the chief opponents of the leaders of the Sinn Fein. It was against Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon that the heads of the Sinn Fein directed their most virulent abuse and their subtlest intrigues. For the Irish Nationalist Party, with its largely successful programme of reform by constitutional means, was the grand obstacle to the desperate futile scheme of the rebel chiefs. The general body of the people of Catholic Ireland was fairly well contented with the work done by Mr. John Redmond, and the farming class, that was merely using the Sinn Fein as a shield against conscription, did not dream of losing their best market and being overwhelmed in the horrors of a civil war in which the Protestants of Ulster would have struck with all their might by the side of British troops.



WINTER WEAR ON THE WAY.
A.S.C. men moving cases of winter service caps to a motor-waggon.

Mr. John Redmond would seem to have miscalculated a problem which he should best have been able to solve. He despised the Sinn Fein as a picturesque and noisy futility, that seemed only to cover the serious disinclination of the farming classes to recruit for the war. The Nationalist leader did not allow for the blind passion of violence in his countrymen, which makes a good many Irishmen willing to join in any sort of a shindy for pure love of fighting.

Among such a race there was little consideration for the issue of a rebellion. With the exception of the farmers, who had a clear but limited end in view, towards which they worked with the political talent that had long distinguished them, the Sinn Feiners desired a fight. They had the spirit of first-rate fighting men, if not the training, and the poor, undeveloped lads of the Dublin slums, who had been drawn into the movement of rebellion by Socialistic propaganda, were still wilder for an affray of some sort. Neither the village boys, nor the amateur intellectuals of the middle-class, nor yet the transport workers, weighed the chances of revolt.

The only practical way in which the hopelessness of their aim could be brought home to them was a display of overwhelming force from the British Government, and following this display of force there should have been a general disarmament. Lord Midleton, acting as the mouthpiece for an influential section of Irishmen in Dublin and the south, pressed Mr. Birrell to disarm the Sinn Fein Volunteers, and bring to trial the men who were making seditious speeches. But Mr. Birrell said that the Sinn Feiners were to be laughed at and not taken seriously. Hearing more grave reports in January, 1916, Lord Midleton had an interview with the Prime Minister, but could not convince him the situation was dangerous. Again, in February, March, and April, Lord Midleton collected evidence of German intrigue and German help in arming and maturing the preparations of the Sinn Feiners, and placed this evidence before Mr. Birrell and the Under-Secretary for Ireland. The Under-Secretary became alarmed at last. To the end, however, Mr. Birrell held to the policy of non-intervention, and he was supported by both Mr. Redmond, who regarded the Sinn Feiners as practically harmless, and Mr. Dillon, who regarded them as dangerous.

Irish Secretary's inaction

The policy of non-intervention, it seems, was not a Cabinet decision, but the personal decision of Mr. Birrell, swayed by Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon. He knew there was a good deal of tinder in Ireland, but thought that nothing except bomb-throwing was likely to occur unless a German army landed. On the other hand, he was afraid to take strong action and order a general disarmament. The Ulstermen would have laid down their arms, and so would the National Volunteers, but it was possible that blood would be shed in disarming the Sinn Feiners, and Mr. Birrell was lacking in the strength of character needed at the time in any Secretary for Ireland.

FROM THE CONTRACTOR TO THE FRONT.
Each consignment is about to be sent to some regiment somewhere on Empire duty—France, the Balkans, the Persian Gulf, or elsewhere—according to the stencilled addresses on each case.

He was a good-natured, easy-going barrister, with a mind that played wittily over the surface of things and never penetrated deeply. He had won his way to power by his connection with Nonconformist interests and his literary fame as an essayist of the lighter sort. Personal charm was his only distinction, and he had been a political cement of great party value in the Liberal Cabinet, when the Imperial Liberal Leaguers and the Little England Radical group had come together in a state of great friction. He was the incarnation of all the virtues of soothing syrup, and it was by reason of his soothing power that he had been made Secretary for Ireland in succession to Lord Bryce.

British Fleet's preparedness

Naturally, when strong yet only anticipatory measures had to be taken, Mr. Birrell flinched. It was beyond the power of his nature to adopt what the enemy calls the offensive-defensive, and, rather than provoke a few unimportant riots by disarming the Sinn Feiners, he practically allowed Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon to direct the larger affairs of Catholic Ireland without saddling them with any responsibility for the results. Mr. Dillon was afterwards able to make in Parliament an extraordinary accusation, winged with wild passion, against the military authorities who were putting down the insurrection, which had happened through following out the policy of non-intervention for which he was practically, though not constitutionally, responsible. Such was the way in which Ireland in the crisis of her fate was vaguely governed.

Happily, the British Fleet covered Ireland, and by some mysterious means penetrated into the enemy's designs in regard to the Sinn Fein movement. On April 17th, 1916, the Admiralty obtained information that a German ship, accompanied by German submarines, was due to arrive at Ireland on April 21st. A steamer, showing the Norwegian colours, crossed the North Sea at the time appointed, and was met by one of our patrol boats north of the Faroe Isles. After an examination of the ship's papers the vessel was apparently allowed to pass as a neutral trader. She then shaped a new course towards the south-west of Ireland, and was met again by another patrol, H.M.S. Bluebell, some one hundred and thirty miles west of Queenstown and ninety miles from the nearest land, and ordered to Queenstown for further search. She was the expected German ammunition ship, a Wilson liner captured by the Germans and renamed the Aude. She contained twenty thousand rifles, a million rounds of ammunition, bombs, fire-bombs, and ten machine-guns, hidden beneath a layer of merchandise.

ROGER CASEMENT.
The Irish traitor.

The Norwegian crew was really composed of twenty-one picked men of the German Navy, commanded by a lieutenant, with a junior officer as his second in command. Off Daunt's Rock, near Queenstown Harbour, the disguised German auxiliary ship suddenly hoisted the German flag, and the crew put off in boats, were fired on by way of warning by the Bluebell, raised a flag of truce, and were captured. But before leaving the liner they lighted the fuse of a powerful bomb which blew the ship up.

While this remarkable incident was taking place, one of the German submarines that had accompanied the ammunition ship approached Tralee Bay, in Kerry. Early in the morning of Good Friday, April 21st, three men landed near Ardfert by means of a collapsible boat. The first man was Sir Roger Casement, a leader of the Sinn Fein, who had been staying in Germany; the second was a mysterious man called Monteith; and the third was a soldier of the Royal Irish Rifles, Daniel Bailey, who had been captured by the enemy at the front and afterwards released and sent to Wilhelmshafen for the submarine voyage to Kerry. Casement had apparently arranged for the three to be met. But some Sinn Feiners, driving in a motor-car to the rendezvous among the dunes, had an extraordinary accident on Good Friday night. The car jumped a bridge near Castlemaine Bay, twenty miles from Tralee, and its occupants were drowned. This seems to have broken an important link between various arrangements. Casement was taken prisoner by the police in the brushwood of an old Irish fort near the shore; Daniel Bailey was arrested on his way inland; and only the man of mystery, Monteith, evaded the searching constables.

It afterwards appeared that the destination of the German ammunition ship was Fenit, in Tralee Bay, in the neighbourhood of the spot at which Sir Roger Casement and his companions had landed from the German submarine, and not far distant from the apparent destination of the Sinn Feiners who were drowned in the motor-car. One of the prisoners said that the ammunition ship had not been due to come in and unload its deadly cargo until Easter Monday morning, and that a pilot-boat was to be lying outside and showing two green lights.

On Easter Sunday, according to a statement made before the Royal Commission in Dublin, some three hundred and sixteen Sinn Feiners mobilised in Tralee, apparently to assist in the landing of arms. But no rising took place, as the rebel leader in Kerry had been arrested at the same time as Casement was taken. Some of the Sinn Feiners complained that the German ammunition ship had thrown everything out by arriving too soon off Ireland. On the other hand, we have seen that our Admiralty authorities knew that the ship was coming on April 17th. So, in any case, the situation seems to have been mastered by the British Fleet some days before any danger arose.

But matters did not go so well in regard to the British military surveillance of the Sinn Fein insurrectionary movements. There was a terrible outbreak in Dublin, and smaller risings elsewhere, the story of which, related by an eye-witness, forms the succeeding chapter.

Casement was tried for high treason in London, found guilty, and sentenced to death on June 29th, 1916. Then on July 3rd, 1916, the Royal Commission on the Irish Rebellion—composed of Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, Sir Montague Shearman, a Judge of the High Court, and Sir Mackenzie D. Chalmers—published its finding that Mr. Birrell had been "primarily responsible for the situation that was allowed to rise, and for the outbreak that occurred."

Royal Commission's finding

Yet the German agents, with their German-American and Clan-na-Gael assistants, who engineered the futile rising of the Sinn Feiners, only achieved the final and definite strengthening of the armed forces of the British Crown. Our powerful organisations of working men were even more shaken than the Coalition Government by the trouble in Ireland, and the remarkable vehemence with which leading Labour members of Parliament advocated the establishment of general compulsion during the debates in the first week of May, 1916, was a telling testimony of the effect produced on the mind of our public by the events in Ireland. Once more German intrigue had issued in a great result exactly contrary to that at which the intriguers and their dupes had aimed. The British Empire was stronger than ever.

A BARRICADE IN ABBEY STREET, DUBLIN.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

THE REBELLION IN DUBLIN: AN EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT.

By Warre B. Wells, Assistant Editor "Irish Times."

Dramatic Opening of the Irish Rebellion of 1916—First Shot Fired Before Dublin Castle—The Insurrection Foredoomed to Failure from the Outset—A General Rising an Integral Element in the Rebel Plans—The Latter Briefly Reviewed—The Outbreak Takes the Authorities by Surprise—Many Civilians Killed on the First Day of the Rising—Rebels Seize or Attempt to Seize Dominating Points in the City—Countess Markievicz in Command of a Rebel Force.—Provisional Government of the Irish Republic Establish their Military Headquarters at the Post Office—Telephone Girls' Fine Courage—Centre of Dublin in Rebel Hands on Easter Monday—Thrilling Story of Defence of Trinity College—Dublin in Effective Rebel Occupation from Easter Monday to Wednesday—The City Cut Off from the World—Citizens Welcome Troops from England—Decisive Action Develops on South Side of the City—Heroic Work of the Dublin Volunteer Training Corps—The Sherwood Foresters in Action—Strong Military Cordon Thrown Round the Whole City—Rebels Evacuate St. Stephen's Green—Sniping from the Roofs—Artillery in Action—Reducing the Area Around the Post Office—"Liberty Hall," the Headquarters of James Connolly's "Citizen Army." Captured—Great Conflagration Breaks Out—Connolly Wounded, and P. H. Pearse Surrenders—Organised Resistance Ends on Saturday, April 29th—Loss of Life and Material Damage—Fifteen Rebels Shot and Many Imprisoned.

THE first shot in the Irish Rebellion of 1916 was fired shortly after noon on Easter Monday, April 24th. It was fired, with a fine sense of the dramatic, before the seat of Imperial authority in Ireland, Dublin Castle, and killed an unarmed policeman on duty. The act was an epitome of the rebellion—a rising spacious and in a sense sublime in its conception; murderous and, by contrast with that conception, petty in its execution. The insurrection was foredoomed to failure from the outset. It proposed, as an indispensable complement to the seizure of Dublin, a general rising throughout the country. Such a rising was an integral element in the rebel plans, and the nature of those plans must be briefly reviewed if the progress of events in the capital is to be made intelligible. The seizure by a surprise stroke of the capital—the Government buildings, the strategic positions, the nodal points of communication, physical and other—was, immediately, to a large extent successful; but it depended for its ultimate success on other factors. It demanded a larger rebel force than was at once available, and it required that while this larger force was being concentrated the forces of the Crown should be prevented from a rapid and effectual intervention. The concentration of this larger force in turn depended on such a general rising throughout the country as would not merely put the Irish provinces in rebel hands and disperse military forces to deal with the provincial risings, but would also enable surplus rebel troops to be made swiftly available for the reinforcement of the bodies holding Dublin. It depended, that is to say, upon a wholesale arming of rebel forces for which, despite months of secret preparation, no adequate provision existed in the country. It presumed the immediate landing from overseas of a great quantity of arms and ammunition. The interception, three days before the rebellion, of the vessel carrying these warlike supplies was the ultimate cause of the speedy collapse of the insurrection in the capital. This implied that the provincial rising must be largely abortive. The miscarriage of the provincial rising was ensured by the confusion which prevailed at the rebel headquarters on the receipt of the news that the vessel was lost, in which confusion the orders to the

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT.
Mr. Birrell (Chief Secretary) and Sir Matthew Nathan (Under-Secretary), right and left respectively, leaving the Commission House, Dublin, after a meeting of the Royal Commission on the Rebellion.

MR. SHEEHY-SKEFFINGTON (wearing a trilby hat).

The officer responsible for his death was found guilty of murder, but insane, and was sent to an asylum.

The shot fired before the Castle was the signal that set in operation in Dublin various bodies which totalled rather less than three thousand men. The outbreak took the authorities completely by surprise. Dublin Castle itself was garrisoned by three soldiers with blank cartridges. Many officers of the troops in Dublin were absent at a race meeting in the vicinity. Unarmed soldiers were everywhere about the streets with no suspicion of the instant danger in which they stood; for from the moment of the rising soldiers, whether armed or unarmed—many convalescent wounded were in the streets—and policemen were shot at sight by the rebels without challenge. Many civilians were killed on the first day of the rising, but in the majority of cases they were not fired upon deliberately; the action of the rebels was directed against uniformed representatives of the Imperial authority. The scattered and helpless soldiers and police were rapidly withdrawn from the centre of the city, into effective occupation of which the rebels entered without serious opposition. Their operations proceeded upon an exact and admirable strategic plan. They seized, or attempted to seize, every dominating point in the city. At the Castle, which would have fallen an easy prey, they refrained from attack, expecting a ruse, until the garrison of three was so strongly reinforced as to make the attempt hopeless. The rebels occupied, however, a newspaper office commanding the Castle Yard, from which they assailed the troops with rifle fire and bombs. Out from the centre of the city, houses commanding most of the canal bridges on the south side were occupied and garrisoned in strength. Beyond the canal, houses commanding the junction of the roads from Kingstown were similarly seized; the occupants, in all these cases, were summarily ejected. Nearer the centre of the city a rebel force, commanded by Countess Markievicz, entrenched in St. Stephen's Green, an ornamental park dominating an extensive grouping of road communications. Other bodies occupied and organised for defence adjacent buildings and Messrs. Jacobs' great biscuit factory, and, nearer the river, Boland's Mills at Ringsend. The north side of the river did not offer such a simple scheme of points of strategic advantage, but on this side also every suitable position was occupied.

Rebel occupation of the capital

The efforts of the rebels to seize the arteries of communication were less successful. The General Post Office in Sackville Street was taken at once by a large force, which expelled the staff, some of whom were in league with them, at the point of the bayonet, and all telegraphic communication was promptly cut. At the General Post Office the rebels, under command of P. H. Pearse, "Commandant-General and President of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic," established their military headquarters. For the rest of the week Dublin was completely isolated, except for the telephone system. The rebels committed a grave blunder in their neglect to seize the Central Telephone Exchange. This was protected by the ruse of an old woman, who informed the force detailed to seize it that the building was full of troops It was, in fact, garrisoned by nothing more formidable than twenty girl operators, who stood to their posts with a fine courage throughout the rebellion. The maintenance of telephone communication was of the first importance to the military authorities in the development of rapid and effective measures to suppress it. The railway-stations also were largely immune from the rebel efforts. On the south side the two stations of the Dublin and South-Eastern Railway were both seized; but one of these was found to be unsuitable for defence, and was almost immediately evacuated. Both the terminus of the Great Southern and Western Railway and that of the Great Northern were strongly held by soldiers, and no effort to capture

Seizure of the G.P.O.

ARMS SURRENDERED TO THE CROWN.

British soldier proceeding along a Dublin street, carrying a number of arms surrendered to the military by the Sinn Feiners.

THE COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ.

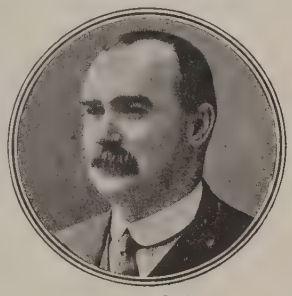
An extreme Sinn Feiner. Herdeath sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life.

VISITING IRISH PRISONERS.
Relatives of the Sinn Fein rebels who were interned in the Richmond Barracks, Dublin, submitting parcels for examination before being allowed into the rooms.

DISILLUSIONED ENTHUSIASTS.
Types of Sinn Fein prisoners in one of the rooms of Richmond Barracks. They all expressed themselves contented with the treatment meted out to them.

either was made by the rebels, who had the terminus of the Midland Great Western within the area of their occupation. They attempted to destroy the railway lines some miles out from the city, and were so far successful in these attempts that no trains except troop trains were able to reach Dublin for the rest of the week. By the afternoon of Easter Monday the whole centre of the city was firmly in rebel hands, with a strong cordon of fortified posts in the suburbs, which the more or less abortive risings in the vicinity of the capital were intended to strengthen further with an outer cordon.

One place alone in the central area of the city stood like a rock in the surge of revolution. That place was Trinity College, and the story of its defence is the most stirring chapter in the history of the insurrection. Trinity College occupies a commanding strategic position in the city, and formed a rallying-point of capital importance in the operations for the suppression of the rebellion. To its defence during the first days of the rising was wholly due the fact that the city's commercial centre on the south side of the river was spared that visitation of fire and sack which later obliterated its commercial centre on the north side. The College, a massive pile of grey stone, towering high above the surrounding roofs, completely dominates in front the Bank of Ireland and Dame Street; to the left Grafton Street (leading up to St. Stephen's Green); and to the right Westmoreland Street (leading to the river and across the bridge to Sackville Street)—the three streets which contain the bulk of the banks, the insurance offices, and the important business houses of South Dublin. Its possession by loyal forces effectually prevented the extension of the rebel operations from Sackville Street across the river into the commercial area on the south side, or any serious outbreak of looting in this area; and it prohibited communication by the most direct routes between the rebel headquarters in the Post Office and the outlying rebel bodies in St.

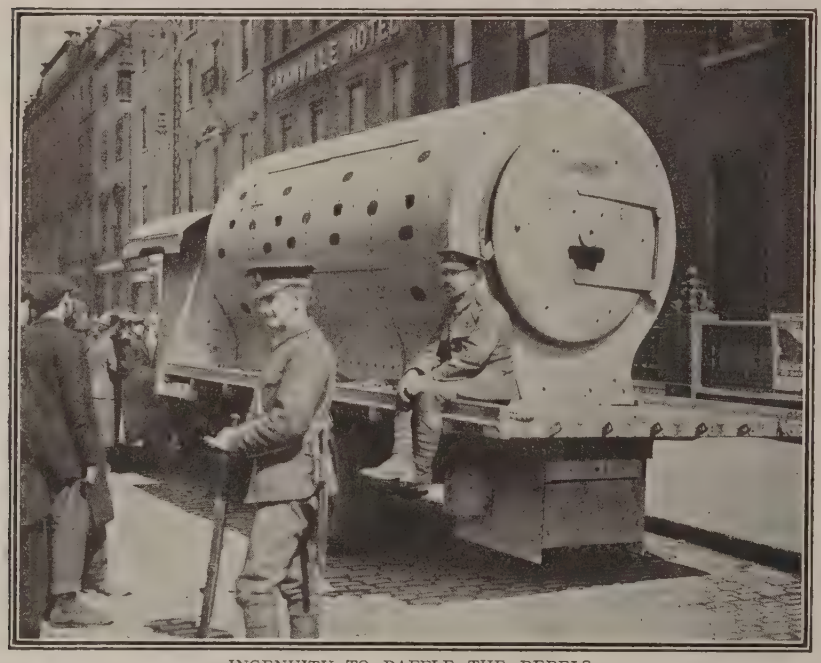


JAMES CONNOLLY.
One of the seven signatories to the "Irish Republic Proclamation," who paid the death penalty.

SINN FEINERS IN CUSTODY AT RICHMOND BARRACKS, DUBLIN.
Going to their morning bath. Within less than a week the outbreak of Sinn Feinism was quelled, and several hundred rebels surrendered to the authorities. A large number of these men were deported to England. This photograph shows some more of the actors in the Dublin tragedy.

Stephen's Green and elsewhere on the south side. These important results were secured in a manner which added an heroic page to the history of Ireland's ancient University. The call to arms overseas had drained the strength of the Officers Training Corps to the utmost; only those members remained behind who for sufficient reasons could not obey it. When the rebellion broke out the members of the Officers Training Corps in the College mustered an exiguous garrison of thirty rifles. The senior officer in charge, Captain Alton, a Fellow of the University, promptly organised the defence. It was decided to hold only the main block of buildings, dominating the three streets in front and commanding an open field of fire in the rear across the College park towards one of the Dublin and South-Eastern railway-stations, which the rebels held in force. During the night of Easter Monday a picket was posted in the College park, close enough to the station to hear the challenges of the rebel sentries and the frequent exchange of the password, "Limerick," but this picket was withdrawn before dawn. The gates were shut and barricaded; sand-bags were placed in the windows and on the parapets of the roof, and a brisk fusillade was exchanged on the right with the rebel positions across the river. A few soldiers in the neighbouring streets and in the Central Soldiers' Club opposite the College, including some Anzac sharpshooters, were summoned to strengthen the garrison in the defence. Fortunately the rebels were impressed by its parade of strength, and were ignorant of its actual poverty. Trinity College was, perhaps, the one place in the city where no spy was present to aid the rebels. One daring spy did gain admission in the disguise of a soldier, but he was detected before he succeeded in escaping to betray the situation. The rebels, in consequence, made no actual attack on the College. Action was continued with the positions beyond the river; looting in the streets under fire from the College was prevented; several rebel despatch-riders on bicycles who attempted to run the gauntlet were shot; the sharpshooters made good practice on snipers on the surrounding roofs. The garrison held the commercial centre of Dublin on the south side in trust until the advance of the troops into the city relieved it.

How Trinity College was defended



INGENUITY TO BAFFLE THE REBELS.
Improvised armoured car, constructed from locomotive smoke-boxes hastily fitted together in Guinness' Brewery Yard. A unique vehicle in the streets of the Irish capital.

The city, except for the area dominated by Trinity College, remained in effective rebel occupation from Easter Monday, throughout Tuesday, into Wednesday. During this period and the subsequent days of desperate street fighting until the end of the week, the social and economic life of Dublin was completely paralysed. The chief business quarter of the city was inaccessible. No trains ran into the city; no trams ran through it. The supply of gas and electric power was cut off as a measure of precaution. The food problem early became acute, and was growing desperate when the rebellion collapsed. Prices rose quickly to a famine level, though the actual shortage was not, in the great majority of cases, aggravated by any attempt of the shopkeepers to mulct the people in their necessity. With all ordinary means of vehicular communication about the city suspended, the citizens, in high station and in low, went foraging for their own supplies. The behaviour of the crowds, in the entire absence for a considerable period over wide areas of any authority, was remarkably orderly; the amount of looting, in view of the unique opportunity which the rebellion presented, was surprisingly small. Dublin was cut off from the world, without letters, and without newspapers, save one. The exception was the "Irish Times," which enjoyed an advantage over its contemporaries in that it possessed a suction gas plant of its own, and was not wholly dependent for its motive power upon the city gas supply.

Its office lay in No Man's Land between Trinity College and the rebel positions across the river, and here, under a state of siege, it was published daily until the Friday of Easter week, when mechanical difficulties interrupted its issue until the following Monday. Dublin's only newspaper, however—no newspaper from outside was able to circulate during the week—was prohibited from publishing anything but the official communiqués and proclamations. Nobody knew how serious the rebellion might be. Nobody knew the state of the provinces. There were rumours of risings here, there, and everywhere, of large rebel forces marching on Dublin, of a German landing in Kerry. But, as the days passed and the fighting spread, and the great fires, whose glare by night was visible for miles around, broke out, though there was growing strain, there was always calm and nothing in the nature of panic. The people of Dublin kept their heads and went their way with a nonchalance not generally attributed to the Irish temperament. In spite of the military restrictions on movement, under martial law, the citizens followed the progress of the fighting with a close interest that often came near to foolish recklessness, and sometimes paid its extreme penalty. They gave the troops from England a welcome which vastly surprised these unfamiliar men, who imagined at the outset that every inhabitant of the city was a potential enemy. Food was short; but with the soldiers arriving in the city from Kingstown, citizens cheerfully shared, or surrendered to them altogether, the last square meal which they had in immediate prospect. Women and girls

Calm of the populace

Ruins of the Imperial Hotel, Dublin, as seen from the top of the Nelson Pillar. Not a room in the building remained intact.

The portico of the gutted Post Office—another scene of devastation. Photograph taken from the lofty Nelson Pillar.

Firemen engaged in the work of putting out the great conflagration during the Sinn Fein outbreak.

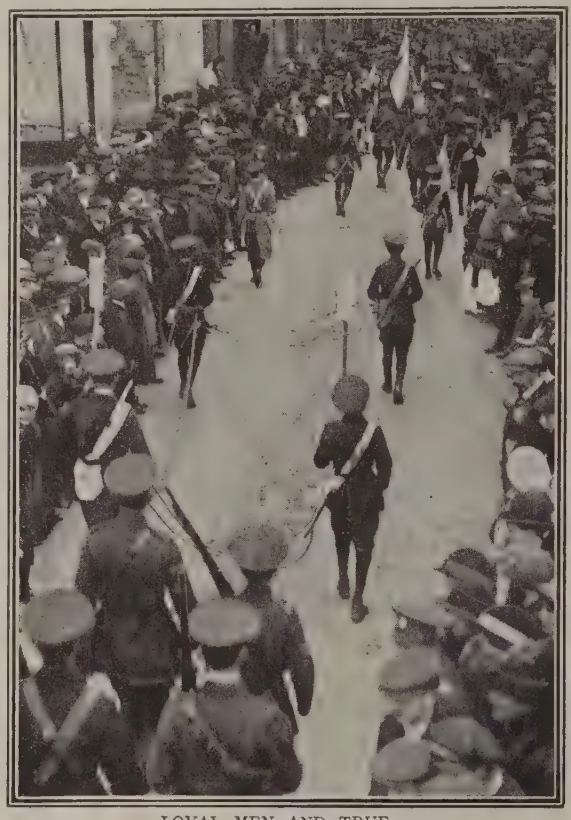
Greek bas-reliefs, which adorned the walls of the Dublin Art Gallery, damaged by shot and shell during the rising.

DUST, DEBRIS, AND DESPAIR: SCENES IN DUBLIN AFTER THE SINN FEIN REBELLION.

ran out of houses in the suburbs during the hottest action to give food and drink to the troops, or help the wounded into shelter.

On the south side of the city, where the decisive action developed, the advanced guards of the Territorial battalions —railed across England, packed in transports across the Channel, and tramping from Kingstown into Dublin —reached the suburbs on Wednesday morning. They were thrown immediately on their arrival, in an advanced stage of exhaustion, into desperate street fighting of the most hellish kind. Their marching van, a battalion of the Sherwood Foresters, came under heavy rifle fire from strong bodies of rebels posted in the corner houses commanding the junction of Haddington Road and Northumberland Road.

Here, on the afternoon of Easter Monday, a body of the Dublin Volunteer Training Corps, composed of professional men over military age, returning without arms from a route march in the Dublin mountains, had been ambushed by the rebels. Six of its members were killed and ten wounded. The Volunteers made their way to Beggar's Bush Barracks, reinforced the besieged garrison with nine officers and eighty-one men, and helped splendidly in the defence of the barracks until the arrival of the troops from Kingstown. Thus the Irish Rebellion made history for more than one branch of the armed forces of the Crown. The Trinity College Officers Training Corps was the first university corps that has been required to defend its own university from attack; the Dublin Volunteer Training Corps comprised the members of the first Volunteers in the United Kingdom who shed their blood in their country's cause; and the military operations in Dublin in Easter week were the first operations conducted almost exclusively by units of the Territorial Force and New Army, the Regular Army being represented scarcely at all except in the higher command. The Territorial battalions first engaged fought under the most trying conditions with a cool courage and an indomitable cheerfulness. The Sherwood Foresters, who came under a sudden and heavy fire at the junction of Haddington Road and Northumberland Road, suffering several casualties, immediately took such cover as was to be found behind walls, and proceeded in a businesslike fashion to the reduction by rifle fire and bombing of the houses in which the rebels were posted. Their colonel, meanwhile, rode his white charger up and down the open street, smoking a cigarette, and by a miracle escaped untouched. With the reduction of this first rebel outpost by the Sherwood Foresters the relief of Dublin had begun.



LOYAL MEN AND TRUE.
Irish Volunteers, many of whom assisted the troops in the work of restoring order in Dublin. This photograph shows them marching on St. Patrick's Day, 1916.

By this time (Wednesday, April 26th) a military cordon, composed on the north side of reinforcements from the Curragh and the North and on the south side of troops landed at Kingstown, had been thrown round the whole city, inside the wholly ineffective outer rebel cordon, and in immediate contact with the strong inner cordon of fortified posts. From this date the weakness inherent in the rebels' situation operated progressively towards their downfall. Their numerical deficiency, actually for the execution of their plan of campaign and relatively in

BARRICADE OF BEER BARRELS.
Rifles of Government troops firing on the rebels from behind a rough but effective barricade across a Dublin street.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BARRICADE.
Kneeling soldiers taking aim. Much fighting of a guerilla character took place in the narrow streets and alleys.

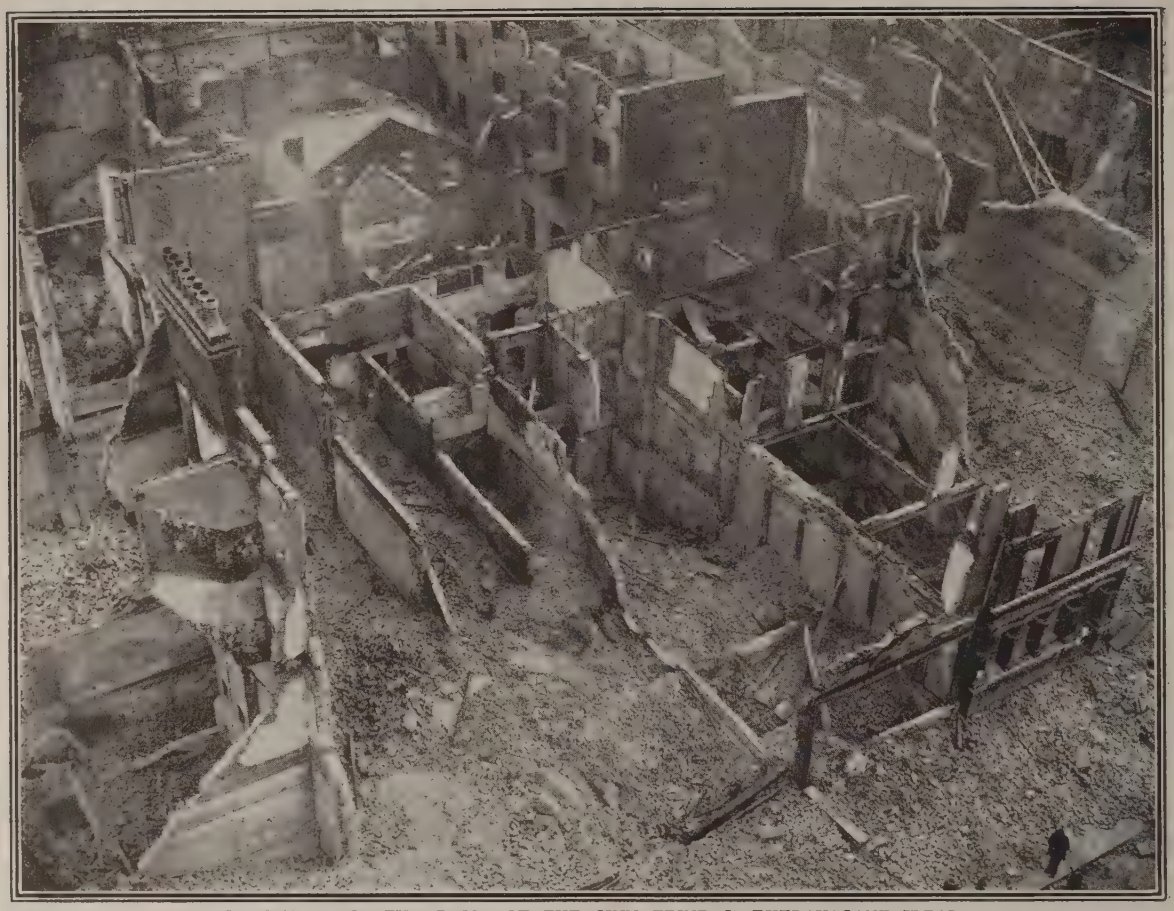
"Liberty Hall," a squat stone building facing the river, the headquarters of James Connolly's "Citizen Army," reduced to ruins.

The havoc at Clery's Stores and the Imperial Hotel, Sackville Street. The Munster and Leinster Bank, to the left, was entirely gutted.

Interior impression of the General Post Office, with troops in possession. On the left is an instantaneous photograph of the collapse of a house in Liffey Street.

General view of Dublin after the rebellion. Many of the landmarks of the city were wrecked as well as a large number of private dwellings. Property to an estimated value of two millions sterling was destroyed, apart from individual private losses.

CAMERA VIEWS OF THE IRISH CAPITAL AFTER THE INSURRECTION OF APRIL-MAY, 1916.



DUBLIN, MAY, 1916: THE PRICE OF THE SINN FEINERS' EXTRAVAGANT IDEAL.

proportion to the military forces arrayed against them, made it impossible for them to maintain their internal lines of communication. In the result, the isolated strategic points which they had seized became so many traps into which they were gradually penned. Heavy fighting was necessary, however, before this decision emerged. From Wednesday the cordon drew in gradually towards the centre of the city, enclosing the main body of the rebels within it, and leaving behind it detached bodies to be surrounded and submerged. The cordon closed more steadily and against a more obstinate resistance on the south side, where it was further removed at the outset from the centre of the city. By Thursday, St. Stephen's Green, the seizure of which was apparently intended by the rebels to cover the approaches to the city over the southern canal bridges, was cleared by an operation independent of the main operations. Their occupation of this park was the most faulty piece of rebel strategy. The Green was dominated throughout by the upper stories of the square of houses which encloses it. It was commanded in particular by the towering building of the Shelbourne Hotel, situated at a corner of the Green. This was the most fashionable hotel in Dublin, and its visitors throughout the week experienced a strict siege. The windows were plentifully riddled with bullets by the rebels, but no casualties were recorded. On the roof of the hotel a small force of soldiers early in the week mounted a machine-gun, which raked the Green from end to end. The rebels soon found their position untenable and, having suffered considerable loss, evacuated the Green, retiring to the massive building of the Royal College of Surgeons, upon which the machine-gun from the Shelbourne Hotel continued to play.

St. Stephen's Green cleared

After this clearance, the military cordon closed in on the south without encountering much opposition. Fierce fighting meanwhile developed on the north side, where at one point a day and a night were spent in an advance of a hundred and fifty yards down a narrow street. The most determined fighting of all, however, occurred in forcing the approaches from Kingstown on the west, by way of Haddington Road and Northumberland Road, towards the heart of the city. For a distance of half a mile every other successive house was a fortress, which had to be reduced by rifle fire and bombing before the advance could proceed. Behind the advance accurate sniping from the roofs broke out as the troops moved forward, and it was long before the lines of communication were wholly cleared of hidden irregulars. The troops pushed steadily on, not without considerable loss, over Baggot Street and Mount Street canal bridges. They were very desperately engaged in the warren of mean streets inside the latter bridge on the right of the line of advance. Here, against Boland's Mills, a high stone building overlooking the basin of the Grand Canal, artillery was brought into action for the first time in the course of the operations. A nine-pounder, smartly handled by naval gunners, did good work in enabling a close cordon to be drawn round the Ringsend area towards the mouth of the river, while the main advance proceeded. By Thursday, pickets had penetrated into the heart of the city, and communication was established between the advancing bodies and the garrison of Trinity College, which, with its academic cloisters packed with horse, foot, and artillery, became the advanced base of the military operations.

Naval gunners' effective work

From this point, while fighting continued against isolated rebel positions, the main operation consisted in the reduction of the area around the Post Office, the chief rebel

stronghold, the seat of the "Republican Government," and the headquarters of the rebels' military command. In this operation the military tactics were varied. Whereas there was fighting of the closest kind in the earlier phases of the action, now the rebel defences were methodically reduced by more distant artillery, machine-gun, and rifle fire. From Trinity College to the Post Office in Sackville Street is a distance of some five hundred yards. The Liffey, crossed by O'Connell Bridge, intervenes. At the end of Sackville Street abutting on the bridge, the rebels occupied houses and shops immediately commanding the bridge, and bringing the two streets—Westmoreland Street and D'Olier Street—which converge upon it from the College under a searching fire.

On the left of these rebel positions, facing the river, "Liberty Hall," a squat stone building, the headquarters of James Connolly's "Citizen Army," could bring enfilade fire to bear on O'Connell Bridge and direct fire on Butt Bridge, the lowest of the river bridges. This rebel outpost, however, was early reduced by the combined operations of a gunboat lying in the Liffey off the Customs House and field-pieces manœuvred from Trinity College into the adjacent streets. With the destruction of "Liberty Hall," forces were able to move, though still not without considerable risk, across the river, and the operations of the troops on the south side were closely linked up with the operations of the troops pressing in on the north side. The rebel positions immediately commanding O'Connell Bridge were riddled and rendered untenable by artillery and machine-gun fire, largely directed from the roof of Trinity College, and by Friday the military lines had been advanced right down to the river by way of Westmoreland Street and D'Olier Street, in the block between which, however, persistent sniping was continued by one or more elusive rebels, the last of whom was not accounted for until several days later.

LORD WIMBORNE.
The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, who resigned after the Dublin Rebellion.

Meanwhile, on Thursday evening, the great fire had begun. How it originated—whether through the shelling from Trinity College, the explosion of a rebel ammunition store, or some accident of looting—will probably never be known. It broke out on the west side of Sackville Street, immediately in rear of the rebel fortified post fronting on the bridge, and raged and spread without ceasing from Thursday evening throughout Friday and Saturday, until Sunday. The military operations made it impossible, except at long intervals, for brief periods, and at certain points, for the Dublin Fire Brigade to attempt to cope with the conflagration. The fire, fanned by a breeze from the sea, spread from the west side of Sackville Street, where it had devastated a wide area, across to the east side. The whole of the west side of Sackville Street, comprising forty-seven buildings, was gutted. In all, here and in the surrounding streets, some two hundred and thirty buildings were demolished. They included two churches, a Presbyterian and a Methodist, as well as a Church of Ireland Mission to Seamen church, four hotels, several banks, the bulk of the important business houses, and the Royal Hibernian Academy. Fortunately, few residential houses were within the devastated area, although it contained some tenements, and the loss of life directly due to the fire was small.

Buildings gutted by fire

On Saturday, April 29th, there came the end of the criminal adventure which had wrought this widespread havoc and destruction in the heart of Dublin. The area of the Post Office was by this time closely invested, and early in the afternoon the rebel headquarters was itself in flames. James Connolly, the military director of the rebel operations, although P. H. Pearse was in nominal command, had been seriously wounded on the Thursday, and his injury contributed largely to the disintegration of the rebel defence. Hopeless as their situation had become, the leaders displayed at the end a cool courage worthy of a better cause. P. H. Pearse spent the closing hours in the Post Office in writing a vindication of the rebellion; Connolly, on Friday, although there was by this time little or no chance of getting it circulated, composed a heartening "Order of the Day" to the rebel forces. Driven out of the Post Office by the flames, the rebel leaders with the garrison retired to the block of buildings fronting on the river, where the Law Courts are situated, known as the Four Courts. The exits from the Post Office were under military fire. To draw this fire and cover their escape, the rebels sent out first about a dozen officers whom they had captured on Easter Monday and kept in close but not harsh confinement during the week. Some of the officers thus sent out were wounded by their comrades' fire, but fortunately none was killed.

Rebellion's final phase

The rebel leaders, having made good their temporary escape, held a council of war. Of the fighting which attended this final phase of the rebellion no clear account is possible. It was a confused and desperate affair of ambuscades and sniping in streets and alleys where the glare of the fires paled the sun and the crash of falling masonry mingled with the roar of artillery and bombs, the vicious knocking of machine-guns, and the rattle of musketry. The rebel remnant, surrounded by the soldiers and the flames, fought with the courage of despair. The inevitable end came early in the afternoon, when P. H. Pearse went out under a white flag and, after an offer of surrender on terms, which was at once rejected, agreed to unconditional capitulation. He then issued the following document: "In order to prevent the further slaughter of unarmed people, and in the hope of saving the lives of our followers, now surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered, members of the Provisional Government present at headquarters have agreed to an unconditional surrender, and the commanders of all units of the Republican Forces will order their followers to lay down their arms." The "cease fire" was sounded to the military forces throughout Dublin, and one by one, as the news of the surrender at headquarters was confirmed, the various detached bodies of the rebels about the city made their submission. By nightfall on Saturday, April 29th, although single snipers still haunted many roofs, all organised resistance to the forces of the Crown was at an end, and Dublin emerged from a week of revolution to contemplate its destruction and bury its dead. The Irish Rebellion of 1916 had passed into history.

Both in loss of life and material damage it had been a costly business. Property was destroyed to an estimated value of two million sterling; but this sum, of course, did not include the loss of individual property, due to robbery and loot by the mob while still out of hand. Among the military and police the casualties were one hundred and twenty-five killed and four hundred and five wounded; among civilians they were one hundred and eighty killed and six hundred and fourteen wounded, according to the hospital returns; while a number of snipers—how many perhaps will never be exactly ascertained—were buried by their friends in cellars, and only discovered and disinterred later as their secret graves were located. Besides these, fifteen rebels were shot by order of court-martial, while more than a hundred were sentenced to varying terms of penal servitude and imprisonment.

Dead German soldiers prostrate before the entrance to their dug-out. A British shell exploded immediately above them, killing them together before they could seek refuge underground.

German corpse covered by a greatcoat, a last tribute either from a retreating comrade or some sensitive Briton who passed it during the great advance of July, 1916.

British soldier making notes in enemy trenches which were completely flattened out by the shells. In the background are the stakes which supported the German wire.

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A shell apparently hit the loopholed plate behind which the German was engaged in preparing a bomb fuse. His dead fingers still hold the wire attached to the missile.

FLAMES AND FUMES: THE NEW ELEMENTS INTRODUCED INTO WARFARE BY THE ENEMY.

GALLANT WORCESTERS ON

CHAPTER CXXV.

THEIR WAY TO BATTLE.

TRIUMPHS OF BRITISH SCIENCE AND INVENTION IN THE WAR.

By Edward Wright.

Modern War Entirely an Affair of Applied Science—British Race More Inventive than the German—The Battleship a Symbol of Our Dominion in Scientific Power—We Defeat Germany Without a Struggle by Our Inventiveness—Cordite and the Failure of German Chemistry—How France Benefited by Our Victories in Steel Invention—Great Guns Only Last Three Seconds—Why Our Expeditionary Force Started Only with Field Artillery—Lack of Watch and Clock Factories Hinders Our Production of High-Explosive Shell—Britain Still Holds the Key Industry in Gun-Making—Germans Imitate Our Smoke Method—Germany's Monopoly of Coal-Tar Industries and Its Military Results—How British Men of Science Overcame the German Monopoly in Antiseptics—Conquest of Enteric and the Struggle Against the Horrible Crimes of German Bacteriologists—The Epidemic in Serbia and in Wittenberg Camp—Our Crowning Misfortune of Government Without Knowledge—How the Men of Science Who Saved Us from Defeat Had to Struggle against Reactionaries—Optical Glass and the Peril to Our Armies—Corporal Beach and His Periscope Rifle—German Control of Base Metal Manufacture—Tungsten Smelting in Relation to Zeppelin Bombs—How We Broke the German Monopolies—Our Equipment Difficulties in Machine Tools and Jigs—Heavy Calls on Our Factories by France and Russia—Reinforced Aluminium in the Conquest of the Air—Telephonic Invention and Its Influence on Warfare—Three Thousand Guns Controlled by Telephone—Effect of Electric Means of Communication on Naval Tactics—Possibility of Wireless Packs for Infantry—Inventions in War that Make for Increased Economic Power in Peace.

IN our praiseworthy desire to stimulate ourselves to the fiercest activity we have sometimes been inclined to attribute to the enemy more genius than he possesses. The world has rung with the marvellous applications of science to warfare made by the German, but the work of the Briton in the same field of technical invention is probably superior in quality to that of the Teuton. Indeed, if we put together all the modern warlike inventions of the Anglo-Celtic races and compare them with the war machinery of the Central Empires, we shall probably find that the Germanic races occupy the second or third place in the intellectual field of warfare. A complete comparison is impossible at the time of writing, for if it were attempted too much would be revealed to the enemy. We must, therefore, restrict our survey to matters of published facts, and of these we can only give a small selection.

The mass of detail would fill many volumes. For modern war is entirely an affair of applied science. The soldier is in himself no more powerful than the primitive savage of the Stone Age. His terrible strength is due to the fact that behind him are the coalfields, iron-mines, steam-engines, factories, chemical works, power lathes, electrical shops, and a vast host of highly trained workers, researchers, mathematicians, and other men of science. Science is the child of war. The first tool man ever made was a chipped flint for killing his fellow-man and conquering a larger hunting ground with a more abundant food supply. For some hundred thousand years of human history we can trace the very gradual development of the human mind only by the stone weapons of slaughter unearthed from the deep dust. From the beginning man has put all he knew into his instruments of war, and the more his knowledge increased, the more terrible became his conflicts.

THE GRIP OF THE ALLIES.

General Sir Douglas Haig receiving General Joffre at the British Headquarters immediately before the concerted allied action on the Somme.

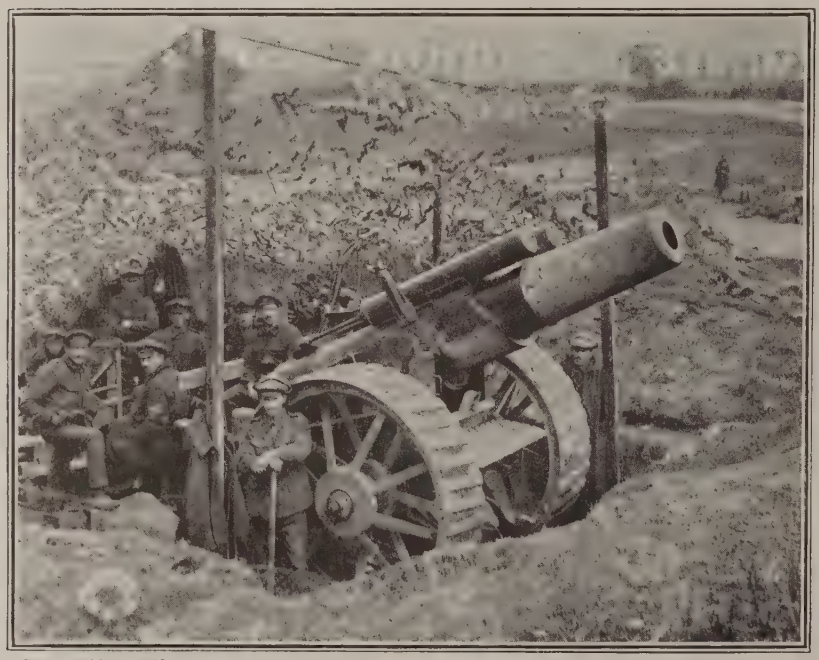
War remains the most intense display of a nation's scientific activities, with the general result that the people which in time of peace has applied science most thoroughly to the needs of its life will prove the most powerful on the field of battle. This is, in fact, what the Germans continually proclaimed throughout the

war, but they have been much too ready to assume that they are incontestably supreme in scientific activity. We have flattered their self-conceit in the matter by our peculiar habit of taking some enemy or rival as a standard in some achievement, and whipping ourselves up to surpass him in the points in which he seems better than us. Our turn for self-castigation is not wholly to be condemned. It preserves us from overweening pride, keeps us alert and enterprising, and bent on bettering the progress we have accomplished. On the other hand, we must not allow ourselves to be misled by the ideal of German efficiency in all things, which is only the fabric of a vision that we began to construct towards the close of the Victorian era in order to escape from the errors of mid-Victorian self-complacency.

Birth of the Dreadnought

In our special field of war we have continually shown more inventiveness than the Germans. In the days of peace we were mainly a nation of well-trained mechanics and designers of machinery, and instead of building up an army of millions of men, we defended ourselves chiefly by our mechanical skill and our talent for devising new machinery. When Germany directly threatened our life we did not create new army corps, each of which needed 40,000 men, but we built a low grey hull with no sign of life visible on it, that floated about the sea like the dismantled wreck of some tramp steamer. Into this sombre raft of steel went everything that modern science, modern invention, and modern industry could devise for the dreadful purpose of human slaughter. Only a thousand men, most of them trained in intricate scientific work or highly skilled industrial labour, manned the floating raft of steel and looked after its steam-engines, electrical dynamos, compressed-air engines, and hydraulic plants. Scarcely anything was done by hand power; electricity, hydraulic power, compressed air, and an enormous force of the energy born of oil, moved the vast and exquisite masses of metal. We continued to call the men sailors, but they were really engineers and engineers' mates, and many of them were as highly trained as a scientific specialist in a university. Among them were experts in refrigerating processes, who kept the ammunition cool, and experts in X-ray work, not only for surgical purposes on the day of battle, but for studying the quality of cordite by which the guns were fired. Other men were as keenly practised in the use of elaborate optical instruments as any astronomer, and the general knowledge of practical mathematics among the officers was such as could not have been found in any average group of graduates from Oxford.

All this knowledge and skill were employed on a war machine, the most dreadful and complete in the world. Ten large guns and some twelve or sixteen quick-firers, with tubes for firing automobile mines from the bowels of the floating machine, constituted its striking power. But the thing could move as fast as an ordinary train, and if the thousand men in it caught 40,000 hostile soldiers near the shore with their ordinary field-artillery of one hundred and seventy small guns, the land force would be outranged and scattered by the great guns on the floating steel platform that we call a battleship. The gunners of the Queen Elizabeth have been known to sink an enemy troopship at a range of fifteen miles by firing over a mountain into a sea they could not discern.



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AN ENGINE OF DESTRUCTION.

Heavy British howitzer which helped to prepare the way for the British forward movement on July 1st, 1916. The weapon was dug into its emplacement and screened in an ingenious way from hostile aircraft.

When, in the year 1912, the Germans saw that we were determined to maintain a superiority in battleships, they modified for the time being their plans. They could see that in a duel between Britain and Germany alone we should win. They had an Army capable of being expanded to eight or nine millions of soldiers, while our chief defence consisted of about 120,000 sailors, living in floating steel gun platforms known as Dreadnought battleships and Dreadnought battle-cruisers. We had other warships assistant to our great new ships, but it was these new war machines that daunted the Germans, and made them see that their Army of millions was powerless against us. With our Dreadnoughts we could have cut Germany off from the sea and forced her to trade through neutral ports at great expense and increasing difficulties. We should have had less trouble with hostile submarines then, because they were not at the time in such a highly developed state.

Instead of accepting the silent, bloodless defeat we inflicted on them, by showing more inventiveness, enterprise, and mechanical skill, the Germans prepared to conquer a large part of our friends' and Allies' territory in Europe, as a preliminary to engaging us at sea with all the industrial resources of Belgium, France, Austria, and Polish Russia. In other words, they admitted that they could not at the time surpass us in the application of science to warfare, but they aimed at making up, by vaster material resources, larger supplies of trained labour, and a more tremendous production of naval war material, for their lack of inventiveness. German brains had been beaten by British brains, so the German made war on the rest of Europe with the ultimate view of bringing all the mineral resources, steel-making plants, and machine tools of Europe against the British Isles.

Germany's ultimate objective

We need not then abase ourselves any longer before the idol of German scientific efficiency. The German organises,

Nerve-racking work: Heavy British howitzer on rail emplacement bombarding the German positions.

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Paving a way for the advance of 1916: Monster British gun in action.

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Gun emplacements in Sanctuary Wood: A paradox in nomenclature.

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Desolation in No Man's Land: A scene of the British advance, July, 1916.

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Where the wrath of Mars descended: A ruined village near Mametz.

A new version of the forest giant: Mammoth French howitzer articulates the will of France.

but he does not invent, and even his modern power of organisation is based on an adaptation of the American Trust system in industrial matters. It is easier to organise than it is to invent, and an inventive race like ours, surrounded by the wealth and power it has won, is apt to await the pressure of circumstances before using the genius it possesses. By the middle of the nineteenth century we had manifested a wealth of inventive force that could not in every case be turned to profit. We had founded steam-power civilisation, discovered the electric telegraph, the principle of the dynamo; we had laid the foundations of the science of chemistry, gained some idea of the ultimate mystery of the material universe, discovered the ether and the electrical foundation of matter, established geology, and ascertained the main outlines of the evolution of living forms. The impetus to this unparalleled explosion of national genius was given by our struggle for existence against Napoleon. The great French captain had roused us from our leisurely graces and dilettante researches of the eighteenth century, and compelled us to use the entire force of our mind to preserve our independence, maintain our food supply, and increase our wealth as a weapon of war. We fought Napoleon with our new steam-engine as well as with our direct new instrument of victory, Major Shrapnel's shell, which did almost as much as Wellington to win Waterloo.

The Napoleonic impetus

Again we have been roused, after a Continental peace of a hundred years, to display the quality of mind inherited from our forefathers. We must admit that we have inherited a much larger wealth of science than our ancestors possessed. But, on the other hand, we share our science as fully with Germany as we do with France. The leading nations have equal opportunities in winning and developing that knowledge which is power, and we have not in reserve so mighty and tremendous an instrument as James Watt, of Glasgow, gave Britain in the days of her last great struggle for life. We have only the same prime movers that Germany has, and our new steam-engine, the turbine, invented by Sir Charles Parsons, is used in Germany as well as in Britain. Moreover, the Germans are able in one way to match our latest invention in steam-power by means of the new German prime mover, the Diesel oil-engine. It owes its origin to the inventiveness of an Austrian engineer and the enterprising spirit of the German firm of Krupp.

In some technical industries, such as the manufacture of steel castings, optical glass, and coal-tar products, in which we once excelled, the Germans far surpassed us. In the old days, when the resources of the world were undeveloped, we were the kings of coal and iron, and with our steam-engine, Bessemer process and Armstrong gun, iron steamers and ironclads, we dominated the earth. We were the first of all nations to create an industrial State, and until our American kinsmen and the Germans copied us and built up great scientific industries, we were beyond attack. Simply by our inventiveness and enterprise we held the greater part of mankind in economic dependence upon one small island lying off the coast of Europe.

Trafalgar and Waterloo were only small military incidents in the generally peaceful process by which the power of Britain was maintained and extended. Even our possession of coalfields and iron ore was but an incident in the expansion of our influence. Other nations had coal and iron, and had been using them for thousands of years. But, first of all men, the Anglo-Celt made a machine that could do the work of thousands of men. He harnessed this machine to his tools, looms, mills, vehicles, and ships, so that the comparatively small population of parts of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland acquired a productive power greater than that of the rest of mankind put together. In other words, it was our inventors that made us great. Nelson and Wellington kept the foe from our shores, but it was not their victories that enabled us to overshadow the world for a hundred years. No fleet could provide us with the food we needed in order to expand our numbers, so as to people the larger part of the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and part of South Africa. It was James Watt and the men who followed him who gave us our industrial supremacy, and, by binding the agricultural nations to us by our extraordinary commercial power, achieved the incomparable expansion of the Anglo-Celtic races.

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A RELIC OF THE SOMME ADVANCE.

German trench loophole plate riddled with bullets. In spite of countless experiments, no infallible bullet-proof shield had been invented

We are good fighters, all of us—English and Welsh, Scottish and Irish. But there were kings before Agamemnon, and there were first-class fighting races before the amalgam of Angles, Celts, and Norse settlers of the British Isles took to interfering with their neighbours of Western Europe. It is the genius of our race which gave us greater power in the world than the Romans. In the Middle Ages we produced Roger Bacon, and soon afterwards we applied our budding talent for science to matters of war, and used Bacon's invention of gunpowder in cannon in 1327, the first recorded date in history of ordnance being employed. And since our invention of modern artillery we have usually marked our great wars with some improvement in ordnance unforeseen by our enemy. Since the fifteenth century we have been less engaged in national struggles for existence than our neighbours on the Continent, and have, therefore, had less urgent stimulus to warlike invention. Nevertheless, when we have taken the field we have often shown the old powers of mind. In the Napoleonic era, when warships carried only small guns, Gasgoyne, of the Carron Ironworks in Scotland, invented

British genius for invention

[Official photograph.

PANORAMA OF THE BATTLEFIELD AT LA BOISSELLE, CAPTURED BY THE BRITISH ON JULY 3RD, 1916. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE ORIGINAL BRITISH FRONT LINE.

the carronade, with which our naval victories were won. These pieces were lighter than the ordinary gun, but threw a shot twice as heavy as the enemy's missiles, and produced such a devastating effect on enemy ships that our sailors called them "smashers." In the Crimean War we made a 36 in. gun, throwing a ton shell. Then the modern built-up gun was invented and developed by our race, which also discovered the method of making large steel castings that Krupp introduced into Germany. In regard to ammunition, the shrapnel shell, as we have seen, is a British invention. It was the chief instrument in saving our line around Hougomont on the field of Waterloo, and our military gunners have ever since had an especial affection for it.

Picric acid, a mixture of carbolic acid and nitric acid that looks like honey, is another British contribution to the science of war. One of the Fellows of our Chemical Society demonstrated its warlike use at Woolwich testing grounds in 1871, and some years afterwards sent his article on this coal-tar high explosive to M. Eugene Turpin, of Paris, who worked up the acid into the new compound known as melinite, lyddite, or shimose. After the war broke out M. Turpin discovered a high explosive of greater power than melinite, and it was partly due to his invention that the army of Verdun made so magnificent a resistance; for, with the new explosive, a comparatively small French shell had greater smashing power than a heavier German shell, so that it is reported that a French shell of about six inches charged with the new chemical produced on the German trenches more effect than a German 8 in. shell produced on the French trenches. M. Turpin thus, by a small discovery in chemistry, increased the power of the French artillery in an extraordinary way. Searching for means to attain a greater smashing effect, the German armies seem to have neglected the construction of 3 in. guns and concentrated the larger part of their armament plant on turning out heavy 5·9 in. pieces. Naturally, these heavy pieces took longer to construct than light field-artillery, and the French armament firms, relying on the increased power of their new high-explosive shell, continued to produce light guns in vast numbers, while maintaining a very considerable output of giant howitzers. They fought their enemy by a scientific invention, in such a way as to keep up with the enormous mineral resources that the Germans temporarily won in Northern France, Belgium, and Russian Poland.

The power of French artillery

As regards our progress in artillery during the war, detailed information cannot be given at the moment of writing; but there is the patent fact of our victorious battleship squadron, carrying a gun much more powerful than that carried in any enemy squadron, and bringing it to bear with greater speed than that at which the battleship force of any other nation can steam into action. From the outset of the war there was a great deal of talk about the Austrian 12 in. Skoda howitzer and the German 16·8 in. Krupp howitzer. But we continued to make as powerful guns as either friend or foe possessed.

The monster siege artillery which the French brought into action in the summer of 1916 was made of a new steel alloy. In size the new French howitzer excelled Krupp's giant weapon, and, by reason of the strength of the steel employed, more muzzle energy could safely be generated inside the new French ordnance. The result was that a greater range was obtained, together with a higher throw of the missile and a more tremendous smashing effect. It is only just to add that the French metallurgists were at least good seconds to our leading men.

The significance of this fact was brought out by the terrible prolongation of the war. The life of the finest British high-velocity gun was only three seconds. For three seconds did the great power-heat engine known as a big gun perform its work with accuracy. At the end of three seconds the erosion of the rifling rendered it necessary

to withdraw the inner tube and fit a new tube—a process occupying several weeks. Of course, the extraordinarily short life of three seconds meant in practice weeks or months of actual use, for each shot required work lasting only a minute fraction of a second. But the general result was that the life of the inner gun-tube became amazingly short when the Germans and Austrians made drum-fire tactics the decisive feature of the battle. and went on prolonging the hurricane fire from massed parks of artillery, first for days, then for weeks, then for months. The incessant internal pressures, even with the low muzzle energy with which the Teutons were contented, rapidly ate up the brief life of the gun-tubes. Guns built on the British model could much more easily be re-tubed.

WAY FOR THE CAVALRY.
Bridge constructed by the Fort Garry Horse. An officer is about to test the strength of the structure.

RAPID ENGINEERING. [*Canadian Government copyright photographs.*
Royal Canadian Horse Artillery crossing a bridge erected in the record time of one and a half minutes. Two soldiers are holding it in position by means of ropes.

If our blockade had succeeded in depriving the enemy of the rare metals needed in making very high tensile and hard and high-speed steel, our skill in metallurgy would have told with overwhelming effect. The enemy was only beyond the attack of a vigorous blockade in regard to manganese ore. His nickel mines in Saxony were inadequate to his needs, while the French possessed in New Caledonia vast deposits. Britain and her Overseas Dominions had abundant supplies of most rare metals needed in the finest steel-making, and laws against the export of these scientific necessities in modern warfare helped to impede the labours of the enemy. What we did with our illimitable resources, our science in steel, and our fertilising collaboration with our brilliant French and Belgian allies forms a story of high technical interest which cannot yet be told. It will make an inspiring romance of science for our boys when they crowd into those improved and numerous institutes for secondary technical education which will consolidate the work of improvisation carried on during the war.

Meanwhile, it may be well to point out that our metallurgists and artillery engineers never failed our Army from the beginning. Our first five divisions were equipped for a battle of manœuvre, though for this they were very short of motor-transport and machine-guns. If siege operations against German fortresses were required, the French siege train was to undertake this work. We had a quick-firing 5 in. howitzer, and a quick-firing 5 in. field-gun, and it was probably because of our example that the Germans introduced giant howitzers and heavy guns into the equipment of their field army. Our French allies had followed our example in regard neither to our 4·5 in. field-howitzer nor our 1910 model 5 in. long-range gun, for they held that their "75" quick-firer was all that would be required in mobile warfare. They thus left themselves at a great disadvantage, and in the first battles they were surprised, outranged, and badly shattered.

Our chief artillery defect

Along the Aisne and at Ypres our guns were completely outranged, but this was due to the fact that our mobile field force on the Aisne plateau was opposed by part of the great German siege train brought from Maubeuge, while around Ypres the Austro-German siege train that had smashed the forts of Antwerp was brought against our men.

Our chief defect from the artillery standpoint was our lyddite shell, the fuse of which was not as fine as the French fuse. We had been the first nation to employ high-explosive shell. The fuse we employed was at first faulty, so that the shells sometimes exploded when being carried along rough roads, and this prejudiced some of our artillery officers against lyddite. They relied more on the sweeping fire of shrapnel, while both the French and the Germans, who had very safe and effective

fuses, employed high-explosive blasts even in open field warfare. When our field army learnt by terrible experience the need for a larger proportion of high-explosive shell there were apparently two obstacles that delayed the improvement of our munitions. In the first place, soldiers of experience in the War Office retained their faith in shrapnel and a certain distrust of the high explosive, acquired from observation of our old type of lyddite shell.

Watch-makers and fuse-making

Then, our shell-making plant, though expanding with the expansion of our forces, was planned to supply the needs of an army fighting in the open. That is to say, it was planned to supply shrapnel in much larger proportion than high-explosive shell, and the plant for making the high-explosive fuse remained comparatively small.

We had not workers in sufficient number expert in fuse making. It was an exquisite kind of labour, like fine clockmaking, and we had no large body of men who could be turned on to it without training. The French, whose fuse factories were from the beginning on a Continental scale like those of the enemy, obtained valuable assistance from the watchmakers in the French-speaking districts of Switzerland, and the Germans organised their clockmakers of the Black Forest and built huge new factories for them. We suffered from relying, in the days of peace, on American clock factories and Swiss watch factories. There were no great plants in our country for stamping out the delicate mechanism of the fuse, and no large bodies of trained assemblers who could be rapidly instructed in putting fuses together.

All this lack of means for making high-explosive shell in enormous quantities can scarcely be said to tell against our scientific genius for war, though some French critic remarked at the time that our temporary set-back was due to the fact that we had developed the heavy side of engineering, while the French had specialised in fine and exquisitely true work, such as distinguished the French motors used in light vehicles and flying machines. Yet the workmanship of the mechanism of a Rolls-Royce car was surely as good as anything made in France, and the new Coatelen engine of the Sunbeam Company did not seem to be very much inferior to the French aerial motors. In exquisite trueness the English lever watch and the first-rate English clock, the English sporting gun, chronometer, and many English scientific instruments of delicate precision are famous throughout the world. Even in the heavy work of shipbuilding the engine needs as fine work almost as a watch. The amount of research and experiment expended in our country on turbine blades, to take one example from our heaviest kind of engineering work, shows that the genius of the British race is as good at fine detail as it is at huge construction.

Indeed, we have continually progressed during the last generation in quality of work. In the industry on which our modern power was first built—iron and steel making—we have been overtaken in the rate of production by the United States and Germany. But we have used our ancient genius in science to make certain steel manufactured in our country more valuable than any steel that America or Germany produces. Sheffield steel, especially, played in the Great War a part like that which our early steam-engine played in the Napoleonic War. Germany uses the power-lathe we invented and the high-speed steel tools we elaborated. But Sheffield still held some secrets of steel manufacture likely to tell on the problem of the duration of the war.

BRITISH BOMBARDMENT OF FRICOURT, CAPTURED DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF JULY, 1916.

Sir Douglas Haig attacked on either side of Fricourt, and all but surrounded the village. The German line was broken in two places and such enemy reinforcements as entered the village were caught in a trap. This photograph shows the panorama before Fricourt and British shells bursting on the enemy position.

Even the poisonous chlorine gas, which the Germans inhumanly introduced as a weapon of warfare, is a British invention. For a considerable period we have held almost a monopoly of one of the most important fields of industrial chemistry, based on the breaking up of common salt into soda and chlorine. In recent years a couple of British inventors worked out an electrical method of reducing salt to chlorine, which was used for bleaching purposes, and to soda, which was employed in soap-making and a score of other manufactures. Some of the German chemical works adopted the British invention, and by means of it produced the terrible fumes against which the Canadians had to fight at Ypres. It was in no way a triumph of a diabolical kind for German science. We possessed the infernal weapon of chlorine gas at the beginning of the war, but we refrained from using it because it did not simply kill, but produced prolonged agony.

The use of chlorine gas

Phosgene—a union of carbon monoxide and chlorine—which the Germans used in their dyeworks, and then employed as one of their poison gases on the battlefield, was discovered by Sir Humphry Davy. And it may be remarked that French and English discoveries of bromine and benzine were the foundation of the benzil-bromide shells used by the Germans to produce inflammation of the eyes and blindness.

Germany's diabolical weapons

Even after the Germans used such diabolical weapons, our Government was averse to making use of our great alkali and refrigerating industries. Our refrigerating trade had the tens of thousands of gas cylinders needed. The cylinders were being used for gas required in the freezing process, and could quickly have been charged with chlorine at our alkali works. But apparently our Government was too tender-hearted to turn against the enemy the dreadful weapon he employed, though we had everything in our favour—the prevailing westerly wind, the greatest alkali plants in the world, and a large number of gas cylinders with the plants for making more. In other words, we had in this branch of technical science a great advantage over our fiendish enemy, and we refrained from using this advantage for unknown reasons. When we were at last compelled to use gas, we produced a heavy vapour of a harmless, intoxicating quality that merely stupefied the enemy and allowed him to be taken if his position were reached.

The employment of thick smoke from destroyers as a screen for battleship movements is another thing that the Germans learnt from us. They were clever pick-brains rather than original thinkers, and even their intense activity in developing the ideas they picked up was due rather to the fact that they were energetically working up for a great war, than to any naturally sustained alertness of intellect.

SONS OF THE EMPIRE.
Young Anzac officers in a merry mood before going up to the zone of operations.

AFTER THE TURK—THE HUN.
Splendid types of British soldiers from overseas congregating in a village behind the line in France. Most of these men had seen service in Gallipoli before getting to hand-grips with the real enemy.

In their use of chemistry for war purposes the Germans certainly had some advantage over us, but it was largely from the fundamental work of British men of science that they derived their main processes. For example, they were able to replace the nitre that they could not obtain from the nitre-fields of Chile by extracting nitre from the air by means of an electric arc—the old invention of Henry Cavendish. We, on the other hand, neglected our native sources of nitrates because we could rely upon the Chilian fields. But when our troubles over freightage became acute and the need for economy in the use of our cargo steamers grew urgent, our chemists were equal to the occasion. We had an enormous supply of ammonia, produced as a by-product in our gas and coke ovens, and by an oxidation process we were able to convert this by-product into concentrated nitric acid. It was also discovered that British gas companies were wasting a very large amount of ammonia, which could be recovered without difficulty. The by-product and the waste were sufficient to cover all our requirements for high explosives.

Utilisation of by-products

Germany was producing half a million tons a year of nitric acid by the arc process and the cyanamide process, because she could not get Chilian nitrate of soda; and by the spring of 1916 it looked as though we should have to get our nitrates from our coal-mines, and thus unintentionally help to diminish the value of the one great source of natural wealth that Chile possessed. After the war the nitrates would be used for fertilising purposes in agriculture, and the chief belligerent countries, with their great new plants, would

ROUND THE VILLAGE PUMP.
Anzac soldiers filling their flasks at a village tap before going up to the trenches. With their slouch hats and loose-fitting tunics, the Anzacs were quite conspicuous.

A GREAT FRENCH POLITICIAN ON THE BRITISH FRONT.
M. Briand, the French Premier, studying a military plan on the occasion of a tour of the British lines made by him under the personal guidance of General Sir Douglas Haig. M. Briand appeared to be much impressed by his visit.

make the by-product of their gas and coke works into a permanent national source of nitrate supply. The farmers would then maintain a great industry needed for war.

From the gas and coke ovens of Germany and England also came picric acid and toluene. Here we had suffered a serious loss of warlike power by allowing Germany to develop the discovery of coal-tar dyes made by an English chemist. The enemy had the practical monopoly of coal-tar antiseptics, needed by our surgeons, coal-tar dyes, required for our khaki uniforms, and—what was of most importance—coal-tar high explosives of the safest, most lasting, and powerful kind. From their coke ovens the Germans obtained the toluene which they nitrated, also with a product of their gas ovens, and made into trinitro-toluene. Before the war this chemical had been offered by a German firm to our Government for use in torpedoes and floating mines. It had a more shattering effect than gun-cotton and did not deteriorate in water. But our Government did not adopt the new explosive. The German Government, however, did. For it was found that T.N.T., as trinitrotoluene is familiarly called, had some points of superiority over lyddite and other picric-acid explosives as a bursting charge in shells. Picric acid, obtained by boiling carbolic and nitric acid, must not be allowed to come into contact with metals, as it forms highly sensitive compounds. A varnish is employed to prevent it from blowing up its users, as it blew up some of our troops in the South African War. T.N.T., on the other hand, is more stable.

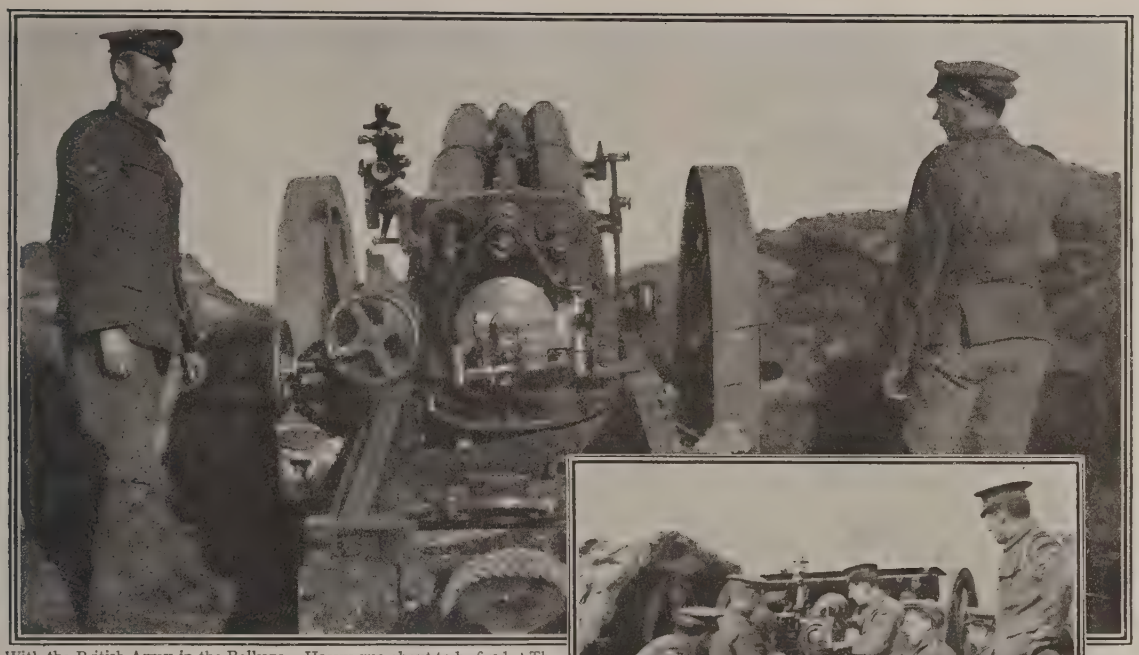
Coal-tar and high explosives

In the form of "Jack Johnsons" and other terrible shells, T.N.T. was pitched into our lines while we were still mainly employing shrapnel because of our difficulties with picric-acid fuses. But the British chemists soon worked out a process for T.N.T. and another new high explosive. Practically all the toluene from our gas and coke factories was commandeered by the Ministry of Munitions. Then the benzole, from which the toluol had been extracted, was also taken over by the Government. Before the war our country manufactured annually about ten million gallons of benzole from the waste of gasworks and coke ovens. A large proportion of this by-product used to be sent in peace time to Germany, there to be manufactured into coal-tar dyes, drugs, and scents, and what then remained of the benzole was employed as a spirit in motor-car engines. But our war chemists, towards the close of 1915, began to turn our ten million gallons of coal-tar spirit into another new high-explosive, popularly called T.N.A. This was short for tetranitraniline, made by nitrating aniline, and is a solid high explosive, the most powerful of its kind. But about this time a Swedish engineer, Mr. W. Normelli, was reported to have invented a new form of nitrated ammonia from coke oven by-products which had twenty-five per cent. greater bursting effect than any other explosive. If the facts of this invention were truly stated, normellite promised to have a great influence on naval warfare, for our chief chemical problem, as the leading naval Power, has been for many years the armour-piercing shell.

We learnt from a Russian experiment, in the days when we were hostile to Russia, how to make a bolt of forged steel that would break through heavy armour. An ingenious Russian had discovered that a steel bolt needed, paradoxically, a cap of soft iron over its nose to prevent it from smashing against armour. We fitted soft iron caps to our armour-piercing shells, but were perplexed to find the devastating high explosive that would withstand the tremendous shock of the impact of the shell on the armour and explode inside the stricken ship. Nearly all the high explosives detonated on the armour-plate as this was being pierced, and did little damage. For some time we used black powder in our armour-piercing shells, because this old-fashioned and feeble explosive could be made to survive the smash on the armour, and burst a fraction of a second later inside the pierced ship. Normellite, it is stated, is as stable as black powder, in addition to doing more damage than lyddite or T.N.T. Propelled with sufficient force, it will go through any armour without detonating in the terrific shock, and then explode by its own fuse when travelling in a pierced turret or below a deck.

Discovery of normellite

In regard to the German monopoly in certain coal-tar antiseptics, needed in vast quantities on the battlefield, this was overcome by British men of science with extraordinary rapidity. In the first place, Professor Lorraine Smith and Dr. Dakin found, in our great chemical factories of bleaching powder, the means of making a new antiseptic, which was both cheaper and stronger than carbolic acid and lysol. But long before this important newer antiseptic industry was established, the greatest of all our medical men of science, Sir Almroth Wright, discovered that our old slave-traders in the West Indies in the eighteenth century knew more about antiseptics than any modern German chemist. When a slave tried to escape and received a severe lashing, they used to rub his broken skin with a mixture of sea-water and lemon-juice. Sir Almroth Wright studied the effect on the blood of a solution of common salt and lemon-juice, and discovered that while ordinary antiseptics killed the injured tissues, the old slave-traders' remedy caused the injured parts to be bathed in healing fluids coming from the rest of the body. So, during the war, the wounds of our soldiers and sailors



With the British Army in the Balkans. Heavy gun about to be fired. ; The smaller photograph shows a field-gun in action for registering ranges.

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Another type of British ordnance bombarding the enemy's positions in Macedonia.

HEAVY BRITISH ARTILLERY IN ACTION SOMEWHERE IN THE BALKANS.

TRENCH CARPENTRY.
Australian soldiers repairing a communication trench.

were not generally treated with coal-tar antiseptics in such a way as to hurt the tissues, but were kept free from germs by the Almroth Wright solution. At the same time as the wound was being dressed in this new way a vaccine was injected into the wounded men, which prevented any suppuration from occurring.

The old, elaborate lint bandage and wool frequently acted as a deterrent to the discharge of lymph, which cleansed the injury, and formed sometimes a breeding place for germs. The removal of such dressings, too, occasioned considerable suffering to the wounded man. The saline solution irrigation dispensed, to no small extent, with the cumbersome surgical dressing. Another advantage of the non-application of coal-tar antiseptics and bandages was that the injured and exposed periosteum (sheath of the bone) was in no way irritated.

THE QUICK AND THE DEAD.
Grave of a British soldier only a few yards from a first-line trench.

In spite of all the loud advertisements of the achievements of German medical science, our country at the outbreak of war was in the happy position of possessing the greatest living master of ordinary germ diseases. Sir Almroth Wright and a large part of his laboratory staff joined the Army, and helped to safeguard the bodily strength of all the fighting men of the western line.

A preventive against enteric

It was in Sir Almroth Wright's laboratory at St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington, that enormous quantities of enteric vaccine were prepared, with which first the British troops and then the French, Belgian, and Russian troops were safeguarded from the most deadly of all battle perils.

After the South African War, Sir Almroth Wright continually struggled against the inertia of the medical profession in regard to his discovery of a preventive against enteric. It was not until Lord Kitchener undertook the reorganisation of the Indian Army, recognised the merits of the new vaccine, and had it tested in a decisive manner, that the prejudices of ignorance were overcome. At the outbreak of hostilities not more than eighty men in this country were fully trained in the new methods of treatment of bacterial disease developed by Sir Almroth Wright. Hence, perhaps, the breakdown in our measures of prevention in Mesopotamia and Gallipoli. But, on the other hand, small as was our band of medical men of science of the new school, it was larger than that possessed by the Central Empires. In the winter of 1914 the Austrians suffered horribly from a general lack of modern medical science. Germany had one man of great distinction, the brilliant Jew, Paul Ehrlich, of Frankfort. He was bound by ties of common admiration to Wright and the leaders of our London and Liverpool schools for the studies of tropical diseases. His personal troubles during the war killed Ehrlich, for he was a Jew more of the type of Spinoza than of Ballin and Dernberg. Ehrlich's death robbed the Germans of their greatest active mind.

Antiseptic progress in France

France, to whom the need of conservation of life was of supreme importance, was in as fortunate a position as Britain. Pasteur left behind many heirs of his genius, and at the Pasteur Institute and elsewhere there were hundreds of finely trained minds working on the problems of military injuries and diseases. Wright's work on the new antiseptic was taken up, thoroughly examined, proved, and then developed, with results that were soon to be seen by the public in ordinary surgical operations. Enteric was fought

[Official photographs.

AFTERNOON TEA IN SPITE OF THE WAR.
Anzac soldiers lined up for a can of tea, one of the most popular beverages in the first line.

[Official photograph.

CATERING ARRANGEMENTS UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

Just behind the Anzac trenches. Headquarters of the cook, who was in the act of preparing a meal for his comrades. Shells had snapped off many of the tall trees in the vicinity. Four of the men are wearing the excellent steel helmet which saved so many valuable lives.

by vaccination, and the strange outbreak of spotted fever, which seems first to have occurred in our Canadian Division, was combated by American, British, and French research. We have no wish to paint the devil blacker than he is, but having regard to the known fact that cholera from an Austrian source was deliberately spread among the Belgian troops and also among the Russian troops, we must point out that the germ of spotted fever was only clearly discovered at the beginning of the war. Months passed before any well-tested method of treatment could be devised. The germ was first discovered in the United States, and it was brought into our country and then into France, by infected Canadian recruits. Then it strangely appeared in a great, overwhelming, horrible epidemic in Serbia, where it largely contributed to the enfeeblement of the Serbian people and the sapping of the last reserves of strength of the Serbian Army.

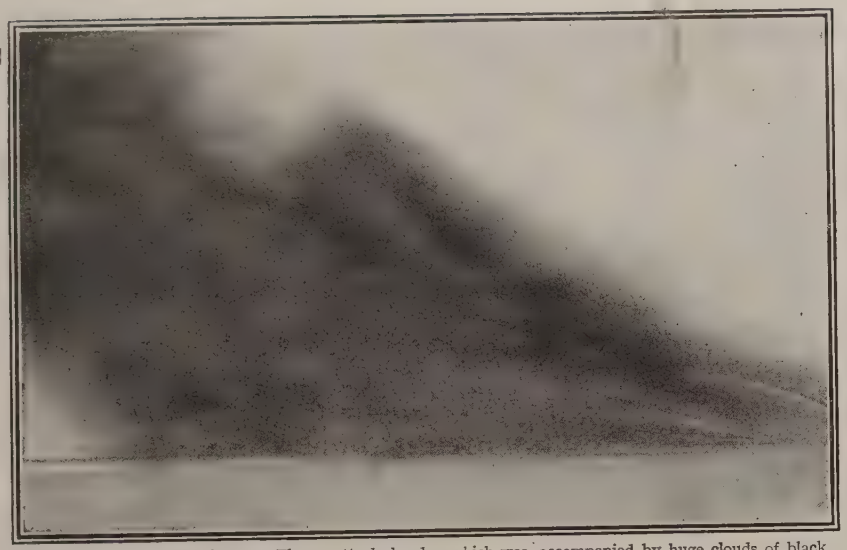
The germ of spotted fever

We possess a large mass of definite Russian evidence that drinking vessels containing cholera cultures were placed for Russian troops to use. There are, therefore, grounds of suspicion that German bacteriologists, profiting by the discovery of the new spotted-fever germ, employed this deadly microbe for the same purpose as German chemists employed chlorine gas. In any case, cholera germs were certainly employed in the Teutonic method of warfare, and round Ypres and in German South-West Africa the enemy poisoned the water with arsenic, after the manner of the lowest savages. But because the German used his knowledge of bacteriology in order to spread diseases among his foes, there is no reason to allow him any superiority in scientific skill.

Britain and France possessed together more knowledge and probably larger equipment, but they kept wholly to preventive and to healing work, while the Teuton used the mind and common heritage of medical knowledge of civilised men to attempt atrocities beyond the dreams of the most blood-maddened savage, and, if Milton's view of Satan is correct, lower and viler than anything imagined by the devil. We have yet to learn how the horrors of Wittenberg Camp originated. It would be easy for a skilled bacteriologist of the German school to murder prisoners by having them first kept in such a condition that they were plagued with vermin, and then deliberately introducing among them either a stricken patient or an unconscious plague-carrier. Professor Huxley used to discourse very eloquently on the ennobling effect of scientific studies. He should have lived to see what the Germans did after studying certain medical branches of knowledge, which they lacked the genius to originate, but developed with ant-like industry when they saw the practical value of the new discoveries. It was a war of annihilation that German men of science of the materialistic school tried to wage against Russia, Belgium, Serbia, France, and Britain. They endeavoured to sweep all the allied populations away by means of a revived form of a "Black Death." The very instrument of research which Pasteur, Lister, Metchnikoff, and Wright developed for the cure of human weakness and suffering was perverted into the most ghastly of all weapons of general slaughter by the bacteriologists of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

This matter is of supreme importance. It goes down deep into the ultimate problem of the human race. We are a collection of frail creatures, living, each for a brief span of time, on a clot of substance whirling round the gas-jet we call the sun. It seems to have taken us about a million years to climb out of a purely animal stage of existence, and become, in varying degree, instruments of the Divine power that labours through the universe. It is scarcely more than ten thousand years since civilisation was established, and the work of collecting a permanent body of knowledge in a form that could be handed down from generation to generation and spread and developed among and by all classes was begun but four thousand years ago. The great increase of human power, born of science, has taken place in the lifetime of men and women still living. Our power over the agents of disease is still imperfect, and the knowledge underlying this power is a technical and

Scientific crime of the Teutons



Veritably the inferno of war. Flame attack by day which was accompanied by huge clouds of black smoke intended to veil enemy movements.

Flame night attack on the British trenches. The neutral zone became one great blaze, and the photograph was secured simply by this light.

British officers wearing respirators running through a gas cloud. The poisonous atmosphere was so weighted as to creep along the ground, not unlike a mist on the moors.

Testing a new type of respirator. Perilous work of British officers. After the Germans introduced gas into warfare several types of respirators were used at the front.

FLAMES AND FUMES: THE NEW ELEMENTS INTRODUCED INTO WARFARE BY THE ENEMY.

abstruse thing, of which scarcely more than one person in forty thousand Britons has a comprehensive grasp.

Thence arises a state of popular ignorance concerning the terrible crimes of the German bacteriologists, which helped the enemy. Our public does not appreciate the quality and scope of the scientific crime of the Teutons. As a nation we are too much lacking in uncompromising trenchancy of intellect to attack and solve the problem of the future struggles of the human race which Germany has raised. Our public does not understand what the Germans actually attempted. Had any people attempted to do to the Germans what the Germans tried to do to the Allies—and sometimes succeeded in doing—there would have been such a propaganda of scientific enlightenment that the oldest and most illiterate peasant in the Black Forest would have been made clearly to understand the terrible significance of the event.

The majority of our people, however, appeared likely to go through the war and then settle down to the work of peaceful reconstruction without facing the present and future possibilities of bacteriological warfare. It is now possible for a very skilful bacteriologist to prepare a practically new form of death and elaborate at the same time its antidote. It is possible for him, with the assistance of his Government, to use the antidote on all his countrymen and make them immune from some deadly disease, and then secretly and thoroughly spread this disease through a neighbouring nation by means of assistants working in the large cities of the country attacked. Yet there was every probability that the Allies would at last make peace with the Central Empires without paying the slightest attention to the awful problem of the future means of protection of the human race which German and Austrian bacteriologists have raised during the present war. The crime against civilisation committed by the Germans in regard to the employment of poisonous gas is utterly unimportant in comparison with their subtler devilry in spreading deadly infectious disease germs. It used to be fancied that some insane Anarchist with scientific knowledge might possibly pervert the great discovery of Pasteur into a means of attempting to depopulate the earth. It was no utter madman that attempted this ultimate crime, but some of the cool-headed men of science attached to German universities and paid by the German Government. And when peace is established no guarantees will be obtained that war will not silently break out in a strange, secret, fiendish way that is likely to find the attacked nations all unprepared.

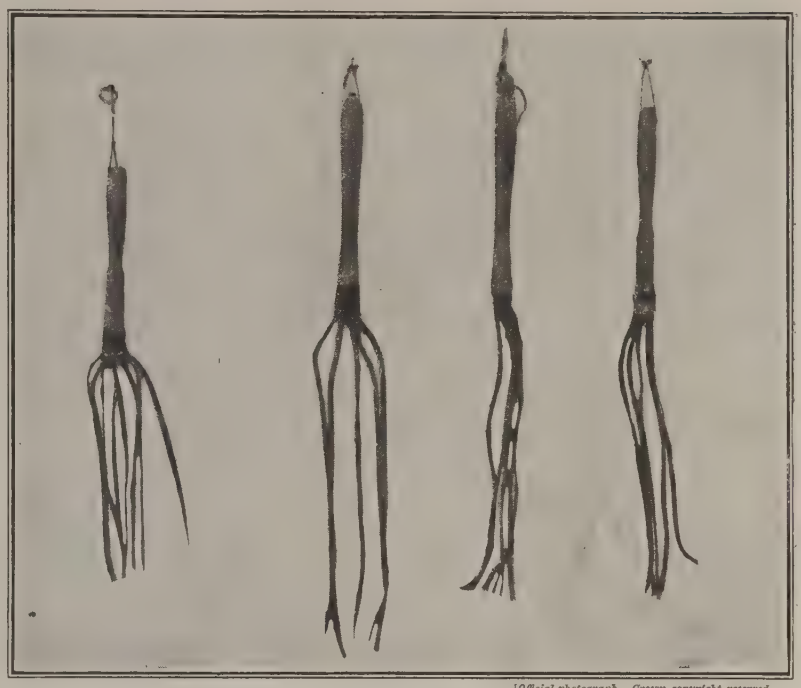
Awful problem of the future

It has been said that evil is wrought by want of thought as well as by want of conscience, and it is our crowning misfortune that we are governed by men none of whom has any first-hand knowledge of science. And behind these men are four or five party machines, run by governing castes which are either dull or unenlightened.

A small band of true lovers of human wisdom proved our salvation when the great ordeal by battle opened. Probably a majority of them were men of private means, who pursued in their own homes the work that German men of science undertook with Government funds in magnificently equipped laboratories. Others were captains of industry, like Sir Robert Hadfield, of Sheffield, who ran important factories, and for pure delight in research work built private laboratories in their works, and held all foreign competitors at bay by an astonishing stream of discoveries. Then some of our intellectual leaders, like Sir Almroth Wright, began their fine work in universities and Government positions, fought for years against official stupidity and jealousy, abandoned their posts and their salaries, and at last by great labour attracted the admiration of generous rivals abroad and slowly rosé, through foreign recognition, to a position of authority in their own country. Extremely rare were well-endowed centres of research like the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge, founded by the Duke of Devonshire, in which British men of science could pursue their studies with as great a wealth of appliances as German and American professors possessed.

Even for military purposes our Government, Conservative or Radical, would not provide proper funds for scientific research. To take an apparently small example of Government indifference: We were in a perilous position in regard to the manufacture of glass for scientific purposes. The glass we required for vaccinating our troops against enteric and suppurating wounds, and for scientific researches in factories and laboratories where great heat was used, was a German monopoly. The Germans also controlled the production of the optical glass required in increasing quantity by our Navy and Army for submarine periscopes, gunnery sights, and range-finders, field-glasses, and other warlike purposes. We had inventors able to provide us with periscopes and range-finders—in fact, the submarine periscope was an Irish invention, and the range-finder of Messrs. Barr & Stroud was the mother instrument of all similar devices used at home and abroad. The advantage of inventive genius rested with us.

Government and scientific research



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DISCOVERED IN THE ENEMY'S FIRST LINE.

Cat-o'-nine-tails found in the German trenches. Four sinister implements which fell into British hands on the occasion of the general move forward on July 1st, 1916.

"PRESENT KUKRIES!": UNIQUE FORM OF DRILL IN THE HETEROGENEOUS FORCES OF THE EMPIRE AT WAR.
Kit inspection of Gurkhas, some of the fierce warriors from India. Each is displaying his kukri, a steel weapon which gave the Germans considerable anxiety in the early part of the war. The rest of the Gurkhas' outfit is placed neatly on the grass.

All that the enemy possessed was the advantage of manufacture. He had in the Thuringia Forest fine glass industries of larger scope than he required, and his great optical glass and instrument factories produced in peace time more articles than his Army and Navy needed. It was foreseen that when war broke out Germany would turn her monopoly in optical and heat-resisting glass against us, and provide her gunners, sharpshooters, and observing officers with an extraordinary number of ingenious optical devices, while leaving us with no immediate means of supplying the growing needs of our military and naval forces.

Germany's glass monopoly

Five years ago, some of our men of science pointed out to our military and naval authorities and to the Board of Education that, in the event of a European war, our import of glass for binoculars, gun-sights, range-finders, and many other instruments would be suddenly stopped, and that we must, for the sake of the safety of the country, learn to make the necessary glass ourselves. It was proposed to establish an optical institute in connection with the Northampton Polytechnic in Clerkenwell. When the military and educational authorities were asked to contribute some financial aid to the capital cost of the building the answer given was: "No item in the Parliamentary estimates." So the scheme could not be carried out, although another notable band of men of science, attached to the Imperial College in Kensington, agreed to direct the higher work of the institute. The result was that we paid in blood for the blindness of our caste of professional politicians.

In the end it was our inventors who saved us and stopped the wastage of life along our battle-front. A group of men in our Chemical Society energetically tackled the secrets of German glass, and with remarkable rapidity discovered the formulas and gave them to our manufacturers.

Power of the periscope rifle

In optical glass there was considerable difficulty in getting the exquisite moulds by which the Germans standardised their output. We turned to America for some of our searchlights and optical instruments, and, happily, one of the principal German-American firms was strongly indignant over the wrong done to Belgium, and worked for our forces with magnificent energy. A long time passed before our snipers were provided with sights such as German sharpshooters used. But again the inventive talent of our race helped us out of our difficulties. In the Gallipoli campaign, for instance, the moral superiority of the Anzac force was largely due to a clever device worked out on the spot by Lance-Corporal W. C. D. Beach, of the 2nd. Australian Battalion. Using his shaving mirror, Beach constructed a periscope rifle, with which he was able to fire over the parapet while remaining completely hidden. Sir William Birdwood quickly appreciated the strange power of the periscope rifle. He denuded all the transports of their looking-glasses, and with the help of Corporal Beach constructed some two thousand rifle periscopes, with which the Turks were kept completely under throughout the campaign. The invention was sent home, but apparently some time elapsed before the simple and ingenious periscope rifle was introduced into France and Flanders.

A still more remarkable example of the British faculty of meeting a great need by inventiveness occurred in connection with another German monopoly of a key industry. The most subtle and far-reaching of the enemy's preparations for war was his control of base metals and rare metals. Zinc, for instance, was badly needed by us as the chief naval Power and shipping Power. Our Army needed zinc for making cartridges, but our large steamers and warships also required it in vast quantities. For instance, a single Atlantic liner needed every year a supply of fifty-eight tons of zinc to protect her boilers from corrosion. The zinc she required every twelve months was sufficient to make the brass for seventeen million cartridges. The zinc in one of our latest fast battleships probably represents the base metal required for 20,000,000 cartridges. So as the war developed, zinc rose tenfold in price and became scarce. The Empire had an abundant supply of the metal in Australia, but there were no works, either in Australia or in Britain, for getting the spelter out of the ores. A German ring, with factories in Germany and in the occupied part of Belgium, controlled this great key industry. The ring took the ore from the Australian mine, roasted the zinc out of it, and, when war broke out, kept the zinc in Germany. We had no works of any importance for zinc-making. But an inventive Englishman, Mr. Elliott Cumberland, helped to save the use of zinc in the ordinary boilers of our land and marine steam-engines. It was known that the corrosion of boilers was due to electro-chemical action. Mr. Cumberland introduced two iron points into a boiler, and sent a ten-volt current of electricity from point to point. It was such a current as could be obtained from a small dynamo used for lighting purposes—something both small and cheap. But the electric current proved sufficient to take all the corrosive elements from the interior of the boiler and deposit them on the iron point, together with all grease, oil, and other impurities from the boiling water. Instead of a large fast steamer needing fifty-eight tons of zinc a year to keep her boilers clean, she required only a few iron points, costing perhaps less than ten shillings, annually.

The German spelter ring

This great saving in one of the most useful of base metals related to our Navy and our mercantile marine, and to all works in which power was derived from steam. Naturally, old-fashioned large boilers were easier to save from corrosion than the modern tubular boiler. But Mr. Cumberland's little anti-corrosion current promised to upset one of the most important markets of the German zinc ring.

The German base-metal ring was further defeated by another British invention. There was a large British factory troubled with a useless waste product, consisting of calcium chloride. This firm used its waste as a source of chlorine for getting the zinc into a liquid form. The roasted ore was brought into contact with chloride waste, with the result that the mineral in it was dissolved. An electric current was then sent through the chloride of zinc, producing a superb result—a 99·96 pure zinc. As at Broken Hill, Australia, there were the vastest zinc deposits in the world, the new British method of smelting and refining, which completely superseded the laborious German method of spelter-making, broke the enemy's monopoly, endowed us with a great key industry, began to give us some of the zinc we needed, and made things look very bad for the German metal ring. For the Prime Minister of Australia offered to arrange for zinc production to be established on a great scale in the Empire.

Circumvented by British invention

Among the other key industries we recaptured from the enemy was tungsten-smelting. Most of the tungsten ore was obtained from British territory, but the Germans, having patented a process for producing the tremendous heat of 3,000 degrees Fahrenheit, by the action of aluminium power on the oxides of metal, smelted the tungsten by this thermit treatment. It may also be remarked that the aluminium powder and oxide process, employed by Goldschmitt and the German metal ring for the production of pure metals, was afterwards used against us in our homes in the shape of thermit incendiary bombs from Zeppelin airships. We needed tungsten urgently for fine steel-making and electrical purposes.

UNLIMITED SHELLS: A WELCOME SIGHT FOR BRITISH SOLDIERS IN FRANCE.

German officers' reports on the British bombardment north of the Somme in July, 1916, left no doubt as to its devastating character. This official photograph, issued by the Press Bureau, shows some of our soldiers watching the British shells bursting over the enemy lines.

BOMBERS GOING TO THE FRONT LINE.
The roads were so cut up, that they rendered the going very arduous for men so heavily burdened.

Official Photographs.]

OFF TO PUSH THE ENEMY YET A LITTLE FARTHER BACK.
Hand-to-hand fighting with bomb and bayonet was incessant during the first fortnight of the July advance. The men of our New Army were too much even for the Prussian Guard.

The Germans had practically all the stock of pure metal and the plant for making more, and there was a risk of our munition work being seriously impeded by this foresightful piece of scientific strategy on their part. But our metallurgists quickly discovered an improved method of getting pure tungsten, and under the stimulus of our military needs our possession of the principal tungsten mine made us supreme in the manifold tungsten industries, such as the manufacture of tungsten wire-drawn electric lamps, tungsten-steel, and other tungsten alloys.

With respect to nickel, first used in steel-making by a Glasgow firm, whose ideas were borrowed by Krupp in his nickel-steel guns, there was another difficulty in addition to that of escaping from the power of the German metal ring. There was not enough nickel in the world for the needs of ourselves and our Allies.

Canada's great discovery

Canada here came to our assistance in an indirect but effective way. In North Ontario was the only important source of cobalt in the world, but except for the production of cobalt-blue the metal was a nuisance. It was obtained as waste when extracting silver. But the Canadian Department of Mines instituted researches into the production and applications of metallic cobalt. As usual, Sir Robert Hadfield, of Sheffield, was foremost in the study of its possibilities. He found that, like nickel, it raised the elastic limit and maximum stress of steel. Cobalt-steel high-speed tools were then obtained by a simpler, cheaper method than that needed for the high-speed tools of other alloys. Cobalt also promised to be a better plating material than nickel, with the result that the British Empire acquired, under the stimulus of war, another great key industry. Cobalt-steel was especially valuable in war time, in that it accelerated our output of munitions.

The list of our amazingly rapid conquests and reconquests in the scientific field of warlike activities could be extended through many more pages. But we shall only refer to one more key industry—the manufacture of magnesium. As usual, the Germans controlled the output of this metal, and used it largely in flares on the battle-front at night, as all the allied troops knew only too well. Owing to their monopoly they had an enormous supply of flares. The reduction of magnesium was a British invention and had been an important British industry; but the enemy blocked our trade by tariff duties and then used his deposits of easily-worked ore to ruin our plant. But the indomitable British genius for invention discovered a cheap process of dealing with refractory ores, and a large new plant was laid down capable of supplying the needs of the world. And these needs are vital. For the oxide of magnesium—magnesia—is one of the most infusible of substances. It withstands almost every practical heat except that of the electric arc, and is therefore an important element in the making of crucibles and firebricks. It is largely required in steel-making plants.

Manufacture of magnesium

It is impossible not to admire the infinite pains the Germans took to monopolise the chief means of war. They could not equal us in inventive power, but they tried to prevent us from getting the alloys and crucibles we required. Even when a material like tungsten was only to be found in bulk in British territory, the enemy so absorbed the means of dealing with the ore that, like the Australians, who had vast mines of zinc but could get no zinc for love or money, we were left impoverished amid our natural riches.

All that could be done by small patented technical improvements, powerful financial enterprise, and a mighty international organisation of control, the Germans accomplished. But one thing escaped their business-like, yet narrow, calculating minds. This thing was a spiritual quality—genius. They overlooked the genius of the British race, even as the military and political leaders of Germany overlooked the spirit of determined courage that inhered in our people.

Genius versus patient industry

All that the Germans achieved by patient, industrious talent, by the endowment and development of scientific research, by intensive methods of education, by the organisation of Trust systems of industry with research departments, and by the very skilful use of finance, was overcome by the British people when the British gift for invention was violently brought into action. We may admit that, as a nation, we scarcely deserved the results obtained by our men of science when they were abruptly asked to help us in our need. Science, like poetry, had been, from generation to generation in Britain, the cult of a very small number of men, who laboured to hand down the torch transmitted from their great predecessors and delight their own tastes in life rather than to win public appreciation. Not the slightest breath of national inspiration helped them in their task. There was no popular interest in their work.

At the time of writing we have still some leeway to recover against both Germany and the United States in the matter of certain technical equipment and certain branches of organised research. We have, for example, suffered greatly from allowing both the German and the American to surpass us in the production of machine-tools. Our new munition factories, in December, 1915, could not be supplied with all the machine-tools required, although the power-lathe and similar devices, together with high-speed cutting steels, were originally British inventions. First the Americans and then the Germans had become leaders in the machine-tool industry. Instead of making our own machine-tools, we began to buy German tools because they were both cheap and ingenious. This enabled the German firms to extend their plants, with the result that the German equipment for munition-making became enormous. The number of their war factories was limited by the skilled and semi-skilled hands available, and not by any practical limit in machine-tool production. We, on the other hand, had a large supply of skilled labour and vast sources of trainable labour, but we lacked machine-tools for our great army of munitioneers.

We also lacked jigs, gauges, and similar instruments of standardised production in which the Americans excelled. It was by means of jigs that the Americans had developed and monopolised the cheap motor-car industry and many other standardised mechanical manufactures.

Britain's threefold burden

During the war they applied the jig system to shipbuilding, and began to produce on a wholesale scale the cheap, standardised steamer. Gradually, however, we partly made and partly imported the machine-tools, jigs, gauges, and other guides for apprentice hands who diluted our host of skilled mechanics. While supplying France with fine steel for her new heavy artillery and helping also to re-arm Russia, we increased the daily output of war material for our mighty New Army and our enlarged Fleet, and drew near to the industrial and scientific output of war material in

"FRANCE'S DAY," 1916: THE GREATEST NATIONAL FÊTE IN PARIS SINCE THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE.

Memorable scenes of enthusiasm were witnessed in Paris on the occasion of the March of the Four Nations along the Boulevards, on July 14th, 1916. All Paris turned out to give French, Russian, Belgian, and British troops a glorious welcome. President Poincaré presented diplomas, crosses, and medals to the representatives of the first five hundred officers who fell on the field of honour, while an officer announced the name of each family in turn, a public honour conferred on the great dead of France, with a charm and dignity which only the Latins can express.

THE "EYES" OF THE ARTILLERY.

Kite-balloons ascending on observation work. This type of balloon was much used by all the European belligerents by reason of its stability in the wind, obtained by the sausage-like appendix seen on the left.

Germany. In the matter of artillery, for instance, Germany was helped by Austria, whereas Britain used a considerable part of her steel-making plant to assist France, who had lost her chief coal and iron fields. We also made plant, steel, and weapons for Russia, and provided Italy with coal and other material.

Our energies were not devoted entirely to our own needs. We gave to our Allies larger aid in war material than Germany, with the help of Austria-Hungary, gave to Turkey and Bulgaria. And though we purchased help from the armament firms of the United States, our native effort for the munitioning of our own forces increased in formidableness. By midsummer of 1916 neither our gun nor our shell output had surpassed that of Germany. But Britain and France then began to rival the common enemy in the power of his armament on the western front. And our Empire was still developing its warlike resources. We promised, indeed, to become stronger in peace than we were in war. For in war we were continually improvising better methods and making small and large discoveries to overcome the difficulties that we encountered. It was reported that some German manufacturers were preparing to recover and extend their foreign markets, by dumping accumulated stocks of articles at prices defying competition. But we, without deliberately designing it, were also to some extent preparing for the coming economic struggle with the foe by enormously increasing our plant, by speeding-up production, and devising superior processes.

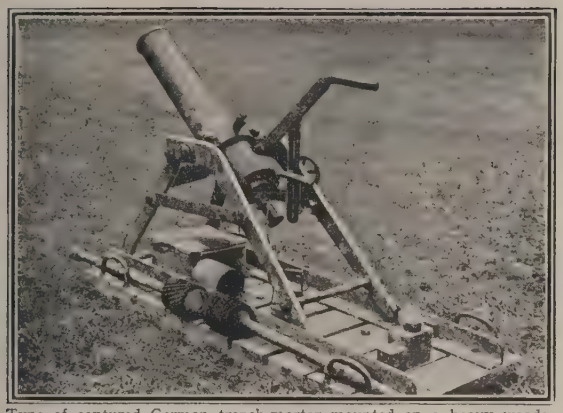
There seem to have been only two branches of science of great value for war in which we were excelled by hostile or neutral States. The Germans maintained the immense lead in the technique of fast, large, rigid airship construction, which they had fairly won by costly research and courageous experiment before the war. Yet the aluminium alloy used by Count Zeppelin for the framework of his airships was a British invention, and in 1915 we improved upon this aluminium alloy of remarkable tensile strength, and invented a reinforced aluminium, cast by a very ingenious system of centrifugal pressure in moulds containing strips of high-tensile steel. By means of this combined structure of steel and aluminium we were endowed with a new weapon for conquering the air. The material was a union of lightness and strength, from which both flying machines and dirigible balloons of the rigid type could be constructed with an important saving in weight. Aero-motors could also be lightened so as to give more horse-power in proportion to weight, by using reinforced aluminium for pistons and other freely-working parts not subject to severe strain. But, for some reason, there was no determination on the part of our Government to surmount the difficulties of providing our Fleet with wide-ranging scouting airships of a powerful sort. We had started with a heavy bias towards heavier-than-air machines. Our Royal Aircraft Works were strangely laggard even in aeroplane design, and for long gave us no machines by which we could raid the German coast. Fortunately the spirit of invention abode in our private aircraft manufacturers and aero-motor makers, and their productions gradually supplied our aeroplane deficiencies.

Where the Germans led

Meanwhile, we had been surpassed—happily by a friendly neutral country, the United States—in telephonic invention. The Americans were able to achieve a supreme feat in wireless electrical communication and transmit speech for thousands of miles without wires. But for the war they would have bridged the Atlantic Ocean with electric waves, enabling men in London and Paris to talk with men in New York. Some years before the outbreak of hostilities the problem of long-distance wireless telephony had been approaching solution. Music and speech had been transmitted for hundreds of miles, and means of conversing over considerable distances from trains and motor-cars going at high speed had been practised. During the war some Swedish inventors perfected a system of wireless telegraphy requiring such small instruments that messages could be sent from travelling motor-cars, and the Americans accomplished the first known practical system of talking by electric waves over a space of thousands of miles.

Long-distance wireless telephony

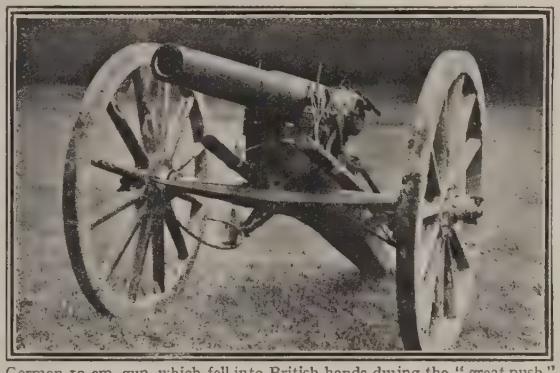
Our men of science, associated with Lieutenant Marconi, devoted the greater part of their energy of mind to the solution of smaller but more urgent problems in wireless research for military purposes. They extended the range of messages sent from aeroplanes, so that while United States pilots in the summer of 1916 could only transmit over a distance of fifteen miles, our scouting military and naval pilot could "wireless" information over a range of one hundred and fifty miles. The Allies badly needed a receiving instrument that would withstand the extraordinary vibration of an aeroplane in full flight, and allow the pilot to receive as well as transmit messages. A marked improvement in the aerial services was, therefore, effected when the difficulty of the vibration of the machine was overcome, and the pilot was enabled to converse with the gunners and his various headquarters possessing wireless installations. His messages were made clearer, for he could be asked to repeat or extend them. In cases of emergency his orders could be varied with decisive effect. One of the principal advantages of the Zeppelin in scouting work was that it provided a steady platform, from which wireless messages could be both sent and received. But the aeroplane and seaplane at last won the power of wireless conversation, and though their range of transmission remained comparatively limited by reason of the small space available for the instrument, the main deficiency in their scouting faculty was supplied when their pilots were



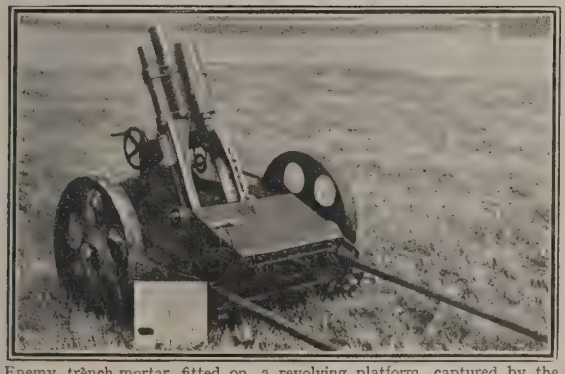
Type of captured German trench-mortar mounted on a heavy wooden emplacement.

German machine-gun and automatic rifle, the latter being supported by two steel rods.

77 mm. field-gun, which corresponded to the French "75," but was inferior to the famous Déport invention.

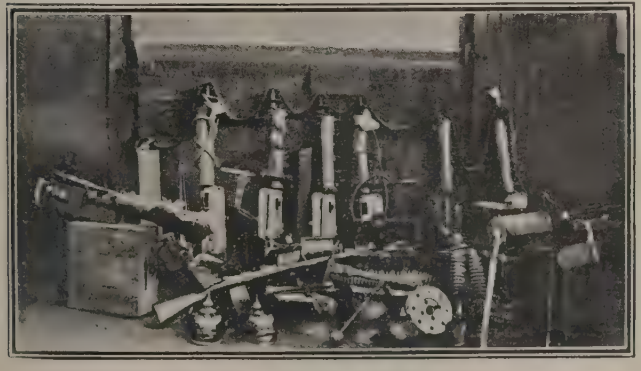


German 10 cm. gun, which fell into British hands during the "great push" in July, 1916.

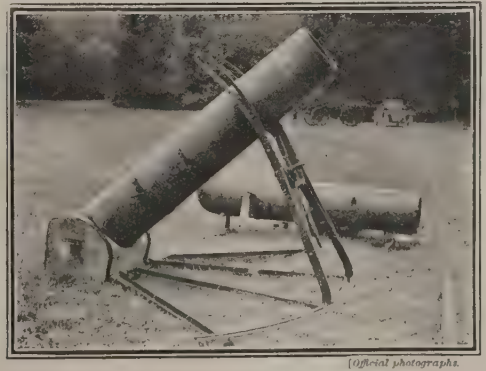


Enemy trench-mortar fitted on a revolving platform, captured by the British.

Another type of German trench-mortar, which hurled an enormous projectile.



Machine-guns, ammunition, and German helmets—relics of the great British advance.



[*Official photographs.*

German 10 in. mine-thrower, consisting of a timber barrel bound round with galvanised wire.

DIVERSE WEAPONS CAPTURED FROM GERMANS IN THE GREAT BRITISH ADVANCE IN 1916.

enabled to hear as well as speak by wireless. Everything else was merely a matter of developing the lifting power and the horse power per pound of engine weight, thus increasing the fuel capacity and range of action of the flying machine to enable it to do all the work of the Zeppelin, and do it better. This was our objective in aircraft science, to develop the flying machine into a better aerial vehicle than was the rigid dirigible balloon. The aim was certainly a sound one, but all the same it would have been more practical for urgent war purposes to have taken up Zeppelin construction for the benefit of the Navy, while we were gradually working our way towards the great flying machine of the future.

As was seen in the Battle off Jutland, the bomb-dropping power of the Zeppelin was not so important as its wireless range. The part played by the science of electrical communication in warfare continually increases in both strategic and tactical value. Telegraphy and telephony, with and without wires, form the master means of control for the modern commander. In naval warfare, electrical communication with coded signals is an essential weapon of tactics. Submarines, destroyers, light cruisers, and aerial scouts are linked with battle squadrons by wireless communication, and in actual battle wireless communication continues in use until the apparatus is damaged by hostile shell fire. Recourse then has to be had to the old-fashioned and limited, but still useful, method of flag signalling and light signalling, though small spare wireless installations of comparatively short range can be employed even when the main aerials have been shot away. Modern fire-control systems, as we have seen, are based upon telephonic communications, with ordinary voice tubes as a standby in case of damage to the wires, and with electric firing wires running from the guns to the fire directors' station. When all the outer wireless and inner wire means of communication of a fighting fleet remain fairly intact in an action, the conduct of the operations forms a system approaching perfection. Centralisation combined with team work results in a wonderful machine-like ease of control. The mind of one man plays with almost instantaneous effect through the fleet; for the progress of scientific invention in naval warfare increases instead of diminishes the responsibility of the commanding admiral. His orders are now winged with electric energy, and all his organs of information are winged also with the same mysterious force. All the marvellous control over the material that men of science have accomplished for him serves only to make the experience, talent, and quality of his mind bear more immediately on the issue of the battle. His power of intellect and his strength of character mould the situation more directly than in the days of Nelson.

Telephony and fire-control

Modern Jupiters in action

Instead of the modern accumulation of an intricate variety of machinery dwarfing the directive genius of an admiral, it rather simplifies the circumstances of his position, and in the heat of battle brings his spiritual faculties, unhampered, into play with swift effect. Presence of mind is useful in a cavalry charge, but it is still more decisive in the swifter manœuvring of great naval forces. Many of the men are reduced for the time to human machines. Their duty is to keep fearlessly steady at routine work, and labour in semi-automatic fashion on the machinery working around them. They have simply to "stick it," and work at top speed on tasks they have learnt in battle practice. But the fighting officers—gunnery and torpedo lieutenants, navigating commander and captain, fire-control officers and gunlayers—have the personal exhilaration of armoured knights of the Middle Ages intensified a hundred thousand fold. Their machinery and their highly-trained men enable them to fight like mundane Jupiters with thunderbolt and earthquake. Science has endowed them with superhuman powers, and at the same time made their personal qualities of mind, character, and trained experience the decisive elements in the battle.

Naval warfare in its latest form is the perfection of scientific tactics. Land warfare, as its instruments and methods improve, approaches the naval standard. Since German and Belgian rifles and 3 in. quick-firers rattled and roared against each other around Liège, at the beginning of August, 1914, the power of the individual soldier has tended to diminish as the importance of war machinery has tended to increase, and the responsibility of the army commander has augmented. Probably, the first great Battle of Ypres, in October and November, 1914, was the last soldiers' battle in warfare on the Continental scale. Soldiers now are like sailors in a battle fleet. They are becoming human machines, and their capacity to stick at their tasks and do their work until they are put out of action is of more value than the old qualities of dash, vehemence, and even enterprise. The heavy gun, the telephone, wireless communication, and other forms of war machinery make an army corps fight somewhat like a battleship. The guns do the principal work. They wreck the enemy's defences and demoralise his troops, and the infantry of the attacking side go forward to annex the wreckage.

It is possible we may yet live to see armoured and gunned vehicles acting somewhat like a land fleet, though land

THE LANDSCAPE OF WAR: A CAMP IN FRANCE.

British camp behind the lines in France, adjacent to the scene of the 1916 summer advance. Wooden frameworks had been covered with tarpaulins and served as tents. In the background a troop of transport horses had been left to graze.

Crown copyright.]
NATURE TO THE AID OF SCIENCE.
Army transport conveying branches of trees to be used as screens for the big guns on the British front.

mines are likely to be a greater hindrance to vehicles attacking than they are to fleets in action. At the time of writing, the war on the western front between the most highly industrialised nations of the world rages almost motionless between fortified lines. We cannot foresee clearly what new instruments and methods may come into play in a quick-moving battle of manœuvre between an allied force of two or three million soldiers and an enemy force of some two million men. Indeed, if we knew anything definite concerning the introduction of new machinery of mobile war, we should either remain silent or give misleading suggestions.

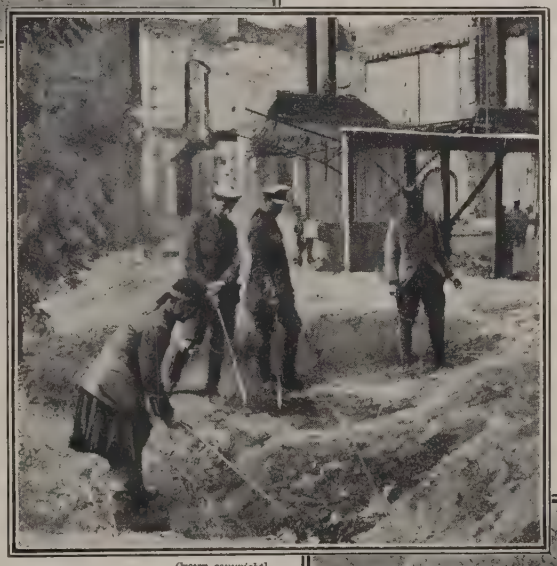
But, as has already been explained in a previous chapter, electrical communication between an army commander and his batteries is a striking feature of the latest form of warfare. In the French system the forward observing officers and some thousands of guns are linked directly with Army Headquarters, and the guns are often fired in massed parks by the commanding general. At the outbreak of hostilities the Germans had a glimmering of the possibilities of centralised telegraphic and telephonic control. Their scouting cavalry carried reels of light uninsulated wire, and this wire was rapidly strung along trees and hedges in an advance, so as to keep the mounted troops in instant electric touch with their main force. Then every march of the main force was marked by the establishment of central exchanges for electric communication between army groups and General Headquarters. Underground telephones, overhead wires, and wireless plants were employed on a grand scale.

German use of the telephone

When the army went into action the guns of each battery generally separated and sought concealing cover, and then connected up by field telephone for the purpose of fire control and massed fire effect. A near shot against a German gun was not likely to damage another unit of the battery, for as much space as possible was left between each piece of artillery. The field telephone had become the instrument of concentration and control, and in the crisis of battle a general check could often be inflicted by damaging an attacker's telephone wires without doing any serious injury to his batteries. At Neuve Chapelle, for instance, our advance was completely stopped by a long, violent curtain of shrapnel fire that destroyed our telephone wires more quickly than we could repair them. The enemy's last line consisted of fortified buildings and machine-gun redoubts, against which our charging infantry was powerless. Our guns could have reached the sand-bagged and cellared buildings, but our forward observing officers, owing to difficulty in extending our telephone communications, could not direct the batteries exactly on the hostile points of resistance.

The check at Neuve Chapelle

In the near or distant future the small portable wireless telephone is likely to change this circumstance of the battlefield. But as we have yet only got so far as the Swedish invention of motor-car wireless installations, the wireless pack, light enough to be carried by an infantryman over parapets and through a maze of trenches, has yet to be produced in as enormous quantities as the ordinary small telephone receiver and transmitter. But when the light, portable wireless telephone comes into use, it will greatly increase the power of that army which possesses a superior gun power. By means of it all the movements of troops will be



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POWER OF THE NEW SHELLS.
Scottish officers examining shell craters in a shattered town along the line of the British advance.

FIELD-ARTILLERY IN ACTION. [*Crown copyright.*
British gunners at their work. Four of them had donned respirators in anticipation of poison gas. An observer is scanning the sky with his glasses for hostile aircraft.

The consumption of ammunition by the mortars used in trench warfare was enormous. These official photographs show how the ammunition was stacked in the trenches ready for instant use, and, on the right, a reserve accumulation of it behind the lines.

How many million miles of wire were used in entanglements can never be computed. Above a wiring party is seen going up to the lines.

Left: Bringing in a wounded man. Right: A patrol crawling up towards the German trenches. Both these official photographs are of men actually under heavy fire.

SCIENTIFIC WARFARE ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

OBLITERATED! MAMETZ, JULY, 1916.

Effect of the British bombardment on Mametz, captured in the early days of the summer offensive, 1916. The whole village was practically reduced to atoms.

ANOTHER IMPRESSION OF THE SHATTERED VILLAGE.

Mametz as it fell into British hands. An idea of the destructive power of the British high-explosive shells, millions of which were rained on the German positions before our infantry went forward.

strictly controlled by the commanders. The fog of battle will be dissipated, and then the scientific soldierman will require as long, intensive, high training as the scientific sailorman already does. It will certainly come about in the present generation. We shall see in every country signallers with a wireless pack on their shoulders and a receiving flap on one of their ears. They will be divided into company signallers, battalion, brigade, divisional, corps, and army signallers, each section having its special length of electric wave with, no doubt, secret codes. It will be an intricate piece of organisation, requiring much practical intelligence in the signallers to link every part of a moving army firmly together by wireless messages, which the enemy will attempt to jam in moments of crisis.

Thus, when the white races of the British Empire were getting fully into their stride the enemy was left with no advantage in scientific talent and technical skill. In the greatest of war industries — fine steel-making — he was outclassed from the beginning. His striking power depended chiefly upon the enormous quantity of his weapons, and his superiority in regard to quantity was due to circumstances over which our nation had no control. We fully carried out our first part of the common duties of the Entente by surpassing the enemy in naval war material and organising our Expeditionary Force.

German steel-makers outclassed

Our Government lacked the strength of character and fearlessness of mind to put all the facts before the people and establish national service. We seemed so safe against our Continental foe that our politicians of both parties thought they would lose all hope of office if they asked the people to adopt a system of conscription in the interests of the cause of civilisation. Because of this political failure in the way of preparation, German science and German technical activity won great advantages over us. But after we were aroused to the height of our creative power, it did not appear that the enemy had any faculties of mind likely to annul our recent achievements in the application of science to the machinery of war. He temporarily acquired vast resources of coal and iron. He also had a very large number of Russian prisoners and Polish, Lithuanian, and Belgian workmen, who enabled him to release quite an extraordinary proportion of his own population for war work. He had not to pay for the help he obtained in this manner, as we and our Allies had to pay for the industrial and agricultural products we obtained from neutral States by our practical command of the seas. We were, therefore, faced with the great problem of meeting the enemy's quantity of military resources by the quality of our inventions for speeding-up and standardising production. Not only did the effect of our great effort tell on the course of the war, but the results will form, for at least a generation, a mighty instrument in our hands in the economic struggle.

> Still more majestic shalt thou rise,
> More dreadful from each foreign stroke;
> As the loud blast that tears the skies
> Serves but to root thy native oak.

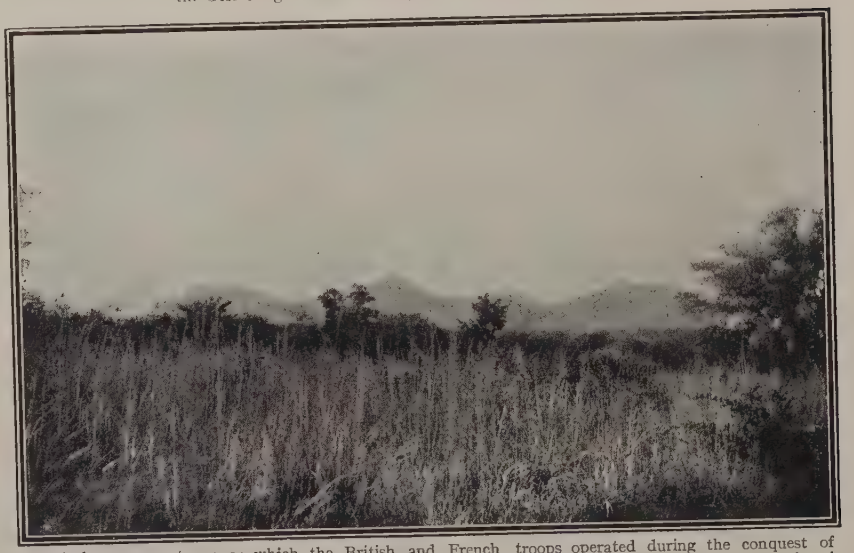
Germany has strengthened and spread the roots of our native genius. Unless by political weakness or indecision we consented to a peace without full settlement, the great ordeal by battle seemed likely to leave the British Empire, despite its heavy losses of fine virile blood, so fortified in mind and character that the Anglo-Celtic Federation would last and develop beyond the range of our vision of the future.

L

View of the fortified palace of the Sultan of Gulfei, an important personage in Northern Cameroon. The figures in the foreground were a group of dancing women. But for their ill-treatment of the natives, the German Cameroon Army might have held out until the end of the war.

Gate of Garua. Protected by forts on adjacent heights and itself most scientifically strengthened, Garua was a great entrenched camp that was deemed impregnable. Nevertheless, on June 10th, 1915, the German garrison was compelled to surrender unconditionally.

German native troops belonging to the garrison of Garua with a field gun. When the fortress was surrendered five Krupp field-guns were captured, ten Maxims, several hundred rifles, and half a million rounds of ammunition.



Typical grass country over which the British and French troops operated during the conquest of German Cameroon, with the Kaa Chiu hills in the distance. Although native troops were employed almost exclusively, the climatic conditions made the campaign exceptionally arduous.

CAMERA VIEWS OF THE CONQUERED GERMAN COLONY.

TRAIN CAPTURED IN GERMAN CAMEROON.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

THE FRANCO-BRITISH CONQUEST OF GERMAN CAMEROON.

German Position in a Fortress Country on Interior Lines—Disposition of the Nigerian Frontier Force—Intervention of the Belgian Congo Government—Belgians on the Luxembourg Support General Aymerich in Successful Attack on Ndzimon—Franco-Belgian Occupation of Molundu, Dume, and Bertua—German Machine-Gun Equipment—Prussianisation of the Bantu of West Africa—German Abuse of the Natives and Its Nemesis—Practically Impregnable German Positions at Mora, Garua, and Yaunde—Animal and Insect Terrors of the Campaign—General Cunliffe's Capture of Garua—The Franco-British Drive Along the Midland Railway—Colonel Mayer, Checked by Sickness and Commissariat Difficulties, Withdraws to the Kele River—General Cunliffe Attacks Mora, the Gibraltar of Cameroon—The Reason for Its Abandonment—Captain Fowle and His Nigerians—General Cunliffe's Attack on and Capture of Banyo—The Allies Begin to Close In on Yaunde—Sir Charles Dobell Operates Towards Wum Biagas, Colonel Mayer Towards Iseka—Gold Coast Regiment Surprises the Enemy at Muin—A Trap that Sprang too Soon—German Retirement from Wum Biagas—Colonel Mayer and His Splendid Senegalese—Zimmermann's Desperate Resistance—The 1st Nigeria Regiment Storm an Entrenched Ridge—Captain Balder's Fine End—Capture of Ngung and Jang Mangas—The Allies Converge on and Occupy Yaunde—Surrender of Captain von Raben with all His Troops—What the Loss of Cameroon cost Germany.

IN the concluding part of Chapter LXXXVII. we sketched some of the opening incidents of the campaign in Cameroon. The publication of despatches from Major-General Sir Charles M. Dobell and from Brigadier-General F. J. Cunliffe now enables us to fill in the outlines of our previous chapter, and to relate the story of the victorious close of the combined operations of British, French, and Belgian troops. We entered on the struggle against the Germans in West Africa in much the same way as we began the contest with the enemy in East Africa. In both cases we first employed a small force with inferior equipment against a large hostile army which had prepared by years of organisation to master any attack we might make. All that can be said on our behalf is that our Government never intended any aggression against Germany and her colonies, and was not convinced that Germany intended any invasion of our African dominions.

Many of the British officers in Nigeria, however, had reasons for believing that German Cameroon was a great fortress country, destined to be used as a base of operations against us and the Belgians and French. The Germans had begun to construct strategic railways in Cameroon. The Northern track was planned to envelop our Nigerian frontier and enable the Germans to mass an overwhelming force against any part of the line their commander selected. Then there was a Midland line running towards the Congo, by which the German native army could be concentrated against the Belgian and French forces. The Germans thus occupied their favourite position of interior lines. They could swing nearly their whole force against the separated native regiments of the Allies, and thus defeat these in detail. As already related, the Nigerian frontier force was arranged in three columns, each of which suffered a reverse.

A COOL CORNER OF CAMEROON.
British officer and native soldier contemplating the rapids at Dipikai, Cameroon. Parts of the colony abound in great rivers and cataracts.

The northernmost column, based on Maiduguri, and under the command of Major R. W. Fox, crossed the frontier on August 25th, 1914, encountered a German force near Mora, and was defeated in an attempt to dislodge this force, but was strengthened on October 13th, 1914, by a French force which had come from Fort Lamy and captured on its way the German post, Kusseri. The middle Nigerian column was based on Yola, and under the command of Lieut.-Colonel P. Maclear. This column also crossed the frontier on August 25th, 1914, and was heavily defeated in

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION OF YOKO.

Lieut.-Colonel Brisset (marked with a ×) in command of the French Eastern column, standing with members of his staff before the German fort of Yoko, Cameroon. Colonel Brisset entered the town on December 1st, 1915, encountering slight opposition from the enemy garrison, and the Tricolour was soon flying over the fortifications, as seen in this photograph.

a night attack on the German post of Garua on August 30th, 1914. It fell back to its base, half shattered. Then the advanced troops of the southern Nigerian column, based on Ikom, and under the command of Lieut.-Colonel G. T. Mair, were enveloped by a larger German force on September 6th, 1914. The German encircling movement took place at Nsanakang, and resulted in the practical annihilation of our advanced troops. Only two officers and ninety native rank and file broke through the German lines in a bayonet charge. After this series of enemy successes, the Germans began to raid our territory along the Benue River. Our Nigerian troops had to stand on the defensive, and bring up their reserves along the Benue line. The immediate result of the disasters was that the Nigerian force designed for the direct attack seaward upon Cameroon had to be diminished in both men and guns.

Meanwhile, a German column had struck out from the southern frontier of Cameroon, and made an attack upon the Belgian Congo station of Lukuga. It had been the intention of the government of the Belgian Congo to maintain a strict neutrality, and not to take part in the French and British action against Cameroon. But after the invaders of Belgium had extended to the Congo the systematic atrocities they had practised in Europe, the Congo steamer Luxembourg, mounting three guns and a machine-gun, turned northward up the Sanga River to co-operate with the French attack. The Belgian force was at first small, consisting only of a detachment of one hundred and thirty Belgian colonial infantry. But as this detachment had a good steamer, with three quick-firers and a machine-gun, it proved a powerful support to the French Equatorial Force under General Aymerich. Indeed the Belgians in their steamer were mainly responsible for the opening victory of the Allies on the southern line of the enemy's country. In the last week of October, 1914, the Luxembourg was boldly worked along the Sanga to the German stronghold at Ndzimon. The vessel steamed along the bank at a distance of less than one hundred and fifty yards from the German entrenchments, and then, with the French steamer Commandant Lamy in support, fought down the fire of the opposing troops in an action lasting seventy-six hours. A splendid bayonet charge by the Belgian and French troops, delivered over a river swamp against machine-gun fire, compelled the Germans at last to evacuate the position.

The Germans at the time were invading the Congo State from East Africa as well as from West Africa. The Belgian native infantry was only a widely scattered police force, with the main detachments separated from each other by vast spaces of tropical jungle. But in spite of these difficulties, the force based on the Sanga River, and co-operating with the French, was increased by January, 1915, to five hundred and eighty men, with a very considerable number of guns. In the early months of 1915 the combined Belgian and French force, under General Aymerich, worked along the western tributary of the Sanga towards the German frontier post of Molundu, which was occupied after a hard struggle. The Germans, however, were strongly entrenched in this corner of their dominions, in a land of hills and branching streams. The small Franco-Belgian force had to battle for months in order to penetrate some fifty miles into Cameroon, for the Germans transformed the tropical jungles into machine-gun traps, each of which was surrounded by a pathless tangle of growth. The tracks made by elephants and buffaloes to their drinking-places by the rivers were often the sole means of traversing the Equatorial wilds. Natives of Cameroon watched all these tracks for the enemy, who also employed gangs of blacks by the thousand in digging pits, trenches, and machine-gun redoubts.

Machine-gun traps

In the Somme Valley, summer 1916: British transport on the move.

[Official photographs.

Into battle: East Yorks going up to the fighting front, July, 1916.

At the outset of the "big push": British advancing over the captured German trenches on the Somme, July, 1916.

Their last hope: Demoralised German soldiers implore clemency from advancing British troops.

Eve of battle: Lancashire Fusiliers being addressed by their divisional commander.

[Official photographs.

After the victory: Roll-call in the captured trenches on the memorable 1st of July, 1916.

General Aymerich seems at first to have thought that his progress would be easy. He sent a mission to Duala to arrange a scheme for a combined advance against Yaunde, which was the enemy's central base. The mission arrived at Duala from Equatorial Africa on March 12th, 1915, and asked the allied Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Dobell, to attempt a great thrust towards Yaunde. But General Aymerich soon discovered that his Franco-Belgian force could not make the movement he intended. Towards the end of April, 1915, the Belgians and French were severely checked not far from their side of the enemy frontier, As had happened on the Nigerian side, the Allies had to bring up reinforcements and alter their plan of operations, and it was only late in the summer of 1915 that General Aymerich got well inside the German Cameroon territory, west of the Sanga River line, and seized the posts of Dume and Bertua.

The secret of the extraordinary strength of the Germans was their machine-gun equipment. For some years they seem to have been storing machine-guns by the hundred, with millions of rounds of ammunition. In some of the enemy raids there was one machine-gun to every four white men. Thousands of carriers followed each detachment, carrying boxes of cartridges and other war stores and food. The Bantus, forming the larger proportion of the Cameroon population, had been severely Prussianised. Thousands of the strongest men had been transformed into first-rate soldiers, who feared their officers more than they feared any enemy, and marched and fought with wonderful endurance. In one raid into Nigeria, for example, the Bantu troops marched for twenty-eight hours without a halt, through the steaming, tropical paths made through the thickets by wild animals. In the middle of this march they fought a violent action with one of our frontier posts, and then, by avoiding all known roads, escaped the cutting-off movement we made against them.

HAUSA HEROISM AT THE BROKEN BRIDGE.

On December 6th, 1914, Lieut. Luxford, 1st Nigeria Regiment, Sec.-Lieut. Schneider, R.E., Capt. Charnley, 1st Nigeria Regiment, and Private Minoni, Luxford's orderly, were reconnoitring a bridge at Nlohe, in Cameroon, when a murderous machine-gun fire was opened on them. Schneider was killed and Luxford wounded; Private Minoni remained by his officer under heavy fire for two hours, and then brought him in, being promoted lance-corporal for his heroism.

Black cannon-fodder

In the Bantu of West Africa the Prussian found a cannon-fodder suited to his brutal but effective methods of discipline. He liked best the tall, fierce blacks of the highlands, who had been converted by the Senussi's missionaries and transformed into temperate, clean-living, and fanatical Mohammedans. He taught his great black garrison machine-gun tactics and also hand-grenade fighting. Our Nigerian force, like the French and Belgian black force, was composed of riflemen, who had practically no appreciation of the effects of machine-gun fire. This, indeed, seems to have been the chief reason why all our first series of operations ended in disaster when the enemy opened a sweeping machine-gun fire against our black troops. Many of these belonged to ignorant pagan tribes, and the scything rain of bullets surprised and dismayed them. Their officers, of course, had to lead them in the attack, and when the officers fell they broke and scattered. To our officers also the extraordinary number of the enemy's machine-guns was a surprise, and we scarcely seem to have been prepared for the German tactics of using machine-guns as a distinct armament, instead of employing them merely to strengthen the fire power of an infantry line. The Germans appear to have deliberately rejected the use of any considerable number of mounted guns. They selected the easily carried Maxim as their main weapon in jungle warfare, and they employed the Maxim corps to form traps, towards which their manœuvring infantry often endeavoured with success to allure the allied troops.

Long after Sir Charles Dobell seized the port of Duala, on September 27th, 1914, the Germans in the inland wilderness continued to regard themselves as unconquerable. In fact, they boasted they could easily hold out until the war in Europe was decided. Even when they were forced away from their two railways, the Northern

ON OBSERVATION DUTY.
Allied officers of the Nigeria Regiment who participated in the conquest of German Cameroon.

and the Midland lines, not only did they not lose heart, they even continued to act like men sure of eventual victory. The most important of their acts of braggart strength was their conduct towards their own native subjects. They used the natives, as we have remarked, in slave-gangs of thousands in fortifying the country and constructing immense mountain strongholds. Any native chief who refused labour or food was murdered. Carriers who were too slow or weak for their work were lashed for their first offence in failing to keep up with the column, and then shot. The commandeering of huge quantities of native food and large herds of native cattle led some of the chiefs to send messages for help to the nearest French or British force.

But as both the French and British forces were at first weaker than the German black army of Cameroon, many of the chiefs could not obtain assistance in time, and were killed. The Chief of Mubi, for example, was pursued into British territory and killed some miles above Yola. All the horrors of the German campaign against the Hereros in South-West Africa and against the Masai in East Africa seem to have been outdone in Cameroon. The strange, ghastly, decadent turn for useless cruelty that some Germans showed in their days of transient victory in Belgium and Northern France was given fuller play in the sombre mountains and jungles of tropical Africa. When a European, at the head of a first-rate fighting black force, consisting largely of pagans with a thirst for diabolical blood-rites, gets diseased in mind and soul and goes "fantee," the result is more horrible than that which a blood-mad negro chief can produce.

Decadent turn for cruelty

The most ignorant of pagan Bantus, however, is a human being, and with regard to human beings there is a limit and a reaction against the most atrocious system of terrorisation. In regard to the native population of Cameroon the point of reaction was quickly reached. Men and women did not care whether they lived or died, if only they could do some harm to their white oppressors. The consequence was that the British and French commanders obtained from native enemy sources valuable information about the movements of the German forces. The Germans, on the other hand, were often given by their own black spies misleading intelligence of our movements. In the

CHAMPIONS OF CIVILISATION IN WESTERN AFRICA.
Officers' tent in the rough country of Equatorial Africa, a crude shelter from the fierce rays of the sun. The circle illustration shows three officers of the Nigeria Regiment, together with a native French African soldier, standing behind a stone barricade in the region of military operations.

TROPICAL VEGETATION AND MASSIVE BOULDERS.
Native encampment in Cameroon. Men of the Nigeria Regiment who were about to advance on the enemy. The illustration gives an excellent idea of the rough country which formed the theatre of this campaign.

immediate neighbourhood of any German garrison there was a condition of complete terrorism in native villages. If any important movement of a German force occurred, some man or woman would slip at night into the thicket and get into touch with our native watchers. This is the explanation of the remarkable statement in Sir Charles Dobell's despatch concerning the great German attack on our main force: "I had obtained some knowledge of the German commander's intention."

Such was the retribution that overtook the officers of the new Attila when they gave full play to that quality in them which their War Lord had long since admired and commended. It may fairly be maintained that the Germans in Cameroon might have made good their boast and held out until the end of the European War if they had not starved, tortured, and killed their black fellow-subjects. For the positions which the Germans held were practically impregnable. Commandant Zimmermann was Commander-in-Chief. In his northern province, looking towards Lake Chad, the local commander was Captain von Raben.

Raben occupied the Mora mountain, that covered a rough circle about thirty miles in circumference and rose in cliffs to a height of 1,700 feet. In only a few places could the top be reached by men using both hands and feet in climbing, and in the rare breaks in the cliffs where this could be done, the slopes were covered with huge boulders that gave magnificent shelter for a defending force. Raben had water cisterns, cattle, preserved food supplies, and apparently an inexhaustible magazine of ammunition on this mighty land Gibraltar of Northern Cameroon. In his circuit of thirty miles he had pasture for his herds of cattle, a good supply of wild game, ample water, and such a system of defences as would require a Continental army to blockade and besiege. From his great mountain fastness Raben raided Nigeria and French Equatorial Africa.

Von Raben's position

About one hundred and fifty miles south of Mora was another great mountain fortress, Garua, on which two thousand native labourers had worked for nearly half a year. They had turned it into an entrenched camp that would have done credit to the engineers of a European battlefield. Here Captain von Crailsheim dominated the Nigerian line of the Benue River, with five guns, an unknown number of Maxims, and a large force of riflemen. A line of communications connected him with the Banyo mountain in the centre of Cameroon. This height, rising

ALLIED LEADERS.
Lieut.-Colonel W. D. Wright, V.C. (left)—who commanded the allied forces at Garua—with a French officer, outside his tent.

AN OUTPOST OF THE EMPIRE.
Tea-time on the Cameroon front. British officer inside his tent, which boasted a folding chair and the proverbial pot of jam.

twelve hundred feet above the small hills of the surrounding country, was covered with large boulders, which were linked together by some three hundred sangars. Every prominent commanding point was strengthened by a small fort. On the summit were cement reservoirs for water, brick-built houses with glass windows, forty tons of grain, a good herd of cattle, poultry-runs full of chickens, and large quantities of various stores. Connected with this fortress was a mountain stronghold on the Ngaundere plateau.

Then in the heart of the broken highlands was the main German base, Yaunde, from which roads and paths radiated to entrenched heights and fortified fords in the country going down to the coast and to the Congo and its tributaries. The labour and the organisation displayed by the enemy led some of our officers to call Cameroon "the Fortress Country." There was good reason for Commandant Zimmermann to look without anxiety at our capture of the port of Duala in September, 1914; for between Duala and Yaunde there was the mightiest system of defence existing in the world. It consisted first of a belt of estuary swamps, from which grew a deadly mangrove forest. Above the great fever belt a primeval tropical forest rose in terraces of stifling gloom, extending for a depth of eighty miles at the narrowest to a depth of two hundred miles at broadest, into the inland plateau.

"The Fortress Country"

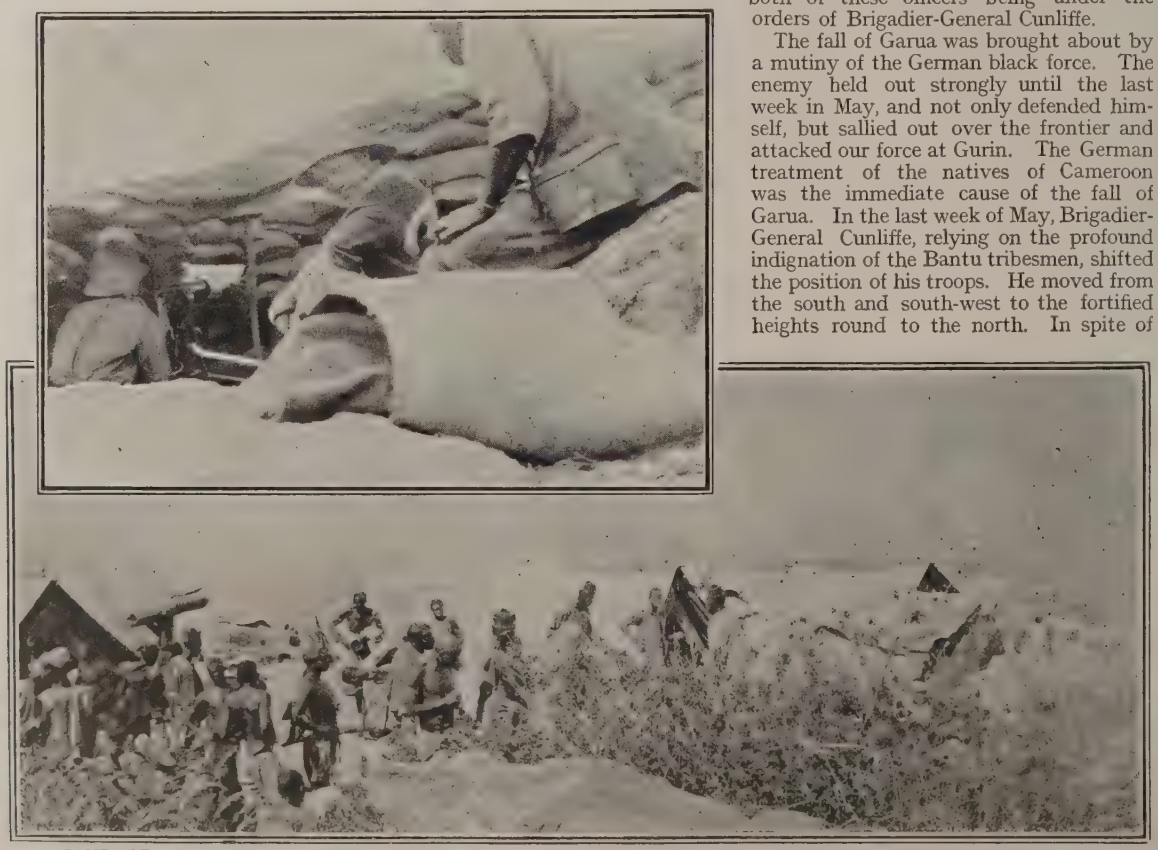
When the plateau was reached, the forest sent seams of thicket growth into the ravines, and between the thickets there was often a jungle of elephant grass eighteen feet high, which only blended into fine, good prairie land in the region where the Germans were concentrated. Wild animals abounded, but did not impede our operations by charging our columns and motor-cars with the frequency of the rhinoceroses and lions in German East Africa. The river crocodiles, watching by the fords and snapping at the feet of the troops, were the principal animal allies of the Germans.

But all the big beasts were of very little importance compared with the insect terrors of the Cameroon jungles. The huge ants, that swarmed on the men and tried to eat them to the bone, were an agonising pest, especially if they could not be shaken off by a dive in the water. Then there were tropical biting flies of the tsetse kind, with mosquitoes that rivalled the tsetse in infecting the troops with fevers which have turned the great forest into the white man's grave. In spite of the fact that we employed troops of tropical or semi-tropical origin—tattooed Hausas from Nigeria, strong and sinewy coast men from Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, with some Indian light infantry—our force was seriously incapacitated by disease. For the climate of the great forest belt was the very worst in the world. There were two long rainy seasons that turned the jungles into steaming swamps and so soaked the ground that the forest continued to steam in the hottest month of the year—February.

We have already related the story of the first success of Brigadier-General Cunliffe, who took over the command of the allied forces in Northern Cameroon on February 5th, 1915, and captured the great enemy fortress of Garua on June 10th, 1915. General Cunliffe had two thousand native infantrymen, mainly from the Hausa tribes, one company of native mounted infantry, three guns, and nine machine-guns. With this Nigerian force there were seven hundred and fifty French native infantry, a squadron of cavalry, two guns, and two machine-guns. The French force was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Brisset and the British column was under Lieut.-Colonel W. I. Webb-Bowen, both of these officers being under the orders of Brigadier-General Cunliffe.

The fall of Garua

The fall of Garua was brought about by a mutiny of the German black force. The enemy held out strongly until the last week in May, and not only defended himself, but sallied out over the frontier and attacked our force at Gurin. The German treatment of the natives of Cameroon was the immediate cause of the fall of Garua. In the last week of May, Brigadier-General Cunliffe, relying on the profound indignation of the Bantu tribesmen, shifted the position of his troops. He moved from the south and south-west to the fortified heights round to the north. In spite of



CAMP OF THE BRITISH NIGERIA REGIMENT AND (ABOVE) A MACHINE-GUN IN ACTION IN CAMEROON.

WOUNDED NATIVE SOLDIERS ON THEIR WAY TO THE BRITISH BASE IN CAMEROON.

the long time it took to carry all the French and British material and stores on the shoulders of our native carriers and haul the guns through the wilderness, the German commander remained ignorant of the change in the direction of our attack. In other words, the natives he sent out as spies refused to serve him. Then on May 28th, 1915, three days after the attacking force had shifted to the north, Lieut.-Colonel Brisset received one heavy French gun, a 3·6 in., which outranged anything the enemy possessed.

So long as the Germans had been stronger in weapons than the Allies, their system of inculcating discipline by fear had kept their native troops well in hand. But when the new French shell swept the forts and the hostile native troops saw that their white officers were powerless to reply to the new gun, the Cameroon troops began to get out of hand. On the night of June 9th some of the German officers tried to turn the mutineers into a forlorn hope, and, telling them they would be killed if taken prisoners, induced them to make a last sally over the Benue River. But the river was in flood. Most of the men who attempted to cross it were drowned, and others were driven back by the fire of our infantry at Bilonde. The German native troops then got quite out of hand, and to save themselves from being attacked and killed by their own men, Captain von Crailsheim and his thirty-six fellow-Germans surrendered, with two hundred and twelve native soldiers, five guns, and ten Maxims, on the afternoon of June 10th, 1915

German troops mutiny

Many natives managed to escape by stripping themselves of their uniform and taking to the bush. Lieut.-Colonel Brisset, with the French force, remained at Garua to watch over Northern Cameroon, while Lieut.-Colonel Webb-Bowen's column pursued the fugitives towards the Ngaundere highlands. In addition to the German force holding Garua, there had been outlying detachments linked with the mountain fortress and other points in the German system of defence. These detachments were included in the pursuit, and some were driven towards Banyo, after actions at Koncha and Maio Kelah on June 27th. Then, on the other wing of the movement of pursuit, a British advance guard under Captain C. H. Fowle reached the steep paths leading up to the Ngaundere plateau on June 28th. One of the terrific tornadoes of tropical Africa smote both the British and German forces, and amid this appalling tempest the two very different methods of discipline employed by the contending forces were put to a supreme test. Our West African troops, inspired by trust and admiring loyalty to their white officers, charged through the whirlwind and completely surprised and overwhelmed all the black German rearguards holding the great cliff paths. Our men climbed up on the wings of the tempest, and with scarcely any loss captured the town of Ngaundere in the evening. During the night, when the tornado had blown over, the German officers succeeded in bringing up their main force and collecting their other scattered troops, and made a counter-attack upon our small and heroic advance guard. But the German native troops had no energy or courage left. Their assault was broken at a loss to us of only five native soldiers and one native non-commissioned officer wounded. The tornado charge, ending in a great strategic victory on an almost inaccessible plateau, deserves to rank among the finest feats in our Colonial wars. Lieut.-Colonel Brisset quickly arrived at Ngaundere from Garua and, with his comparatively strong body of French troops, firmly established the important new line won by Captain C. H. Fowle.

Discipline and the elements

AMPHIBIOUS BRITISHERS IN CAMEROON.
Armoured barge which was used with much effect against the enemy in Cameroon. Apart from the complement of the vessel, all armed with rifles, the craft carried machine-guns, and was protected by steel-plating.

This, however, was the last of our important successes for some months. It had originally been intended that Brigadier-General Cunliffe's forces should cease operations in Northern Cameroon, and, leaving only an investing force round the great frontier fortress of Mora to check Raben's raids, turn south and help to close on all the main German positions. The great enveloping scheme had been proposed on March 12th, 1915, by General Aymerich. Cunliffe's attack on Garua and Ngaundere had been carried out in harmony with this scheme. But, as already related, the main actions in this combined operation did not prosper. Only Brigadier-General Cunliffe achieved success on his lines, and he was held up in the north until September, 1915, when the combined movement of a second general envelopment plan was resumed.

In the first and fruitless attempt to encircle the German main force it had been arranged that Brigadier-General Cunliffe should break into Garua, storm the Ngaundere plateau, and then move southward and unite near Yaunde with the forces under the command of Sir Charles Dobell and General Aymerich. General Aymerich, however, could not make the progress he had expected, and he remained for some months in the south-eastern corner of Cameroon with the enemy posts of Dume and Lomie strongly barring his way. There was, however, another strong French force of fine Senegalese troops, under Colonel Mayer, acting with the troops under Sir Charles Dobell. Mayer's troops and Dobell's troops were in the fever belt along the coast, and suffering severely from disease. The British general did not want to move, as the great rains had begun in March and the forest tracks were difficult. On the other hand, while General Aymerich was attempting an advance against the other side of the fortress country, he could not allow the enemy to throw his full weight against the Franco-Belgian column. So to make at least a diversion, and compel Zimmermann to divide his army, Sir Charles Dobell undertook the operation to which he had demurred.

Fighting in the fever belt

On April 7th, 1915, a British native force under Lieut.-Colonel Haywood moved along the Midland Railway to Edea, to co-operate with the French native force under Colonel Mayer. The aim was to force the line of the Kele River, and from there to fight through the jungle, by Iseka and Wum Biagas, towards Yaunde. In a series of fierce actions the British and French columns took the line of the Kele River in April, and then found themselves opposed by the main German army. Zimmermann had so completely checked the Franco-Belgian column four hundred miles away, that he was able to withdraw troops towards the coast to resist the Franco-British advance.

On May 1st, Colonel Mayer's little army moved along the railway line to Iseka, and in spite of broken bridges and machine-gun ambushes, torrents of rain and great sickness, captured Iseka on May 11th. Meanwhile, along the line of the road from Duala to Yaunde, Lieut.-Colonel Haywood, with two battalions of the Nigeria Regiment, made a drive north of the Midland Railway, to outflank the enemy's main position on the permanent way. The road and railway were the only clear wide paths in the vast forest, and if the Germans had not built these tracks the Allies would not have been able to reach Yaunde before the European War was over. Where we had to cut down the trees and make a road to advance our progress was despairingly slow. For while our men were felling trees and building a motor track for supplies, the enemy's sharpshooters, having a life-long knowledge of the jungle paths, were apt to work around the head of our column and snipe our labourers and carriers. Our column had to cut through the bush, ford rivers waist deep, and storm fortified mission-houses and wayside posts in order to get an outflanking position on the Kele River, by Wum Biagas, which was on the Yaunde road. Then in a magnificent assault, in which both our officers and men suffered very heavily, the entire position of Wum Biagas was stormed on May 4th.

Sharpshooters in the jungle

The Nigerians were splendid. They lost many of their white leaders, and yet fought up the steep ridges steadily and coolly, and though their victory left them with their two battalions badly shattered, they held their ground, and the French force at Iseka moved off and joined them. Colonel Mayer then took over the command of the allied column, and stores and supplies were sent forward by road, together with a naval 12-pounder gun. On May 25th, Colonel Mayer with all his force rapidly weakening by sickness, tried to push on before the heaviest rain fell and made the bush impenetrable. By this time it was known that General Aymerich's advance, four hundred miles away, had failed. There was only a bare fighting chance that the coast column might be able to win through the great fever belt into the healthy, dry highland country before Zimmermann could bring practically his entire main force against it.

But Colonel Mayer could not win through. In the first place Sir Charles Dobell, supporting him from Duala, could not get food supplies up. There were only three motor-cars available, and the ordinary carriers were suffering from sickness and also from hostile raids, for the German native troops soon worked through the jungle and raided our line of communication, forcing us to send food and war material under armed convoys, and place

guard posts along the track. At the same time the head of the Franco-British column was swept by machine-gun fire at every turn of the road, so that at every bend the troops had first to cut through the bush and outflank the hostile gunners. One mile a day was the average rate of progress of the allied column from May 25th to June 5th. In the wet, steaming chaos of trees, swamps, and entangled bush, disease continued to spread among both natives and Europeans, and in the first week of June a general epidemic of dysentery broke up the whole expedition.

Epidemic of dysentery

Half-starved by raids on its line of supplies, shaken with fever and weakened by intestinal trouble, the Franco-British force drew back to the Kele River. A great raid on our most important convoy of five hundred carriers was the immediate cause of Colonel Mayer's retirement. He had to race back to save his men from starvation. Sir Charles Dobell hurried up the last small force of troops in Duala, and after fierce and incessant rearguard fighting, the Kele River line was regained on June 28th. In the rearguard actions the Allies were badly harassed but never broken, and as they in turn used machine-guns in continual ambushes, they inflicted heavy losses on the attacking force. But our casualties were serious, a quarter of the entire Franco-British force being either killed or wounded, and nearly all the rest being weakened by sickness.

The great rains had begun to fall during the retreat, and for some months the extraordinary tropical torrents continued to wash through the forest. This, however, was an advantage to the Allies, as the downfalls checked the raiding operations of the victorious Germans. But our misfortunes were not at an end. The rains which prevented all operations in Southern Cameroon did not hinder the movement of men in the north. Brigadier-General Cunliffe remained, therefore, free to attempt to extend his field for victories. The central German fortress of Banyo was the point of greatest strategic importance in his sphere of operations. But he knew that if he attacked it while General Dobell and General Aymerich were standing on the defensive, Zimmermann would swing his main force round to the central fortress and make it practically impregnable.

Operations stopped by rain

There remained the northernmost stronghold of Mora,

DÉBRIS OF A GERMAN BLOCK-HOUSE, WHICH CAME UNDER A HEAVY BOMBARDMENT FROM THE ALLIED ARTILLERY. The enemy forts at Garua, which were captured by the allied troops in June, 1915, were remarkably strong, and every device known in field fortification was adapted. Underground passages, moats, a formidable ring of wolf-pits, bristling with poisoned spears, etc. In this illustration the wolf-pits are clearly seen on the left, and no advance could be made in the vicinity of the fort without probing the ground with a stick.

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The Great War

THE FRANCO-BRITISH CONQUEST OF THE GERMAN CAMEROON.

The country conquered by the Franco-British forces commanded by Major-General Sir Charles M. Dobell, K.C.B., is some 306,000 square miles in area, or, roughly, one and a half times the size of the German Empire. Duala and Bonaberi surrendered on September 27th, 1914, and by the middle of February, 1916, the territory was cleared of the enemy. Our map indicates the localities of the several British and French commands.

CAPTIVE GERMAN SOLDIER-COLONISTS.
Group of German non-commissioned officers taken prisoners at Mora Hill—types of the leaders who kept up a resistance to the allied forces in Cameroon for over a year and a half.

which had been cut off from Zimmermann's army by the capture of Garua and Ngaundere. Under the arrangement which had been made after the failure of the main expedition, Brigadier-General Cunliffe's force was not wanted for any general enveloping movement until November, 1915. So the brilliant and victorious brigadier reckoned that he would be able to operate for three months against Mora. Towards the end of August he spent some days travelling round the mountain and reconnoitring for the easiest slopes on which his men could fight their way up. He decided to attack from the north. Here we had already won a hill almost level with the northern end of the Mora mountain, and separated from it by a deep valley some six hundred yards wide. In the first week of September our two or three mountain guns were hauled up the hill, and then, under cover of artillery fire, the 1st Nigeria Regiment made three gallant attacks across the valley and up the mountain side.

In the final advance the Hausas, fearlessly led by their officers, reached the summit of the Gibraltar of Cameroon, and were then stopped by machine-gun fire fifty yards from the German redoubt. For forty-eight hours our native troops clung to the Mora summit, near the dead body of Captain R. M. Pike, who had led the charge. No food or water reached the men, for the German machine-guns swept all the slopes by which the supplies were bravely but vainly carried forward. On the second night Brigadier-General Cunliffe had to order his swarthy heroes to retire as best they could from the mountain across the valley. He had been unable to help his men because his artillery ammunition had run out, and he could not shell the machine-gun redoubt that hung up his force. But he still felt certain that victory was within his reach as his guns commanded the northern end of Mora. He resolved to sap across the valley, so as to provide his troops with cover from the German machine-guns, and he sent an urgent telegram to Lagos, asking for shells to be sent to him up the Benue River.

But, on September 15th, Sir Charles Dobell and General Aymerich held a conference at Duala, and the two commanders then decided to resume the general enveloping movement against Yaunde early in October instead of in November. As Brigadier-General Cunliffe's force was needed to close the northern and north-western sectors of the great ring of enemy territory, the attack against Mora had to be abandoned after the first reverse.

On the orders of his chief the victor of Garua and Ngaundere left merely an investing force at Mora, and resumed his main operations in the Middle Cameroon. Captain C. H. Fowle, the tornado charger, had improved our Ngaundere line on July 23rd by breaking and scattering a German force from Tibati.

He was in an entrenched position when the Germans attacked him, and after staying their assault his men, on their own initiative, leapt from their trench with the bayonet and raced down and killed their assailants. They were a tempestuous band these tattooed Nigerians under Captain Fowle.

LAST SCENE AT MORA.
Captain von Raben (third figure from left) at the moment of surrendering to the British officer in charge of the operations against Mora Hill. Note the two canine occupants of the enemy stronghold.

BLACK WARRIOR PRISONERS.
Surrender of Mora Hill, Cameroon. German native prisoners and a collection of arms and ammunition in the valley.

troops. At the end of October the village of Banyo was occupied, and the German garrison retired some three miles away to their great mountain fortress.

It was a grim, stupendous mountain, from which rocky boulders stood out prominently up to the summit. All down the steep slopes sangars had been built, with loopholes for the defending riflemen. Between the lines of stone ramparts connecting the boulders were masses of thorn-bush, and in some places a hedge of prickly pineapple served instead of barbed-wire entanglements.

It seemed as if a large army were needed to capture the stronghold. Brigadier-General Cunliffe had only 1,250 infantry, and he

ASSENT TO AN ARMISTICE.
Answering the German sign of truce from one of the British forts—an incident in the fighting for Mora Hill, Cameroon, just prior to the enemy's surrender of this valuable position. Huge boulders had been used as a barricade.

In order to carry out the great sweep from the north, Brigadier-General Cunliffe had to capture a knot of fortified mountains some hundreds of miles in circumference. Towards the middle of October he flung half his force towards the Sanaga River and the highland country round Ngaundere, in order to hold back Zimmermann's central forces. Then, with two columns, he directed in person an advance from the north and north-west on the mountain knot round Banyo. All the German garrisons on the southern Nigerian frontier rallied round Banyo for the coming conflict. Intercepted letters showed that they were inspired by an absolute confidence in their ability to hold out to the end of the war. In the mountain they had herds of cattle, a magnificent water supply, large stretches of tilled ground, and all the implements for farming, and they looked forward to withstanding a long siege in perfect comfort.

Village of Banyo occupied

Towards the end of October, however, they lost two of their main outworks by a surprise attack. A British column under Major Mann advanced from Gashaka, and, after a most arduous climb, overwhelmed and routed the German force holding the Gandua Pass. At a considerable distance to the north was another pass, where the enemy had prepared a system of trenches and redoubts to hold back Brigadier-General Cunliffe's main column. But when Major Mann took the more southern pass he got so close to the rear of the force opposing the British main column that he threatened to envelop it. The enemy, therefore, retired in extreme haste, and Brigadier-General Cunliffe's men had only a long, hard climb to the evacuated fortifications on the plateau. For a few days the advance continued across open rolling grass lands, and though the Germans tried to hold some isolated kopjes all their positions were successfully turned with no loss to our was still short of shell. But hearing that two hundred more rounds of gun ammunition were on the way to him, he determined first to snatch all the advantages he could by an infantry attack, and afterwards to use the three screw guns he possessed in the critical part of the mountain battle.

He arranged his five companies of infantry on the northern, north-western, and southern sides, and spread out his mounted troops widely eastward to check there any attempt by the enemy to break out. On November 2nd our infantry began to work over the foot-hills, but their great attack was postponed in order to allow time for the new shell supply to arrive. At dawn on November 4th the Banyo mountain was shrouded in thick fog, and the British commander resolved to push up at once as far as the fog allowed, without waiting for shells to smash up the sangars. In the fog the different sections could not assist each other, but on the other hand the enemy machine-gunners were practically blinded.

All round the mountain there was fierce hand-to-hand fighting amid the boulders and sangars, in a series of pure soldiers' battles, where the Staff and commander could do

practically nothing to control the situation. For no section knew what was before it until it got almost within bayonet thrust of the next line of loopholed stones. One company of Nigerians, under Captain Bowyer-Smijth, had amazing luck and amazing disaster. The company had been one of the most successful under General Cunliffe's command, and had conquered Gashaka the previous August by a great fighting climb that lasted twelve hours. Now the same company, while battling in the fog, found a weak point in the enemy's defences, and by noon it had smashed its way right up to the summit of Banyo mountain. By this time, however, the fog had cleared off and the enemy's reserve caught the victorious company under a cross fire of maxims and musketry. Captain Bowyer-Smijth, one of our most able officers, was killed, and his shattered company forced back to the foot of the mountain.

The other four companies, however, found themselves, when the fog lifted, half way up the mountain slopes, and within thirty yards of one of the enemy's main systems of defences. Nothing more could be done in the clear tropical sunshine but to hang on to all the conquered positions and wait for our three guns to get the shells they needed. When night fell, allowing food and water and cartridges to be brought up to the men, the enemy tried to light up every line of advance by fire-balls and rockets. Then rain fell, making the steeps like slides; but profiting by the storm, the Nigerians reached the enemy's entrenchments and hugged the southern wall of his great sangar as a defence against his fire.

Captain Schipper, the German commander of Banyo, was, however, an ingenious and foreseeing man. He had prepared hundreds of dynamite bombs, and these novel and dreadful weapons were dropped upon our men with alarming effect. To many of the pagan tribesmen of Nigeria the dynamite bombs, by reason of their terrific explosions, seemed to be magic of the blackest sort. No discipline based on fear could have made them withstand the pots and tins of dynamite that were rolled down upon them, but our British officers, by their cool, laughing and jesting courage, rallied the tribesmen, and induced them at last to see that the bombs made more noise than damage. When day broke the great sangar had been carried, and the advance slowly continued until the afternoon. Then it was that our gunners got their fresh supply of two hundred 2·95 in. shells. With these projectiles the three mountain guns began to smash sangar after sangar, and make a shrapnel curtain before each main advance of our thousand troops. When night fell on November 5th a violent thunderstorm broke over the mountain, and the enemy, with all his courage knocked out of him, divided into small parties and tried to escape on the eastern side.

Most of the fugitives, however, were captured by our posts of mounted infantry, and at dawn the white flag of surrender could be seen flying on the fort on the mountain top, with our victorious troops silhouetted against the misty sky-line. The German commander had been killed, and all his men, white and black, had been completely demoralised by the resolute advance made by our Nigerian troops. The tribesmen of Nigeria had reason to be proud of the soldiers they had produced. At Banyo these soldiers had carried out a task which would have tried the finest troops in the world. The entire system of defences on the mountain had been most carefully thought out and executed. Banyo seems to have been designed as the final impregnable place of retirement of the main German forces in the south. The position was lost because the German black troops, either through lack of nerve or from disgust with their masters, did not shoot well. They had line

The white flag of surrender

VICTORS AND VANQUISHED.
British native troops of the Nigeria Regiment guarding a group of disarmed German native soldiers after the surrender of Mora Hill to the British.

CAPTURED WEAPONS OF THE GERMAN COLONISTS.
German rifles, machine-guns, ammunition, etc., which fell into British hands with the fort of Mora. The enemy had no dearth of armaments throughout the whole Cameroon campaign. In fact, both Cameroon and German East Africa were well prepared for "The Day."

ENTRY OF THE FRANCO-BRITISH FORCES INTO GARUA, JUNE 10TH, 1915.

An attack on Garua during the early days of the war revealed the considerable strength of this German fortress in Cameroon, and it was not until May, 1915, that the allied troops resumed the offensive in this region. On the last day of the month a heavy Franco-British bombardment began which brought about the unconditional surrender of the fortress, which was found to be consolidated with every device of fortification, and well armed with eleven machine-guns, six field-pieces, and a large quantity of shells and small-arms ammunition.

upon line of loopholed walls running up to the mountain top, and had they shot straight and used their dynamite bombs well in the fog battle, they would have been able to smash up a far larger force than that which Brigadier-General Cunliffe employed.

After the capture of the greatest stronghold in the fortress country, Brigadier-General Cunliffe made a broad-winged movement southward with his four victorious columns, which included the French force under Lieut.-Colonel Brisset. Every time the Germans tried to make a stand they were outflanked by a column next to that against which they were directly acting. No struggle of any importance, therefore, occurred during the sweeping operations of the northern allied force. The enemy was always retreating at the utmost speed, in order to avoid being enveloped, and in the first week of January, 1916, the middle British column of the northern force, under Lieut.-Colonel Webb-Bowen, entered Yaunde, and there met the French column under Lieut.-Colonel Brisset, the Franco-Belgian column under General Aymerich, the main Franco-British force under Colonel Gorges, and the Senegalese force under Colonel Mayer.

Outflanking the enemy

But in this great closing movement on the new German capital of Yaunde the northern force under Brigadier-General Cunliffe played only a subsidiary part. The main work of smashing and routing the principal German force was done by the forces directed by Sir Charles Dobell and General Aymerich. As already stated, the two commanders met at Duala on August 25th, 1915, and made a plan for a new campaign for the conquest of Cameroon. By this time General Aymerich's troops, by very hard fighting, had captured the south-eastern German posts of Bertua and Dume. The French commander could, therefore, promise to make strong thrusts from Bertua and Dume towards the central German position at Yaunde, and he also arranged to send a third trench column under Lieut.-Colonel le Meillour to the Campo River, in the south-western corner of Cameroon, to cut off the German retreat to Spanish Guinea.

Sir Charles Dobell was much strengthened by the arrival of the 5th Light Infantry of the Indian Army. He also received more carriers from Nigeria and the Gold Coast, and trained some five hundred and thirty-six recruits enlisted in Nigeria. Also his full requirements in regard to motor transport were met, which enabled him to lighten the work of his carriers in the terrible forest region and thus accelerate his advance. The operations began in the first week of October, 1915, and followed the lines of the unsuccessful expedition of May. The French column under Colonel Mayer moved southward towards its former objective, Iseka, while the British column moved along the Yaunde road to the scene of its former pyrrhic victory, Wum Biagas Naturally, the Germans had not been idle during the six months that had elapsed since the last expedition.

Native and Indian reinforcements

The high position at Wum Biagas was transformed into a great system of earthworks, from which fortifications extended for miles. Our Nigerian force strongly demonstrated against this practically impregnable position, while three hundred men from the Gold Coast Regiment attempted a turning movement on the left flank. For two weeks the little Gold Coast force cut its way through the bush, forded rivers, and made one of the most terrible marches through the forest known to men. On the way the troops took a German mission-house which had been fortified, and then came to the Kele River, there hoping to get unexpectedly on the enemy's flank.

The Germans were surprised at a place called Muin, where they had constructed rows of beautifully constructed trenches, which they abandoned without a struggle. Recovering, they tried to attack our rear, but were beaten off. Not a man did we lose in this action.

It looked as though the enemy would be outplayed. The last march the Gold Coast force did was appalling in its natural difficulties. After fording a river five feet deep, the troops had to go down the side of a mountain, along a path with five inches of mud on the surface and sloping steeply to an edge. At this edge was a tremendous precipice, falling sheer into an unknown depth. Twenty of our loads fell into the abyss, and it took the troops eight hours to cross. Then they heard firing on their right, which indicated that the push against Wum Biagas had begun.

At midday the Gold Coast force cleared the mountain precipice, and entered a bush path, with rising ground to the right and a steep hill to the left, both covered with a tangle of tropical growth. Everything looked quiet and peaceful as the officers went forward to spy out the land. They found in front a deep river, on the opposite side of which was a cliff. But the land going down to the river on the side of their advance was as clean as an English meadow. All the trees had been felled and the brushwood cleared away. But a great bluff across the water was still clothed in trees and undergrowth, and our scouts were able to spy the loopholes of a block-house and a longer series of loopholes running across the ridge. It was afterwards discovered that the river was only fordable in a line with the block-house.

An uncomfortable silence

There was still no sign of an enemy, black or white, but the silence was uncomfortable. Obviously the Germans had engineered a great trap, and some of our officers thought that they had skilfully prepared and abandoned their forward position at Muin in order to make us think that we should find the stronger position also evacuated. Sounds of the main battle at Wum Biagas came across the bush, helping to make our little flanking column think that the Germans had abandoned the trap they had prepared in order to reinforce their centre position.

Gold Coast men trapped

Happily, the commander of our flanking column was a man of great prudence. He brought up his little mountain gun, two machine-guns, and most of his men, hid the gun in the nearest clump of trees and then sent out the troops in artillery order. As soon as the men were clear of cover, and visible in the open ground prepared by the enemy, there was a terrific burst of fire, not only from the block-houses and the loopholed ridge, but from trenches along the river bank and from both flanks. And this was not all. There was a line of flame also in our rear

The Gold Coast men dropped like logs, every man lying on his stomach and knowing he had been trapped. But our tiny mountain gun, with our two Maxims and our small reserve in support, had been able to get the range of the enemy when he made his great burst of fire. The German commander had been too quick. He should have waited until our troops were swimming about the river and trying to find the ford. As it was, we got in a swift and accurate fire, with the result that the German

WEST AFRICAN NATIVES WHO WERE MENTIONED IN DESPATCHES.

Both Major-General Dobell and Brigadier-General Cunliffe praised in their despatches the work done in the Cameroon campaign by the native carriers, "patient and amenable men," who "toiled incessantly under heavy loads and at times under heavy fire to keep the troops supplied with food and ammunition."

NATIVE CARRIERS ON THE MARCH IN CAMEROON.

Transport difficulties seriously hampered the Franco-British operations in Cameroon. Almost impenetrable bush exposed the long convoys of carriers to constant attack, and they further suffered heavily from sickness. But they responded bravely to the encouragement of the British officers, and did work without which the operations could not have been successful.

black troops lost their nerve. Their firing went to pieces and their bullets flew well above the heads of the men in our advanced section, who were shooting at every rifle flame that they saw in front of them.

We sent men out on our flanks and rear, and finding that the point of least resistance was on our left, the commander of the little column threw his main force there. After a fierce little battle, lasting four and a half hours, the Gold Coast force managed to threaten the enemy's left flank. For some unexplained cause the unknown German commander then hurriedly retired. There was no apparent reason why he should have done so. On the bluff across the river our men found trench after trench hidden in splendid cover, with accommodation for six hundred native troops and sixty white officers and non-commissioned officers. There were also trenches on the steep hill on our left, and on the rising ground on our right. As the total strength of our flanking column was only three hundred men, the enemy must have greatly outnumbered it, and they should have been able, not merely to hold up our force, but to annihilate it. Some of our officers thought that our deadly mountain gun was the victory maker. In firing its small shell this little quick-firer made a most furious and alarming rattle, and it is presumed that its terrific bark frightened the tribesmen of Cameroon just when they were beginning to suffer from the good marksmanship of the Gold Coast riflemen.

Germans' amazing retreat

LT.-COLONEL A. H. W. HAYWOOD, D.S.O., R.A.
An officer "who experienced the brunt of the hard fighting" in Cameroon, and whose judgment and discretion were never at fault.

When the enemy's flank was thus turned by a small but quite extraordinary victory, he hastily retired from his main position at Wum Biagas, where the gallant Nigerian troops were making fine headway. Ten miles farther down the Yaunde road there was a wooded ridge, where the road bent between two ravines. Here the Germans had built another system of earthworks. But before attacking, the main British column sent a force southward to assist the Senegalese troops under Colonel Mayer. Colonel Mayer had not been able to reach Iseka and help us at Wum Biagas as he did in the former expedition. The enemy had again been using gangs of thousands of natives to make line after line of fortifications across the railway track. Colonel Mayer had to carry widely extended positions at every rise of ground and bend of the permanent way. Walled in by the primeval forest, and anticipated in every attempt to make a flanking movement with the axe, his task was extremely difficult. By reason of a swifter advance the British column was soon in a position to outflank southward, from the Yaunde road, the German troops defending the railway line; and after great trouble in crossing the flooded Kele River, our flanking forces came to the help of the French. Colonel Mayer was then able to make a strong thrust on Iseka, with his Senegalese fighting at the top of their form. They captured a considerable amount of rolling-stock which had been left behind in the previous advance, and as our supply of engines and waggons was small, the recovered additional spoil greatly helped to improve the transport of supplies. The bridges between Duala and Iseka had partly been rebuilt, and the work of making good all this section of the Midland Railway was rapidly carried on during the first three weeks in November. Our motor track along the Yaunde road was also much improved, and some seven thousand carriers, each carrying from fifty to sixty pounds on his head, served as means of communication off the two main lines of motor and rail traffic.

Allied forces converge

We pushed our camp a little way beyond Wum Biagas to Angas. Thence a Nigerian force, under Colonel Gorges, moved against the enemy's position on the Yaunde road, while the French column under Colonel Mayer advanced along the railway towards the point at which another road from Kribi ran upward to Yaunde. In effect, however, the two forces, British and French, combined into a main body with two wings that swept towards the German base on a wide front. The German Commander-in-Chief, who was fighting at the same time the Franco-Belgian force

under General Aymerich and the French column near Spanish Guinea, could no longer bring against all the main allied forces in the south a superior or even equal number of troops. On a very small scale, he was in the same position as the armies of the German Empire afterwards were. He held the interior lines, but instead of being able to swing his main force from side to side and defeat each enemy in turn, he had to fight hard and incessantly on all fronts. Northward, Brigadier-General Cunliffe was closing in upon him; eastward, General Aymerich was stubbornly and victoriously advancing; and southward, two French forces were moving along the Spanish frontier and towards the station of Ebolowa

Zimmermann decided to use his most powerful force in holding Colonel Mayer on the railway. Colonel Mayer was indeed held up in a most violent fashion. Only the remarkable gallantry of his Senegalese troops enabled him to win through.

Cheery, courageous Senegalese

The Senegalese lost heavily in a struggle that lasted five weeks, but all the time they gave more punishment than they received, and at last smashed their way through broken entrenched country to Mangeles. Against Colonel Mayer, Zimmermann was fighting for his life, and he knew it. If the French column, which was immediately acting with our Yaunde road column, had carried out the plan of Sir Charles Dobell and swept on Yaunde from the south, the principal German force would have been completely enveloped. In conjunction with the weaker French forces in the south, Colonel Mayer's column was closing the only road of escape to Spanish Guinea.

[*Underwood & Underwood.*

THE KAISER'S REPRESENTATIVE.

Herr von Ebermeier, who abandoned his governorship of German Cameroon to the allied authorities, the German forces having evacuated the territory for neutral refuge.

Zimmermann saw this, and therefore fought against Colonel Mayer with his main strength.

Lack of communication

Sir Charles Dobell tried to answer this movement by combining the Senegalese, Nigerian, and Gold Coast troops into a single army acting on a connected front. But the lack of transverse roads through the bush prevented the British commander from transferring forces quickly from wing to wing. All that could be done was for the northern British wing, under Lieut.-Colonel Cockburn, and the British centre, under Colonel Gorges, to drive hard and incessantly at Zimmermann's flank and centre in order to compel him to weaken his attacks against Colonel Mayer's column.

In all that follows it must, therefore, be remembered that though Colonel Mayer made less progress than his British comrades-in-arms, he had the hardest task of all. His slow yet magnificent pushing movement was the pivot on which depended the victories of the British, French

BRITISH NATIVE TROOPS FOR THE CAMEROON FRONT ABOUT TO LAND ON THE WEST AFRICAN COAST.

Equatorial, and Belgian Congo forces. Sir Charles Dobell, in his despatch, especially remarks upon the help he received from Colonel Mayer, not only in the skilled leading of the brave and cheerful Senegalese, but in the perplexing strategical problems of the expedition.

While Colonel Mayer was desperately fighting from the railway towards the Kribi road, the Nigerian troops made their main thrust on Yaunde along the upper road. The column set out on November 23rd, met the enemy's patrols the next day, worked past two German machine-gun parties, skirmished until November 26th in the rubber plantations, maize fields, and banana orchards along the road, and followed the enemy into the jungle beyond the clearings.

Bondage of natives

Then, after topping a wooded ridge, the Nigerian column found the enemy's battle position. At a point where the road sharply turned to the right the German force had lined up on a range of steep, heavily wooded hills, which they had previously deeply entrenched. The Germans must, in the previous six months, have worked thousands of the native population to death in preparing earthworks. All that could be effected in defensive spade-work by a native population of three and a half millions, Zimmermann and his engineers had planned with care and carried out with intense energy.

In the present case the Germans held advanced positions by two ravines, that opened on either side of the Yaunde road and left only a little neck of land running towards the entrenched heights. Three companies of the 1st Nigeria Regiment were ordered to take the ridge. The attack was opened by the second and third companies, commanded by Captain Balders and Captain Giles. The attack was apparently not a success. On both flanks we were held up all the morning by the two gullies on each side of the road, and the sweeping machine-gun fire of the enemy broke our sections up terribly. Captain Balders fell when leading an attack against the main ravine, where the enemy had a machine-gun less than a hundred yards from our thinned and despairing line. One of our Maxims had been pushed forward across the gully to help the two advanced sections. But these sections suffered such losses that there were not more than a dozen rifles left in the line after seven hours' fighting. Of four British officers two were killed and one wounded. Lieutenant Ford, who was left in command, was inclined to retire with his twelve men to save his machine-gun from being rushed. But he hung on because Captain Balders, before falling dead with a bullet through his neck, had said: "This is a case where we've got to do or die." And almost by a miracle the handful of men won through. Suddenly the enemy's fire slackened and then ceased. He was evacuating the ridge. By amazing and almost hopeless tenacity a small British force, that had been reduced to twelve men and a Maxim, frightened one of the two most important German forces in Cameroon out of a high fortified position. As the Germans were retreating, another company of the 1st Nigeria Regiment came up as a support, but merely helped to quicken the general withdrawing movement of the enemy.

PICTURESQUE VILLAGE SCENE AT SAVA.

View of a native village near Mora Mountain, Northern Cameroon, with troops and horses of the Nigeria Regiment Mounted Infantry. The village was occupied by the British during the attack on the German position.

FUGITIVE GOVERNOR OF A LOST PROVINCE.

Herr von Ebermeier, formerly Governor-General of German Cameroon, surveying the beauties of the colony before its loss, from the heights of the volcanic Cameroon range—a captured German photograph. The ex-Governor was interned in Spanish Guinea with a remnant of German troops who escaped with him.

The enemy, however, only fell back to another entrenched ridge, and fighting went on furiously, over position after position, until the station of Ngung was conquered on November 30th. By this time the main British force was nearing the open and cultivated country. Only a narrow belt of bush remained, and the enemy, knowing that he would be

outmanœuvred when the clear ground was reached, made desperate efforts to snatch a decision in his last patch of wooded jungle land. Our column stayed for some days at Ngung, in order to bring up supplies and clear its line of communication from hostile parties raiding through the jungle. Then, on December 7th, 1915, the advance was resumed, with a small part of the Gold Coast Regiment, under Captain Butler, acting as an outflanking force and cutting its way through the bush. Captain Butler, by the arduous work and the intrepid spirit of his men, succeeded in turning the last great German fortified position in the bush.

Our main column then burst into the open country and captured Jang Mangas on December 17th. The British column had by this time got well in advance of the French column under Colonel Mayer. The orthodox thing to do was for the British force to establish a base at Jang Mangas, wait for the French force to advance, and help this advance by a flanking movement southward. Sir Charles Dobell, however, reckoned that the condition of mind of the German native troops was the ruling factor in the situation. In a previous expedition from the end of the Northern Railway we had halted for sound reasons near the rail-head in order to strengthen our line of supplies and amass material. But this necessary postponement of our pursuit had put heart into the routed German native forces and had given them time to recover from their demoralisation.

VIEW OF MORA MOUNTAIN, NORTH CAMEROON.
Germany's strongest entrenched position in North Cameroon, on this mountain crest, was surrendered to the Franco-British troops on February 18th, 1916.

At Jang Mangas the principal British column had again got a large force of Germans and natives in a fugitive and demoralised condition. Sir Charles Dobell, therefore, resolved not to wait for the co-operation of Colonel Mayer, but to thrust forward towards Yaunde with a view to preventing the Cameroon tribesmen from regaining confidence in their German commanders. It was this psychological movement, seemingly against the principles of good strategy, that completely shattered the German system of resistance. For as the British column advanced along the Yaunde road in the third week of December, while Brigadier-General Cunliffe's northern force also converged towards Yaunde, Zimmermann could not keep his native troops in hand.

Our Yaunde road force found position after position with strongly entrenched works abandoned, and on January 1st, 1916, the head of the Yaunde road column, under Colonel Gorges, entered Yaunde. The enemy was completely crushed by the pressure brought against him from all sides. During the first week in January troops from Brigadier-General Cunliffe's command, with troops from French Equatorial Africa and the Belgian Congo, began to arrive in Yaunde. As Sir Charles Dobell remarked in his despatch: "It is a remarkable feat that troops that had fought and marched for a period of seventeen months should have converged on their objective within a few days of one another." The country in which they operated was one and a half times as large as the German Empire, and consisted largely of a roadless, tropical wilderness belted with jungle growth and topped by fortified mountains.

The Allies enter Yaunde

The immediate effect of the occupation of Yaunde was to relieve all pressure on Colonel Mayer's heroic force, which reached the Yaunde-Kribi road early in January; for Zimmermann was flying at utmost speed towards Spanish Guinea, preferring internment to capture by the Allies. The French and British forces swept south to Ebolowa and Kribi, picking up remnants of the scattered German garrison. Then Colonel Morrison, taking command of a strong French force, spread it out like a net towards the Spanish frontier, and, linking with the French force operating from the Campo River, cleared Cameroon of Germans by the middle of February, 1916. At the beginning of this month Brigadier-General Cunliffe, having completed his sweep on Yaunde, turned back to the northern Gibraltar of Cameroon—the great mountain of Mora—and brought up guns and shells to the hill level with the first ridge of the enemy's position. But the affair ended without a battle, as the German commander, Captain von Raben, surrendered with all his troops on February 18th, 1916.

Capt. von Raben's surrender

With the conquest of Cameroon the enemy lost a territory 306,000 square miles in area, on which he had expended great sums of money and thirty years of steady work. The Woermann line, that carried the Cameroon produce, lost most of its steamers; so that the conquest of the great colony was as complete as possible. With the exception of the help of one Indian battalion, the native forces of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Senegal, French Equatorial Africa, and the Belgian Congo carried the operations to a victorious close. In this matter it must be remembered that Cameroon was a fortress country specially organised for the conquest of the surrounding British, French, and Belgian colonies. If the Germans had treated their own natives fairly and had used more humane methods in both government and discipline, their strength of resistance in a country of such immense natural difficulties and intricate fortifications might have proved insuperable. In Cameroon the German fell unwittingly by his own hand, because he was a most brutal exploiter and not a civilising, colonising power. On the other hand, the difference between the spirit of the natives of the Belgian Congo in the days of King Leopold and their spirit in the days of King Albert, the great reformer, was marked by the number of fine, gallant native recruits whom the Belgians rapidly trained for victory with General Aymerich's column.

A LONDON COLLIER WANDLE SUCCESSFULLY ENGAGING A GERMAN SUBMARINE IN THE NORTH SEA ON APRIL 29TH. 1916.

German submarines, though armed with the latest guns and torpedoes, frequently encountered effective opposition from their would-be victims. On April 29th, 1916, the collier Wandle, belonging to the Wandsworth, Wimbledon, and Epsom Gasworks, was attacked by a U boat with torpedoes and gun fire. The former missed their mark, whereupon the collier opened fire with her sole gun. After the sixth shot the German submarine suddenly disappeared, and Captain G. R. A. Martin brought the Wandle safely back to the Thames. He was subsequently awarded a silver medal for his brilliant exploit.

PIRATE'S INGENIOUS DISGUISE:

CHAPTER CXXVII.

U BOAT WITH PAINTED HULL.

ISOLATING THE ENEMY: HOW THE CENTRAL EMPIRES WERE BLOCKADED.

Difficulties in the Way of Exerting Naval Pressure Against the Commerce of the Enemy States—Direct and Comprehensive Methods of Blockade in the Napoleonic Wars and Their Effect—Abraham Lincoln and the Doctrine of "Ultimate Destination"—Development of the Policy of Blockade into Our Most Important Weapon of Attack—German Fear and Denunciation of the American Doctrine of Blockade as Developed by the Spanish-American War—Lord Fisher's Preparations for a Naval War with Germany—German Astuteness and British Obtuseness Exposed by the Declaration of London—German Misconception of Britain's Real Attitude—Resumption of Our Full Sea Rights Required as Punishment for Germany's Violation of Belgium—Strict Blockade at the Outset would have Exhausted Germany's Energy within Two Years—Why Sir Edward Grey Declined the Responsibility—The French and the Russian Position—Italy—The United States—Sweden and the Open Route to the Baltic—Cotton—British Coal as a Factor in the Situation—The German Submarine Campaign and the British Retaliation—Dutch and Danish Commerce with Germany—Incompleteness of Our Counter-Blockade in 1915—Sweden and the Allies—American Criticism of the British Blockade and Sir Edward Grey's Reply—Sir John Jellicoe's Opinion—The White Paper of January 4th, 1916, and Lord Beresford's Alternative Statement—Pressure of Public Opinion on the Cabinet—The Black List—Lord Robert Cecil Appointed Minister for Blockade—Abandonment of the Declaration of London in July, 1916.

IN no other branch of the war were there such difficulties and perplexities as in the exercise of naval pressure against the commerce of the enemy States. From the first the British and the French Navies in the North Sea and the Adriatic interfered with the sea-borne trade of Germany and Austria-Hungary. At a later date the Fleets of France and Great Britain, reinforced by the Navies of Italy and Russia, operated against the maritime traffic of Bulgaria and Turkey, while maintaining their watch on the coasts of the Central Empires. Trade in the Baltic was not interrupted seriously until the autumn of 1915, but all other seas adjacent to the enemy States, and also to the neutral States through which sea-borne goods could be transported by rail and road, river and canal, to enemy destinations, were dominated by the warships of the Entente Powers. From the beginning of the war Britain could have sadly disturbed the transit across the Baltic of goods bought or sold by Germany and Austria if our submarine flotillas had been sent through the Sound.

Had we retained and developed the direct, simple, and comprehensive methods of blockade of the days of Nelson and of the American Civil War, there would have been no immediate difficulties or perplexities for our sailors in the days of Jellicoe. A hundred years ago we used our power on the sea as Napoleon used his power on land. All military conquerors have practically an entire dominion over the territories to which their striking force reaches. They stop and divert trade in those territories as they wish, and they can even require neutrals to modify the course of their commerce, as Germany did during this war in the case of Switzerland. Napoleon's grand scheme for preventing all trade between the Continent of Europe and the British Isles is the classical example of the exercise of blockading power by a military empire. It was mainly because Napoleon tried to exert greater pressure on Russia than his military position allowed that his scheme ended in disaster. Had he been the actual conqueror of all Europe, his Continental system might have been worked for what it was worth.

THE SEA'S DEADLY HARVEST.
Iron model of a German submarine erected on a pedestal, which consisted of a British mine washed up on the shore, at Hornum, Island of Sylt.

For many reasons such a system was not as effective as our naval blockade. The discovery and colonisation of the New World, together with the discovery of the sea route to India, and the establishment of trading stations and plantations in the East, gave our country enormous resources. Our sea-power enabled us to collect against the enemy the wealth of the world, for we were then the only nation employing power and machinery in our manufactures. Moreover, there was only one extra-European country

READY FOR EMERGENCIES.
All in the day's work aboard a destroyer. British Marines scouring a torpedo.

that approached us in energy—the United States—and its population, manufacturing capacity, and mercantile marine were greatly inferior to ours. Our Government was able to apply against the great land empire of Napoleon a larger measure of restriction in trade than Napoleon used against us. Even when the United States went to war against us, partly in the interests of its trade with France and French territory, we held to the blockade system established by our Orders-in-Council, and in the treaty of peace concluded at Ghent in 1814 there was no mention of any limitations of our right of blockade in the interest of neutral trade. The most important section of the American Republic, the New England States, had shown some sympathy with the British Government and had been lukewarm in the struggle.

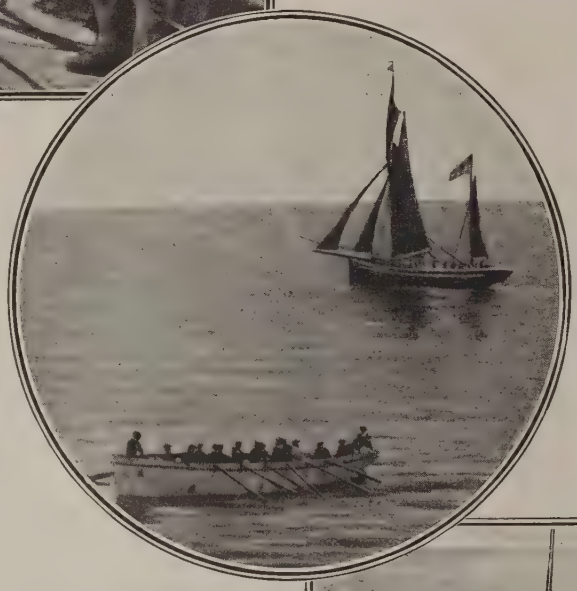
Naval blockade precedent

Had the war lasted longer, New England might have seceded, and the English-speaking races might even have been reunited. The exercise of the blockading power of our Fleet may, therefore, be said to have been a great and general success in this case. The pressure we exerted caused discord between Napoleon and his chief allies, and conduced to his defeats in Russia in 1812 and at Leipzig in 1813.

Our blockading methods were turned against us during the American Civil War. Abraham Lincoln declared the staple produce of the Confederate States—cotton—to be contraband, though it was not then used for any warlike purposes. His reason was that it supplied his enemy with the sinews of war. The United States President also extended the blockade from enemy ports to neutral ports through which goods were passing by land to the Confederates. If, for instance, a ship went to Matamoras, a port in Northern Mexico, with a cargo destined to be transported by land to the Confederates, the cargo could be seized under the doctrine of "continuous voyage" or "ultimate destination" (which means that goods could be condemned if they were ultimately intended to reach the enemy). Our Lancashire cotton operatives suffered cruelly from lack of cotton, but both they and our Government acquiesced in this extraordinary extension of the law of blockade. What we then lost as a neutral trading State was felt to be more than balanced, in the event of a naval war, by our gain as the greatest sea Power. The greater the restrictive force allowed by international convention against neutrals and enemies, the stronger became our position against any possible foe who possessed highly developed industries and large oversea trading interests.

Law of compensation

The policy of blockade, indeed, seemed to be developing through the nineteenth century into our most important weapon of prolonged attack. In purely military operations our Fleet, if kept at great strength, could only save our shores from invasion, our sea-borne commerce from interruption, and our transports from destruction, thus playing a defensive part. But when agricultural States, such as Germany, entered upon a period of intense industrial activity, with vast sea-borne imports of raw material and vast sea-borne exports of manufactures, the scope of our sea-power began to trouble our future foes. Treitschke was then openly proclaiming in Berlin that the Germans had settled accounts with Denmark, Austria, and France, and they would in due time settle accounts with Britain, as Britain was the last great obstacle to that dominion of the earth towards which they were working.



ALL IN ORDER.
Naval picket-boat making its way back to a warship after inspecting the papers of a vessel under suspicion.

MANNING THE PICKET-BOAT.
Petty-officer, men, and an interpreter about to leave a British warship to inspect papers of a suspicious ship.

"GERMAN BATTLESHIP FIRING BROADSIDES IN THE NORTH SEA."

This picture had much popularity in Germany, where it was described as above. While undoubtedly a photograph of an actual occurrence, the practice was one in which German battleships indulged by preference where defenceless towns rather than British battleships formed their objective.

The prospect of the indirect pressure of our sea-power, by such a blockade as Abraham Lincoln had established against the Confederate States, perturbed the Germans and led them to spend some three hundred million pounds in trying to outbuild us in battleships. The leading German authority in the matter was Vice-Admiral Baron Curt von Maltzahn, professor of naval strategy at Kiel. In his work on "Naval Warfare," written in November, 1905, he violently denounced the American doctrine of blockade as further developed during the Spanish-American War of 1898:

> The United States hold that if the commander of a vessel, which might be thousands of miles from its destination, can be proved to have had the intention of entering a blockaded port, he is guilty of trying to run the blockade. In other words, the United States hold they would have been justified in stationing their cruisers at the mouth of the Elbe to keep watch over German ships sailing from our harbours, lest these ships should be bound for the blockaded port of Havana.

Admiral Maltzahn, doubtless, had in mind the defence of the German coast against a British blockading squadron by German submarines. If, after the American doctrine, our blockading squadrons could act hundreds or thousands of miles away from the blockaded coast, submarines could not seriously impede a blockade. The submarine of 1905, for instance, could not have interfered with a British blockading squadron operating in the Northern Atlantic. The bold and enterprising policy of the United States inflicted serious loss on us when we were neutral, but served our larger interests as a great sea Power by its sensible and well-founded insistence on the fullest right of blockade. For the United States remained the dominant extra-European trading nation, and in the event of a European war its own practice and doctrines would apply to Americans as neutrals.

Lesson of U.S. Blockade

Unfortunately, in December, 1908, we went widely out of our way in order to deliberately create enormous difficulties in the exercise of economic pressure on an enemy by means of our Fleet. At that time Germany directly threatened us at sea. All our measures against the increasing aggressiveness of our future foe were restricted to naval preparations. Far-seeing men anticipated a naval war between ourselves and Germany, and our First Sea Lord of the period, Lord Fisher, made ready as best he could to meet a sudden attack upon our Navy and mercantile marine.

Lord Fisher, however, had to struggle against a party of immense influence in the Liberal Cabinet. This party was strangely hostile to any adequate preparation for the war which was being openly planned by the sovereign who called himself "Admiral of the Atlantic." When Kaiser Wilhelm II. began an enormous programme of battleships and battle-cruisers, there remained a very strong British political group which violently agitated against the maintenance of the strength of our Fleet. Lord Fisher and the other Sea Lords had to threaten resignation in 1909, and all but gave effect to their threat, before the wiser members of Mr. Asquith's Government could obtain a Cabinet decision for the maintenance of our battleship strength. In other words, they had to menace their colleagues with the break-up of the Government and the publication of the news of the resignation of the Sea Lords before they could persuade them to agree to steps being taken to prevent the people of the British Isles from being beaten at sea and starved into surrender.

Lord Fisher and the Liberal Cabinet

Lord Fisher resumed his control of our naval preparations, but friction in the Cabinet apparently prevented him from obtaining all that the Admiralty required. The result was that he received insufficient money, built only the battleships necessary to counter the German menace, and failed to get the cruisers and destroyers needed for the Fleet.

Lord Fisher had attended the First Hague Conference in 1899, and had then made a resolute stand against the subtle intrigues of Germany. At the Second Hague Conference of 1907, from which Lord Fisher was absent, numerous conventions affecting naval war were signed—providing amongst other things for the creation of an International Prize Court. Our Government convoked the leading naval Powers in London in 1908, in order to settle the rules which this International Prize Court was to apply. Nothing quite like the Conference of London is to be found in history. The British lion, half dazed and half alarmed by the threats of the Prussian eagle, invited his rivals to convince themselves that his intentions were perfectly peaceable, and allowed them—with his eager consent—to clip his claws.

Blindfolding Britannia

With a genius for management unexcelled by Bismarck, the German representatives affected to work in our interests, and professed their eagerness to safeguard our necessities as the greatest merchant shipping nation. They proposed that certain raw materials, largely imported by this country, should be included in a list of goods which could never be declared contraband or liable to seizure in neutral ships by belligerent cruisers. Among the articles which the Declaration of London placed in this free list were raw cotton, jute, flax, hemp, silk, and wool, copra, oil seeds and nuts, rubber, raw hides, iron, copper, nickel and other metallic ores, wood-pulp, bleaching powder, ammonia, and such curious things as office furniture. On the other hand, foodstuffs, forage, and grain could be treated as contraband of war.

LIFEBOATMEN "DOING THEIR BIT."

The use of mines and the absence of navigation lights at sea resulted in a number of wrecks round British coasts, augmenting the duties of lifeboatmen. This illustration shows the Spurn lifeboat on an errand of mercy, supported by a railway company's tug.

In addition to these extraordinary inclusions in and exemptions from the list of contraband, it was agreed that if a neutral vessel was found to be carrying contraband to a neutral port she could not be seized. Her papers, whether true or false, were to be accepted as evidence of the destination of the goods.

Perhaps the master-stroke of the German delegates was the first chapter of the Declaration, laying down an entirely new law of blockade. Its very first article forbade a blockade extending "beyond the ports and coasts of or occupied by the enemy" (such a blockade as we must establish in case of war). Other articles forbade the blockading forces to "bar access to neutral ports or coasts," and prohibited the capture of neutral blockade-runners "except within the area of operations of the warships detailed to render the blockade effective." This very vague and ambiguous phrase seems to have been meant to forbid anything like a long-distance blockade, enforced by warships some hundreds of miles from the enemy's coast, such as had been carried out in the American Civil War by the United States. Thus Germany hampered the British Fleet in every conceivable manner.

It was a marvellous triumph for the German diplomatists. Britain, who could not live on her own produce, was to be deprived of foodstuffs for man and beast by enemy cruisers raiding her trade routes; while Germany—who wanted raw cotton for her smokeless powder, oil for her nitro-glycerine and dynamite, jute for her sandbags, iron, copper, nickel, tungsten, and other ores for making fine steel for guns, rifles, bayonets, shells, and other munitions of war, rubber for her military motor transport, and wool for the clothing of her troops—was to get all these things without interference from our Navy. Under the Declaration of London all these war stores were practically to be allowed to enter Germany, provided they were carried by neutral vessels.

But a hundred of our admirals opposed this surrender of our ancient sea rights. The Unionist Party, under Mr. Arthur Balfour, voted against the Naval Prize Bill which put the Declaration of London into force so far as this country was concerned. Though the Liberal Government forced the measure through the House of Commons by a straight party vote, the House of Lords saved the Empire by defeating the Bill.

It was one of the luckiest strokes in our history that the Declaration of London was defeated. It was born of the faltering, hesitating, half-frightened, and half-incredulous policy of the Cabinet then in power. Instead of meeting and answering the German menace firmly and bravely, the British Government tried first to disregard it, and then to dodge it.

The actual result of our continual weakness was that Germany concluded we should never go to war with her in any circumstances, if we could by any sacrifice of honour or interest avoid the struggle. And it was because our real attitude was then misconceived that the enemy afterwards attributed to us a Machiavellian genius in diplomacy in forcing him to enter the European War with the odds against him. There was no shadow of scheming in the matter on our part. Our Government had in it so large an element of feebleness that our politicians really acted as ostriches, instead of pretending to do so. Only our professional soldiers and sailors saved us, and at times by a very narrow margin of power.

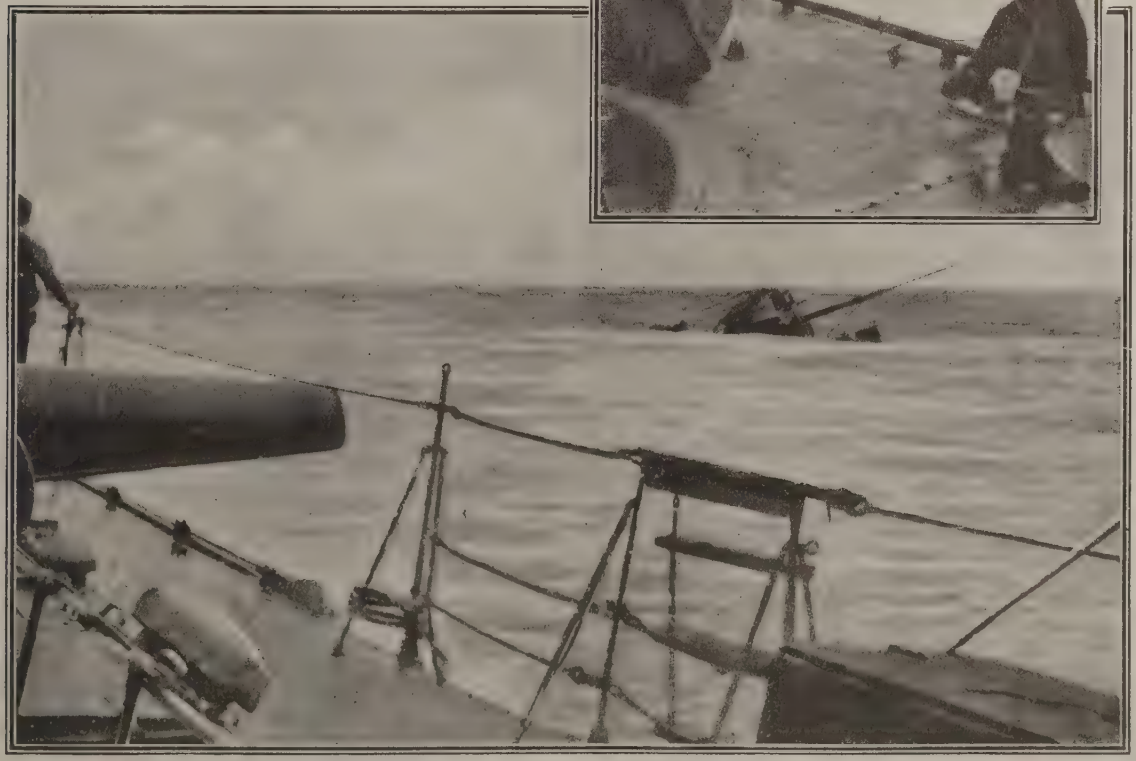
Golden opportunity missed

Our sailors had had to submit to the ideas of our politicians with regard to the Declaration of London. When we were involved in a war on Germany, Austria, and Hungary, with Continental allies on our side, the most energetic action was required. Had the British Liberal Government possessed downright courage and the presence of mind born of courage, it would have kept clear of the Declaration of London—which was null and void—have proclaimed a strict blockade, and enforced the doctrine of "ultimate destination" when the German invasion of Belgium stirred the conscience of the whole world.

If our resumption of our full sea rights had then been

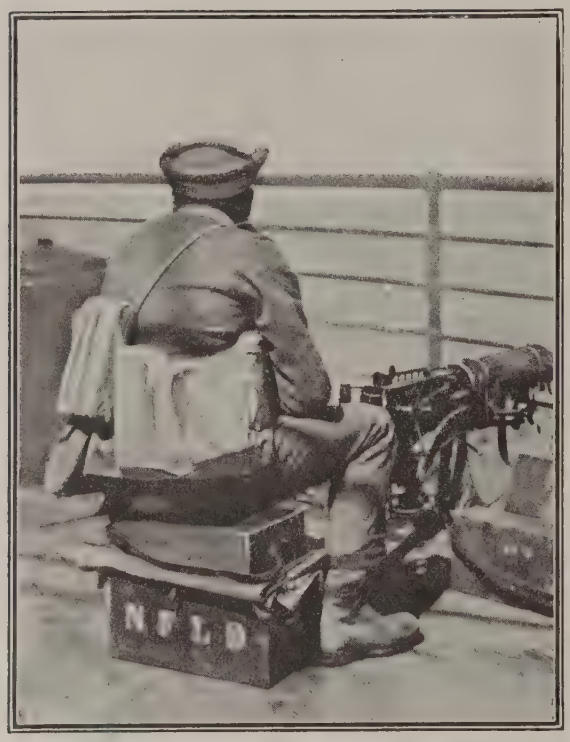
SUBMARINE WAR ON NEUTRALS.

Torpedoed neutral vessel sinking in the North Sea. On the right a lifeboat, which was lowered from the British vessel in the foreground, was conveying the crew of the neutral steamer to safety.



BRITISH SHIP TO THE RESCUE OF A NEUTRAL CREW SOMEWHERE IN THE NORTH SEA.

The U pirates' victim the moment before she foundered. The small illustration indicates some of the neutral steamer's crew swimming to the British vessel. Sailors were about to assist them to board the rescuing ship.



READY TO SINK OR TO SWIM.
Newfoundlander on a transport prepared to sink any submarine sighted. He wore a lifebelt in case a pirate should get a torpedo home.

established as a direct punishment of Germany for her atrocious conduct in Belgium, there is but little doubt that we could have greatly helped to exhaust the warlike energy of the Teutons within two years. In particular, we could have prevented a very large part of the American cotton crop of 1914 from passing into German powder factories, for transformation into the propellant for all German and Austrian guns, howitzers, machine-guns, and rifles. We could have stopped the enemy from getting fat for nitro-glycerine, considerable quantities of ore for fine steel manufacture, copper for cartridges and shell-bands, and large quantities of food. American cotton was the decisive article of contraband, because without it Germany and Austria-Hungary would soon have run short of powder. They would have had to resort hastily to wood or other inferior cellulose material. Large new plants would have been required; every gun, howitzer, Maxim, and rifle would have needed different sights; and then all these weapons would have been diminished in carrying power and in regular precision.

Fear of powerful neutrals

Sir Edward Grey, however, would not accept the risks of a severe blockade. In his view, as he afterwards explained in public, any attempt on our part to prohibit neutral commerce with Germany would have led to some of the principal neutral Powers joining Germany and Austria, and declaring war upon us and our Allies. It is possible that France and Russia may have strongly influenced our decision. Both the French position and the Russian position remain, at the time of writing, very obscure. But it is clear that Russia needed free transit of war stores and general material through a friendly Sweden. Sweden, on the other hand, was agitated by a strong and energetic pro-German party, known as the Activists, that eagerly sought for any fairly popular motive for bringing their country into the field against Russia and invading Finland. Had we confiscated in the Channel and the Atlantic all cotton, copper, lard, ore, and other cargoes of materials capable of military use, in Swedish vessels and shown to be eventually destined for transhipment to Germany, the Activists might have fomented the discontent of the Swedes regarding this restriction of their carrying trade until war resulted.

The French Government was anxious as to the attitude of Italy. At the beginning of the war Italy was friendly, and allowed the French Army along the French-Italian frontier to be moved against the Teutonic invaders. Nevertheless, German financial, commercial, and political influences permeated the entire fabric of Italian life. It was questionable whether the French blockading squadron in the Mediterranean could seize Italian ships, containing cotton, copper, and other war material, consigned to agents who were engaged in transporting the goods into Austria or into Switzerland for despatch to Germany. For many years Italy had retained a grudge against France, and fought her in a tariff war. It was quite possible that the severe methods of a full blockade, with their general interference with Italian shipping and their restriction of trade between Italy and Germany, would alarm the Italians, spread a belief that the French were jealous of Italy's extending commerce, play into the hands of the Teutonic intriguers, and thus keep the Italians from extending their sympathies with the Allies to the point of joining them in the war.

Italy and the tariff

Finally, we had our own special risk of troubles with the United States. Since they fought us in 1812 the Americans had enormously increased their trading interests. But, on the other hand, they had themselves established a precedent by making cotton contraband and by their doctrine of "ultimate destination" against imports passing through neutral ports to an enemy. Further, as Admiral Curt von Maltzahn pointed out in 1905, they had extended the range of blockading operations to a distance of hundreds of miles from the blockaded ports. Moreover, if Abraham Lincoln could place cotton exported from the South in the contraband list, the way seemed open for us to place manufactures of all kinds exported from Germany in that list, to say nothing of the wheat and meat which she imported.

For Germany was a nation in arms, with no distinction between her combatant and non-combatant population. In fact, many of her non-combatant adults were engaged in the manufacture of munitions and general material of war, and were, therefore, assisting the forces in the field. The great naval Powers of the world had agreed at the Conference of London that foodstuffs for man and beast could be declared contraband without notice. Generally speaking, therefore, the United States was bound, by its own precedents and by its contraband doctrine, to acquiesce in a long-range blockade of the German coast.

There remained, however, the open sea route in the Baltic between Sweden and Germany. Had we from the beginning closed this route by submarines, the blockading operations would have been technically complete. But as we did not wish to give the Activist party in Sweden any excuse for beginning a war with Russia, our blockading operations were at first confined to the main Atlantic routes. As Sweden remained free to trade with Germany, the United States might have argued that the blockade was not effective, because it was not applied "impartially" to the ships of all nations, and might have made this a ground for war.

We might have overcome the fears of Italy by specially considerate treatment, and have supplied her with all the war material her Government needed for its work of preparation. But unless Russia was willing to face the risk of Sweden joining Germany, and unless she was capable of permanently holding back the Swedish Army among the Finnish lakes, and dispensing with the stream

Chasing an enemy submarine: Patrol work of the R.N. Motor Boat Reserve.

On the alert for the furtive foe: Scene in a submerged British submarine.

Sentinels of the Grand Fleet: Patrol boat overhauling suspected blockade-runner.

Courage and skill overcome mine peril: Exploding infernal machines brought to the surface by trawlers.

of supplies that flowed from Britain and America through Swedish channels of communication, a strict blockade was dangerous.

At the outset, however, we could have blockaded the German Empires much more effectively if we had had the courage and the energy. International law is a whole. Its fabric of conventions stands or falls as a system. One belligerent cannot infringe international law in an important particular, and then maintain the validity of some separate articles of international convention which subserve his purpose. By treacherously invading Belgium, and then aggravating this infringement of treaty and neutral rights by deliberate and systematic atrocities which outraged every line in the Hague Conventions, Germany made the system of international convention invalid in every particular. Its validity would only have been maintained if all the States which signed the Hague Convention had forthwith taken steps to preserve international law against a country whose professed aim was to tear up all "scraps of paper."

Germany's blood-guiltiness

We, at least, as the only active and professed defender of the treaty rights of Belgium, must have been granted an open field, had we immediately applied the severest naval pressure against the brutal and uncivilised disrupter of those universal conventions on which modern civilisation rests. When Germany reverted to the savage conditions of the Thirty Years' War our powers were no longer limited by the surrenders we had made of our sea rights in the past. In 1856, for instance, we had, for no visible reason, surrendered our right of taking enemy goods in neutral ships and neutral cargoes in enemy vessels.

The Cabinet in August, 1914, was completely unequal to the occasion. In it there was no man of dominating influence and genius for war. Rhetorical talent was abundant, but the strength of character, the presence of mind needed to seize an unexpected opportunity and use it to strike a swift and stunning blow—these qualities were lacking. Sir Edward Grey was amiable and gentle, but not a man to "ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm," and as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs he had a ruling voice in determining our blockade policy. At the Admiralty were Mr. Winston Churchill, who had more energy than knowledge, and Prince Louis of Battenberg, who was a capable officer of trained talent but without the fire of genius and masterful strength of Lord Fisher. And even Lord Fisher would not have been able to revive the sea rights of Nelson's day without a desperate struggle and a Cabinet crisis when Sir Edward Grey so greatly feared complications with powerful neutral States.

The upshot was our Government did the very weakest thing possible—played for safety and went to the limit of its powers of surrender. Illegally and unconstitutionally the Cabinet resurrected the Declaration of London, which the Peers had rejected, and temporarily adopted most of its principal features. No constructive idea whatever can be traced in this extraordinary act. Possibly it was thought that, as the war was going to be very short, the code of sea law could not greatly affect it. Only Lord Kitchener, who was not at first a member of the Cabinet, had foreseen for some years that the war would be long, needing millions of British soldiers.

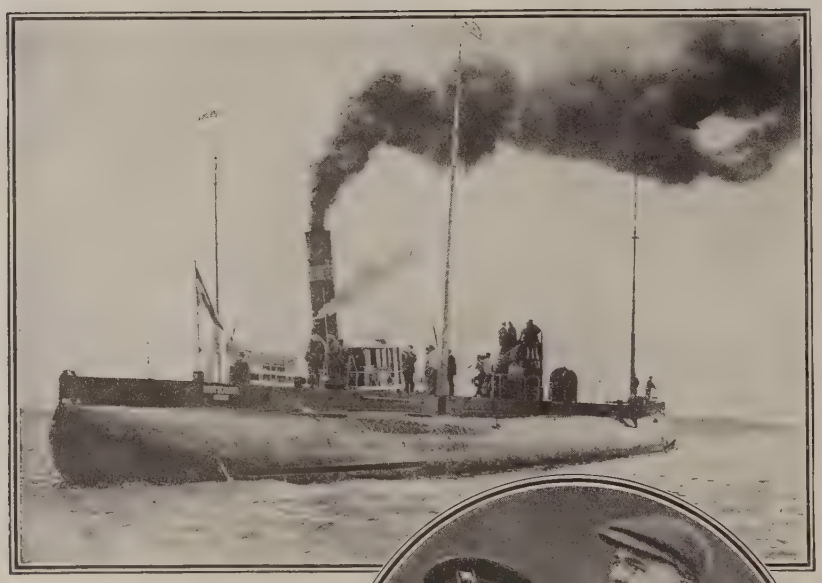
One step we did take. By an Order-in-Council, which showed the range of intellect of our administrative minds, the list of contraband in the Declaration was extended to aircraft. Nothing else of importance was done for months.

In November, 1914, when the enemy had just lost his first wind after being brought up between Dixmude and Arras, he, too, realised that the war would be long, and increased his output of munitions enormously. Everything he wanted was reaching him by sea—cotton and nitrates for making the propellant (or powder) for his guns and rifles, metallic ores for his new weapons, wheat and meat for his troops. Under the Declaration of London, most of these things were exempt from seizure. On October 29th, 1914, some keen intellect under the Liberal administration discovered that copper could be made into shell-bands and cartridge-cases, and that barbed-wire was useful in warfare, and had, in fact, been in common use since the South African War. Then the British Government declared that copper and barbed-wire, aluminium, lead, and sulphuric acid were contraband. Copper had been a war material for centuries, and the Austrians were still using bronze guns. The framework of Zeppelin airships was made of aluminium, and the gas with which they were filled was generated with the aid of zinc; bullets, moreover, were cast of lead—but the British advisers had seemingly never discovered these facts.

PIRATES POSING BEFORE THE CAMERA
The old pirates of the Spanish Main were not more ruthless than their modern German types, some of whom appear in this photograph.

The British public never appears to have grasped what was happening. The previous agitation over the Declaration of London had been largely confined to naval experts and pacifist politicians. The people did not grasp its military significance. They thought that we were acting as we did in the days of Nelson, and exerting a strangle-hold upon all the import and export trade of Germany. Indeed, the general, uninformed opinion was that the Grand Fleet under Sir John Jellicoe was beginning to starve the Germans into surrender. This ignorant, unfounded, popular view was strongly and strangely supported by Mr. Winston Churchill in a speech he made as First Lord of the Admiralty at the Guildhall banquet on November 9th, 1914. In effect, Mr. Winston Churchill definitely assured the British naton that a naval blockade was in operation, and he stated that at the end of twelve months the resulting economic stringency would achieve the doom of Germany. His words ran as follows:

The public in the dark



SIX HUNDRED LEAGUES UNDER THE SEA.

The German submarine Deutschland reached Baltimore from a German port on July 10th, 1916, after a voyage of 4,180 miles, of which she travelled 1,800 miles under water.

THE CAPTAIN OF THE SHIP.

Captain Paul Koenig, of the Deutschland, with Paul Hilken, of the North German Lloyd Agency, Swedish Vice-Consul at Baltimore.

It is very difficult to measure the full influence of naval pressure in the early stages of a war. The punishment we receive is clear and definite. The punishment we inflict is very often not seen and even when seen cannot be measured. The economic stringency resulting from a naval blockade requires time for it to reach its full effectiveness. Now you are only looking at it at the third month. But wait a bit. Examine it at the sixth month, and the ninth month, and the twelfth month, and you will begin to see the results—results which will be gradually achieved, and silently achieved, but which will spell the doom of Germany as surely as the approach of winter strikes the leaves from the trees.

This statement was made by Mr. Winston Churchill in the presence of Mr. Asquith, Lord Kitchener, and Mr. Balfour in circumstances of historic solemnity. Therefore, all the people of the British Empire believed as a fact in the economic stringency we were producing in Germany. All the vain and misleading prognostications of the growing enfeeblement of the enemy's strength in war materials and even in food can be directly traced to this speech.

The enemy was not blockaded. His ocean-going steamers were driven from the sea, and he was unable to ship direct a few articles which he could produce in vast quantities in his own country. Copper was the only thing he seriously lacked, and when it was made contraband in October, 1914, he imported it wrapped up in cotton. The great American cotton harvest—which our Government might have bought up without any resort to our old sea rights or Abraham Lincoln's precedent—poured so fast into Germany that the Germans could not store it.

Copper wrapped in cotton

No explanation of the attitude of our Government in regard to the cotton question is yet available. It cannot have been a matter of pure, blind, hopeless, utter ignorance. Mr. Winston Churchill, as the Cabinet spokesman of the Board of Admiralty, must have known that the Germans did not want cotton merely in order to weave pinafores for babies and summer dresses for women. Sir Edward Grey was presumably assisted by experts, so it is difficult to suppose that lack of knowledge prevented our executive from putting cotton on the contraband list. It has, however, been suggested that somebody in authority had a slight acquaintance with chemistry and an extreme fear of exasperating the German-Americans who controlled the American cotton market. The suggestion was that it would have been useless to stop cotton passing into Germany, because German experts could have used wood to make all the powder required by their armies and fleet.

One of our most eminent men of science, Sir William Ramsay, pointed out that smokeless powder made from wood would lack the precision and uniformity of nitrated cotton fibre, and would also be less powerful. The vast German and Austrian plant designed for cotton powder would have had to be remodelled in part, in order to deal with cellulose obtained from wood. The essential thing, therefore, was for us to act quickly and stop cotton imports into Germany and Austria, either by making cotton contraband and removing the cargoes from all neutral vessels, or by buying the crop. In this case the Germans and Austrians would have had to save their existing stock of powder, and refrain from any great offensive while they were re-sighting their weapons, practising with wood powder, and establishing their new plant. During their difficult transition from a cotton to a wood propellant there would have been a period of weakness, and this period of weakness would

MERCHANTMAN OR MAN-OF-WAR?

Some of the crew of the Deutschland. The boat carried seven hundred and fifty tons of dye-stuffs as cargo, and, according to Mr. Ryan, the Collector of the Port, conformed to all the requirements of a merchantman.

CAUGHT BY A BRITISH DESTROYER.
German submarine mine-layer UC5 in distress off the East Coast. Her crew abandoned the craft and were picked up by a British warship's whaler.

have coincided with the first French attack in Champagne, the British attack at Neuve Chapelle, and the Russian sweep over the Carpathians. It is difficult to see where Mackensen and Hindenburg would have obtained the powder for their grand phalanxes, with their million of shells daily, if the Central Empires had been abruptly and unexpectedly deprived of the cotton they had ordered from the United States.

No doubt if the enemy had been given time he would have made use of the wood substitute. Possibly he afterwards tried to do so, when our Government was being slowly compelled by public agitation to include the cotton crop of the late autumn of 1915 in the list of contraband. Success in catching the enemy with depleted powder resources depended entirely upon surprise. We needed a man of genius and knowledge to foresee the part that cotton would play in the war, and to make effective plans to stop the supply from reaching the Teutons at a time when they possessed no proper plant for dealing with inferior wood fibre.

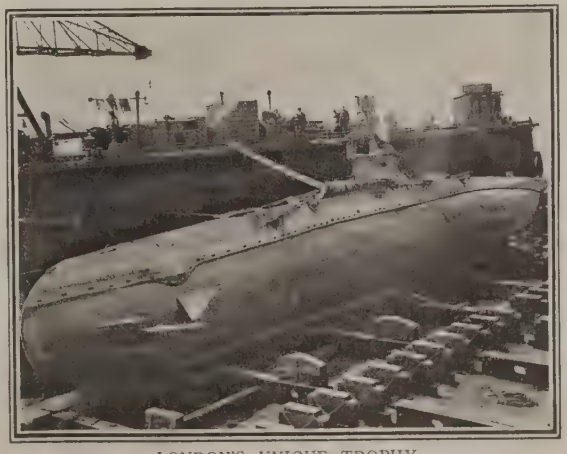
Unless at a later date information becomes available showing things to be entirely different from what they seem, the failure of the Liberal Government to revise the Declaration of London in the late autumn of 1914 and make cotton contraband then, will be regarded by all impartial historians as the greatest blunder in the conduct of the war. It appears to have been well within our power to cripple the fighting arm of the enemy. Why we failed to do this is the great mystery of the war.

The great mystery of the war

It is commonly said that a nation has the Government it deserves. In our period of slackness between the South African War and the European War we displayed, in the ruling majority of our elected representatives, a degree of weariness for which we had afterwards to suffer. On the other hand, we can justly claim that when we were at last aroused we showed a direct power of popular control such as is not to be found elsewhere in history. The people pushed the Government along the path towards efficiency and strength. We educated our masters; but the process of education was slow and troublesome. And in the meantime the figureheads of our Empire created difficulties for our sailors.

The chief difficulty was the vast mushroom growth, in almost every important neutral State, of powerful vested interests concerned in producing or conveying war material for the enemy. On the resurrected corpse of the Declaration of London battened a medley of parvenu traffickers who became in many cases the outer tentacles of the Germanic octopus. The new millionaires had large funds to spend on political intrigues among their own people, with the result that Germany was able to intensify her well-known methods of pacific penetration in some of the neutral States she was enriching by her diverted sea-borne imports and exports. Strong new interests, broadly established on a gold basis, arose among neutrals who had deeply and passionately sympathised with the Allies in August, September, and October, 1914. Sometimes the voracious and poisonous Germanic tentacles went too far

TAKING POSSESSION OF THE PRIZE.
British sailors aboard the UC5. The German commander attempted to destroy the craft with bombs, which exploded ineffectually after the crew had abandoned it.



LONDON'S UNIQUE TROPHY.
The UC5 in dry dock. She was only eighty-five feet long, and carried twelve mines on each trip. The submarine was exhibited to the public at Temple Pier, London, in July, 1916.

in sucking at the independent life of neutral countries; and as happened at last in Holland, for example, the drain of both imported and home-produced food menaced the common people with famine, and compelled them to agitate vehemently against the newly created pro-German commercial and political interests.

Yet our Government had extraordinary powers of control over the general situation, which it was cravenly allowing to develop to the disadvantage of the cause of the Allies. In addition to our lost sea rights as a blockading Power, we possessed in our incomparable mines of hard steam coal a peaceful and yet crushing instrument against pro-German shippers. All German coal was poor in quality and unsuited for use in steamers. Moreover, during the first month of the war the Germans, like the French and the Russians, called most of their miners of military age to the Colours, and only dug enough coal for their own limited purposes. Nearly all the shipping in the Eastern Atlantic depended for motive power on British coal. Also, Dutch, Greek, Scandinavian, Italian, and Spanish cargo boats trading to the Orient or rounding Cape Horn depended upon coaling depôts scattered about the world and controlled and supplied by Britons. Even the United States did not possess as good steam coal to meet the need of the neutral shippers who kept Germany supplied with war material and food; and from our coaling port at Jamaica we could have controlled many American ships trading to South America. Everybody with a steam-engine in Western and Southern Europe looked to our coal-mines for fuel. Only Switzerland depended upon German coal, and she did this merely because her difficulty in land situation made the import of fine British coal too costly. Wherever a ship could go, our coal had gone for the best part of a hundred years, and even in Northern Germany British coal had remained more important in steam-power industries than was the cheaper, but inferior, German coal.

The British coal factor

A TROPHY FROM TIRPITZ.
Sentry on guard over a faulty German shell. As many as two hundred and forty residences in Lowestoft were damaged by the German bombardment.

By watching neutral ports in Scandinavia and Holland, and blacklisting all ships that helped the enemy and everywhere refusing them coal, we could from August, 1914, have established a virtual blockade by purely economic means.

Naturally, our politicians did not, before or at the outbreak of hositilities, appreciate this great governing factor in the European situation. We were in reality an industrial oligarchy with a democratic colour, but we had maintained, throughout our change from a Government of landowners to a Government of professional orators, the showy amateurishness characteristic of an age of transition. In the eighteenth century the landowning oligarchy knew a good deal about its own special productive interests of farming, but neglected the new national interests represented by the creators of our industrial power. The industrialists, thereupon, fought for freedom of private development in their own sphere and overthrew the landowners in the struggle to get cheap imported food for the urban working classes, but remained content to be governed by orators without knowledge, so long as these human gramophones did not seriously interfere in the fundamental work of the nation. Some industrial groups that were directly subject to Parliamentary control established in turn a certain amount of control over Parliament by giving directorships to politicians. But it was only the great transport corporations that obtained by private efforts some power of direction in the Government. None of the chief productive groups, which in a loose, free way controlled us economically, troubled to organise political

WASTED EFFORT.
Part of a house in Lowestoft struck by a German 11·7 in. shell that failed to explode. Two soldiers were examining the damage.

power. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain tried so to organise this, but he was defeated by the shipping interests, the international finance interests, and the international industrial rings largely concerned with Germanic trade.

Generally speaking, our Government, Liberal and Unionist, was composed of men who possessed power and lacked knowledge. Some were a remnant of the old landowning oligarchy; others were retired traders, manufacturers, and bankers, using Parliament as a ladder for the society ambitions of their wives and daughters; and many were professional politicians of the new school, ready to take up any little popular domestic grievance likely to attract votes and enable them to increase their standing in their party. The sincerest men among them were entirely immersed in the vast problems of social reform, which overtaxed the powers of mind they possessed, as these powers of mind were not usually remarkable. Behind the Parliamentarians was an army of administrators, with generally as large a breadth of outlook as a mole. Their highest duty was to play for safety, and to avoid exposing their Parliamentary chiefs to awkward questions. Since the industrial revolution the nation had made itself, while Parliament acted only as a buzzing fly above the great wheels of invention, industry, labour organisation, and popular movements of gradual reform of the social structure. The utmost that Parliament did was to register by legislation the evolution of national tendencies. It created

An easy target for German naval gunners. Two women and a special constable were injured here. The firing lasted about half an hour.

Damage done to small houses as a result of the German raid on Lowestoft with four battle-cruisers, light cruisers, and destroyers.

Convalescent home at the East Coast resort which was shattered by Hunnish "frightfulness."

Large residence on the front reduced to ruins by German shells.

Shell-shattered business premises in one of the main streets of Lowestoft.

Room in the Lowestoft convalescent home where the matron was sleeping. In spite of the great damage wrought by a shell explosion, she escaped uninjured.

House on the front wrecked by German gunnery. Four inhabitants were killed and some twelve were wounded by the enemy's fire.

"FRIGHTFULNESS" AT A POPULAR EAST COAST RESORT: LOWESTOFT AFTER THE GERMAN NAVAL RAID, APRIL 25TH, 1916.

nothing, and it fostered none of the growing forces. The people as a whole worked out their own destinies; they led and their so-called leaders followed.

And so it was throughout the war. From the beginning, the spirit, the courage, the instinct, and the diffused knowledge of the people were much superior to those of members of the Government. But unfortunately the people did not have all the facts before them. For example, as we have seen, they thought we were rigorously blockading Germany and stopping all war supplies from reaching her, when Germany was getting everything she wanted except copper. And even then copper and other additional contraband continued to pour into neutral ports connected with Germany and Austria-Hungary, if the cargoes were consigned to a neutral merchant.

U.S.A. and the copper question

It was only when a ship's papers showed that an enemy agent was the direct consignee, or the name of no consignee was given, that the cargo was stopped. Yet certain copper interests in the United States began as early as September, 1914, to bring pressure to bear upon various Senators. The Senate passed a resolution calling for information from the Secretary of State in regard to our interference with shipments of copper from America for Rotterdam. It was admitted by the Americans that this copper was being sent through Rotterdam to the Krupp works. We paid for the copper cargoes we intercepted. Yet the American Senate, touched to action by the far-reaching tentacles of the Germanic octopus, tried to intimidate our Government in this matter.

As a matter of fact, in our parody of a blockading operation, from August 4th, 1914, to January 3rd, 1915, we placed in the Prize Court only eight out of seven hundred and seventy-three ships that had cleared for the United States for Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Italy. One of the eight ships was released by our Prize Court, and only forty-five whole or part cargoes were stopped by us and bought up at a fair price. Reckoning the cargoes that were only stopped in part, we probably intercepted, during the most critical months of the war, when Germany was getting her second wind and storing the new cotton crop in millions of bales for powder-making, less than half a day's imports usually received by the enemy—twenty to twenty-five whole cargoes in all.

Happily, if our Government was weak and timid, the German Government was insanely arrogant. Instead of letting matters drift on with immense benefit to them and profiting by the resurrection of the Declaration of London, the German authorities moved all the machinery of the German Press, at the beginning of 1915, to agitate against our inhuman method of starving the German non-combatant population. Unless the customary food of the men, women, and children of the Germanic Empires was copper, lead, iron ore, and rubber, it is difficult to see how they were being starved. We were even admitting these articles of contraband freely to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark in November, 1914, on a guarantee by the Governments of these countries that the contraband material would not be re-exported to the enemy. Italy was also allowed to receive all the copper cargoes consigned to her. Not only were foodstuffs pouring into Germany owing to our considerate treatment of neutral States, but the Beef Trust of Chicago was trying to arrange to supply tinned meat to the German and Austrian Armies, one of the heads of the Trust being in close personal communication with the Austrian Ambassador.

Germany's insane arroganee

The fact was that Germany wanted a pretext for starting her murderous submarine campaign against our mercantile marine and against all neutral shipping trading to French and British ports. As no pretext existed, and the entire spirit and letter of international law were dead against

BRITISH MONITORS IN ACTION WITH THE ENEMY BATTERIES ASHORE.

Monitors did excellent work not only in the Dardanelles, but also off the Belgian coast, where they constantly harassed the German right flank. The two shown here were engaging the enemy at long range, while the crews of their small guns stood by to repel possible submarine attacks.

such a method of wholesale murder of non-combatants and innocent neutrals at sea, a pretext had to be laboriously invented. Especially was it necessary for the German Government to prevent any of their own people from opposing the new system of atrocities intended to terrorise the British nation. In the case of the military policy of atrocities applied in Belgium, what conscience the German nation possessed was deafened and drugged by loud lies as to the torture and murder of German soldiers by Belgian women and girls. In much the same way what remnant of conscience the German nation possessed in February, 1915, was again put out of working order by a vast machine-made Press campaign concerning the hundreds of thousands of German infants who were dying under the non-existent British blockade. An attempt was also made to soothe in advance the indignation likely to occur among the "unhyphenated" part of the population of the United States when American citizens were murdered. This was done by developing a great organisation among American women for supplying starving German babies with food. More than a year passed before some German newspapers revealed that the infants of Germany in war time were better fed and better tended than they had been in peace time. Hundreds of thousands of good-natured American women and girls wasted a great amount of agitated sympathy upon the babes of Germany, but their stir of emotion produced the effect intended by the German minds that did the stirring. It helped to assuage and keep within controllable bounds the genuine storm of passion produced by the torpedoing of the Lusitania.

When the German Government proclaimed that the waters around the British Isles formed a war zone in which all merchant ships would be torpedoed by their submarines, our Liberal Cabinet had full opportunity to redeem its mistakes, bury once more the Declaration of London, and exert a complete naval pressure against the outlawed nation of assassins that was running amok among both neutrals and combatants. The new vested interests in the huge diverted trade going through neutral ports to the Central Empires could then have been uprooted with comparative ease. According to our old and proper sea law, confirmed by the practice of the United States, we could stop the contraband trade by seizing the instruments of it. We could confiscate all neutral vessels carrying cargoes destined for the enemy, and use the confiscated ships for our own purposes. This had been found the only way of teaching blockade-runners that the risks of their game were equal to their profits. They were often able to buy a steamer out of the profits of a single voyage.

Vested interests and ocean trade

But our Government thought that some neutral States would rather go to war with us than let their blockade-running ships suffer the proper penalty of confiscation. And in our Declaration of March 15th, 1915, announcing a counter-blockade by way of reprisals for the German submarine campaign, it was expressly stated that neutral ships carrying goods of enemy destination, ownership, or origin, would not be confiscated, unless they were liable to condemnation, under the futile Declaration of London, for trading directly to a German port. In the same Order, enemy cargoes were likewise to be free from confiscation and liable only to be intercepted and bought at a fair market price by British authorities.

S.S. AVOCET ATTACKED BY THREE GERMAN AEROPLANES.
The s.s. Avocet, when off the West Hinder lightship, October 30th, 1915, was attacked by three aeroplanes, which bombed her heavily for half an hour. So well was she handled that no bomb hit her. Before flying off one aeroplane hit her with a machine-gun, but wounded none of the crew.

As Sir Walter Runciman, M.P., afterwards pointed out, we were crippling our present and future shipping resources to a considerable extent by imposing penalties upon our mercantile marine, and allowing at the same time neutral shipping to escape confiscation when running valuable cargoes of contraband likely to make the fortunes of their owners. The consequence was that neutral shipping lines, greatly enriched by their successful voyages with contraband, and unpunished for their unsuccessful attempts, were growing into most menacing competitors of our half-commandeered and wholly overworked mercantile marine, which was also most exposed to the murderous, destructive operations of German and Austrian submarines.

Eight months too late

A formidable element of competition is being nourished in neutral countries which will test all our financial and productive resources when the war is over. It would be all to the national good if a less benevolent scope of brotherhood were manifested towards neutral shipping, and the war brought to an end by a *merciless blockade* on all supplies filtering through neutral ports into Germany.

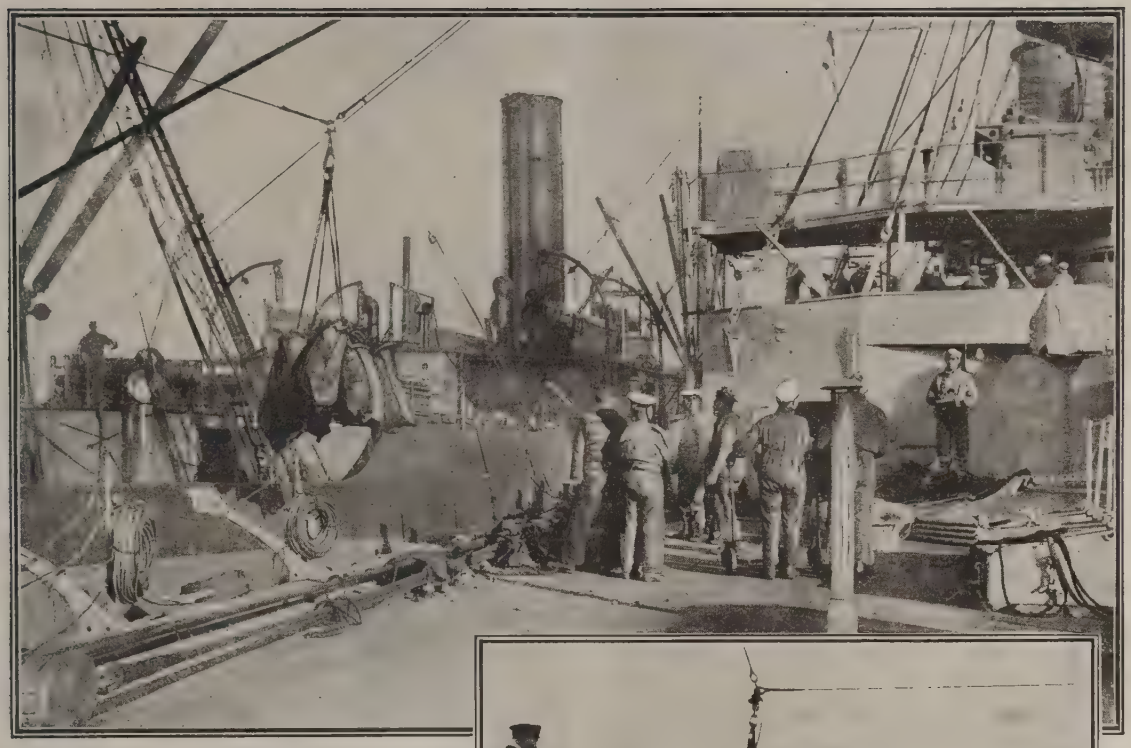
There was, however, promise of a veritable stoppage of supplies to Germany; for in our Declaration of a counter-blockade it was stated that we had been "driven to frame retaliatory measures in order to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany." The blockade-runners were to play their millionaire-making game without risk to their ships and without loss to the owners of their cargoes, but our Government apparently intended to prevent, in a very mild and gentlemanly manner, anything whatever getting into Germany along the Atlantic and Mediterranean trade routes. The cotton crop had gone through, and immense quantities of other war materials had reached the enemy. We were eight months too late. As we had not had the presence of mind to declare even a similar blockade as a reprisal for the invasion of Belgium, the numerous and powerful new vested interests in general contraband traffic began to tell widely and heavily against us. The fact that we apparently lacked the courage to apply the old method of confiscation against their cargoes and their ships seems to have made them believe we could still be daunted. But our Government had at last gathered a certain degree of courage, and it began in March, 1915, under the strong pressure of public opinion, to undertake what had become a ticklish task.

Government and public pressure

In the first place, it was very doubtful if we could seriously injure Germany by stopping her food supplies. In this connection we were perhaps rather misled by the success which Abraham Lincoln had achieved in the Civil War. The Confederate States were not self-supporting, but Germany was very nearly so. The Confederates had few iron foundries and still fewer machine shops. Their railways and rolling-stock could not be renewed when worn out, and rails had actually to be taken up from the less important railways and relaid on the main strategical lines which were in constant use. Germany, on the other hand, had immense steel and machinery works, and was in this respect much more powerful than all the Allies combined.

SCENES ABOARD MEN-OF-WAR, BRITISH AND GERMAN.

Another photograph which had much popularity in Germany under the title "Clearing the decks for action in the North Sea." Above: Some of the wholesome, cheerful boys of the British Grand Fleet greasing and coiling up a wire hawser.



COALING A WARSHIP AT SEA.
With the British Navy's happy knack of imparting interest to an otherwise unpleasant duty, coaling ship is made a matter of keen competition.

TAKING BIG SHELLS ABOARD.
Great dexterity, as well as great strength, is required in the manipulation of these monster projectiles, some of which weigh more than 1,400 pounds.

Then—in a matter of still more importance—the Confederacy did not manufacture arms and munitions. The Federal blockade therefore destroyed the efficiency of the Confederate armies. Germany, on the other hand, still traded in munitions and arms. Her output, with that of Austria-Hungary, was said to be greater than the entire output of the Allies plus that of the United States. Not only was she making, with Austria, nearly half a million shells a day, but she still produced more guns than she needed for herself and her allies. By quite an extraordinary display of intensified warlike industry she went out of her way to supply Switzerland with new 6 in. guns. This is something for our munition workers to ponder over. It was a glorious gesture of braggadocio on the part of the Germans to supply the Swiss with new heavy artillery when they had Bulgaria and Turkey to munition and Austria continually to strengthen on three fronts.

Germany and her food supply

In regard to food, Germany and her allies produced, before the war, four-fifths of the food needed by their combined populations. Even if Russia, Italy, France, and Great Britain could have stopped grain, meat, and fish from entering the Central Empires, the Germanic population, which used to overfeed itself, would only have had to go without one-fifth of the normal quantity of food. But it was impossible for the Allies to stop the entrance of this one-fifth of food imports. Adjoining Hungary, and connected with it by railway, were the rich wheat-lands of Rumania, and a considerable part of the Rumanian harvest of 1915 passed through Hungary towards Germany. Then adjoining Germany was the famous dairy-farm country of Denmark, which increased its commerce with its neighbours, so that the price of Danish bacon rose tremendously in the hungry British market. Germany was also closely connected with Holland, a country which in peace time had provided the British market with pork.

Dutch pork became strangely rare in our country, and the Dutch pig industry, which we had almost entirely fostered by our patronage, was transformed into a weapon against us. We could not get Dutch pork when we most needed it, because the agents of Germany were buying it up.

Here are some figures, published in a Dutch newspaper, the "In-en Uitvoer," showing how Holland starved Great Britain and fed Germany. The exports are given in metric tons of about 2,200 lb.:

	Jan.-May, 1914.	Jan.-May, 1916.		Jan.-May, 1914.	Jan.-May, 1916.
BUTTER.			POTATO-FLOUR.		
To England .	2,495	63	To England .	6,005	747
To Germany .	5,860	14,805	To Germany .	13,491	50,115
EGGS.			FRESH BEEF.		
To England .	3,708	572	To England .	5,043	236
To Germany .	4,736	17,136	To Germany .	2,574	13,643
CHEESE.			FRESH MUTTON.		
To England .	7,178	528	To England .	1,181	—
To France .	1,310	423	To Germany .	33	1,112
To Germany .	5,708	34,520	FRESH PORK.		
			To England .	20,484	32
			To Germany .	1,647	10,281

PATHETIC HUMILITY OF THE CAPTURED SEA-HUN.

Crew of a German submarine captured in the Channel. Apparently the men were not over-willing to face the camera. Having lost their boots, their French captors presented them with sabots, prior to placing the men under a well-deserved, if perhaps too lenient restraint.

By our policy of Free Trade we had enabled the Danes and the Dutch to expand their production of food at the expense of our farmers, with the result that the bacon, pork, butter, and cheese supplies upon which we relied were largely withdrawn from our markets, to our grave injury and to the benefit of the Germans, who in peace time had maintained a high tariff wall against Dutch and Danish farmers.

Our farmers had given up pig-raising, partly because of sanitary restrictions in regard to the position of sties, but mainly because Danish bacon and Dutch pork came freely into the country. The foreigners at first undersold our producers and then, having won a practical monopoly, kept the prices as high as ever they could without exciting us to breed our own pigs. Still all went well in the days of peace. But in the days of war many of us had to go without pork or bacon while the Germans, who had formerly closed their markets to the Danes and the Dutch, reaped much of the benefit of that famous General Election of ours which the Free Traders had won with their cry of "Your food will cost you more!" Our food would have cost us less in the years of the great crisis if we had maintained our farming industries at the expense of the Dutchmen and Danes and had looked on the slight rise in prices as an insurance for ampler home supplies in war time. It is only fair to say that Denmark at least tried hard to maintain her ordinary supply of bacon and butter to the country whose Free Trade policy had made her prosperous. But Holland, as has been already stated, sent at last so much food into Germany that her own population began to famish, and the Revolutionary Social Committee held meetings of protest against the Government foodstuff policy.

Holland's foodstuff policy

In addition to the help she received from Holland, Denmark, the rich mountain pastures of Switzerland, and the wheat-fields of Rumania, Germany acquired, in the summer of 1915, all the fertile loess plain of Poland, which is one of the most productive stretches of earth in Europe. Multitudes of experienced Russian peasants were captured and set to work like serfs on the old and new farmlands and potato-fields of the Central Empires. There were also thirty millions of subject populations in Poland, West Russia, Belgium, Northern France, Serbia, and Montenegro, many of whom were compelled to toil in the German service at vast State farms.

The only article of food that Germany began badly to lack was pig's flesh and pig's fat. She entered upon the war with an enormous number of pigs, whose flesh has been for hundreds of years the principal meat of the Germanic races. The German eats little beef and little mutton. Though he has acquired somewhat of the Austrian's relish for calf's flesh, the calf remains a middle-class and aristocratic article of diet in the form of *Wiener-schnitzel*, while the working classes obtain from the pig the fat sausage stuffs from which their working power is largely derived. A panic in regard to the food available for fattening pigs led to some very foolish German expert giving an order for the rapid destruction of millions of pigs.

At the time when Germany was crying out to the world that she was being starved, the grand slaughter of her pigs was producing a glorious time for all sausage eaters. The Germans then were on the whole better nourished than ever they had been. It was only when the gigantic stock of sausages began to diminish, owing to the need of millions of unproductive soldiers working in the open air and developing great appetites, that the problem of the pig began to engage the attention of the German Government. Then it was that the young pigs of Holland and the old hogs of Denmark were reduced to trainloads of carcases and sent over the frontier. The fat part of them was needed in German munition works, and most of the fat of all the German pigs that could be spared by the breeders was required for making nitro-glycerine and tallow lubricant for heavy machinery in war factories.

The problem of the pig

German sausages, therefore, became horribly dry, as only the lean of the meat was used in making them. But, after all, this was only a discomfort, like the mixture of potato starch with rye flour in the German war-bread. There was always enough rough and somewhat unpalatable food in Germany to prevent the working power of the nation from any dangerous enfeeblement. Only the

arrant stupidity of some of the leading ration organisers and the arrogant avarice of many of the German landowning magnates led at times to serious temporary deficiencies in the victualling of some of the great cities.

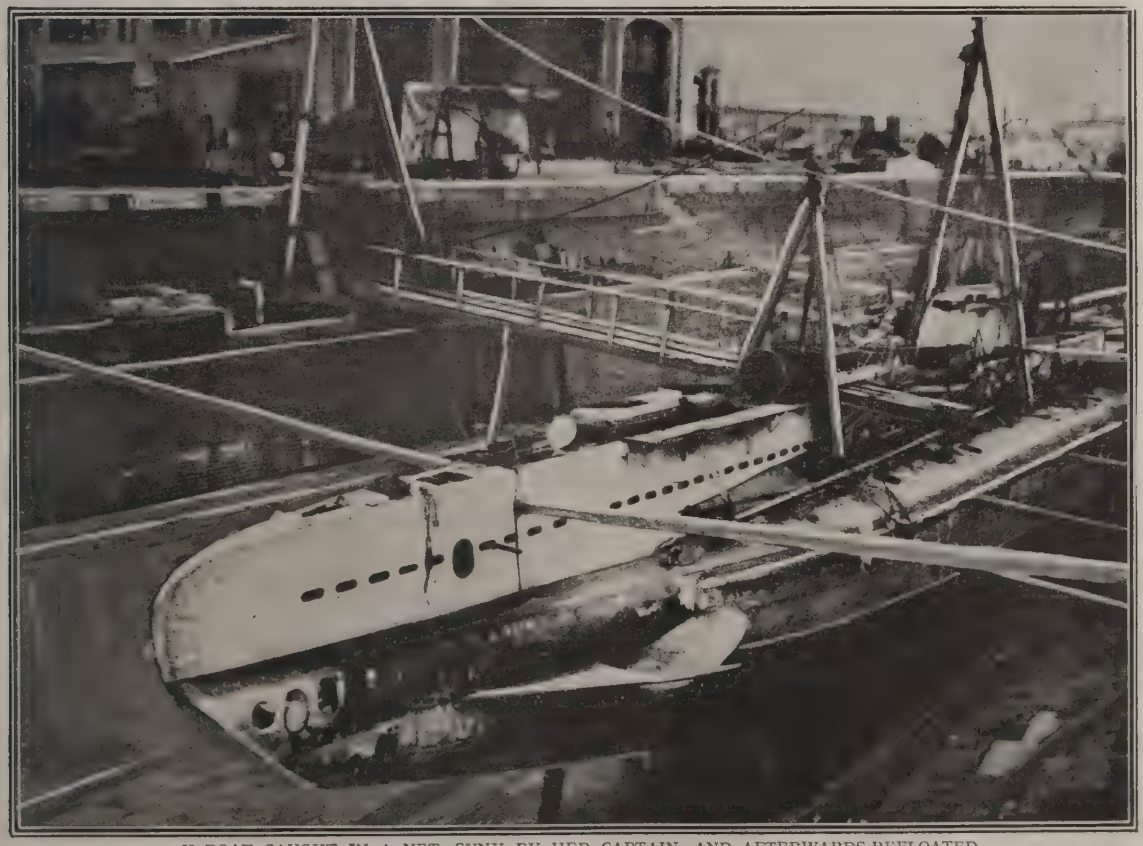
During the Napoleonic Wars certain of the great Prussian landowners kept their wheat back until the price of it rose enormously, and enabled them to emerge at the end of the struggle with new wealth. Many of the fortunes of the Prussian nobility were based upon the holding back of corn from their own starving people during the struggle with Napoleon. And the same method of making money was generally pursued by the large modern German landowners. They skilfully assisted Admiral Tirpitz in swelling the early baseless agitation against the starvation policy of our country in order to divert popular attention from their traditional method of making money out of the semi-famine they were producing in the urban population. The potato-bread spirit, as Mr. Lloyd George justly remarked, was indicative of the patriotic heroism of the German urban populace. But it was countered and partly defeated by the selfish, price-raising policy of the old German landowning oligarchy which, by means of its sons, controlled the Army, and by means of its poor relations dominated the German bureaucratic machine. Despite all appearances, the old landowning oligarchy was more powerful than the German Emperor.

Prussia's landowning oligarchy

It governed him in devious and subtle ways, through members of his Great Staff, through many of the leading men in his bureaucracy; and though the German Navy was not generally officered by the poorer kinsmen of the landowning magnates, they established a working alliance with the heads of the Marine Office. They also had an understanding before the war with a majority of the leaders of the German industrial and financial organisations. But during the war the great captains of industry began to see that good and cheap food for their working people was a most pressing necessity, both in maintaining the warlike power of the country and in preparing for the international economic struggle that would follow the war. There then occurred a rift between the two classes of Germans who had formerly combined in an attempt to win dominion over the earth. Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg became the leader of the somewhat despondent and disillusioned industrialists, who also drew towards them some of the most influential German-Jewish financiers.

A rift in the German lute

Our blockade helped to intensify this domestic tension in regard to the distribution of food supplies and the general discontent of the urban working class and their powerful leaders with the high prices maintained by the leading agrarian magnates. Even our domestic troubles with reference to the rising charges made by shipowners for bringing food and forage to our islands helped indirectly to increase the pressure upon the German urban working classes. When the price of food went up enormously in our country, the merchants of pork, bacon, butter, and cheese in Holland and Denmark increased their prices in their German markets. The great Greek landowners in Rumania studied the price that wheat was securing in Western Europe, and held back their trainloads of corn until German buyers were willing to give even higher prices than wheat was fetching in Liverpool. The Rumanians went so far as to arrange to send their wheat



U BOAT CAUGHT IN A NET, SUNK BY HER CAPTAIN, AND AFTERWARDS REFLOATED.

Captured German submarine in a French dry-dock. The U boat was caught in a net somewhere off the French coast. On coming to the surface her captain, realising his predicament, surrendered, but managed to sink his craft. The French naval authorities, however, soon raised the vessel.

round to Great Britain by Archangel and Kola, if the Teutons would not give in gold a remarkably high price for it. For the Greek magnates of Rumania rather sympathised with the Allies, and especially with France, and though they hesitated to declare war upon Austria-Hungary, they wrung the last possible ounce of gold out of the Germans.

The Danes were not so harsh in their terms for feeding Germany, though they hated the conquerors of Schleswig-Holstein quite as much as the French hated the conquerors of Alsace and Lorraine. But the Army of Denmark was much weaker than the Army of Rumania. It could not threaten to take the field with any immediate disastrous effect for Germany. Its numbers were small and its artillery was exceedingly feeble in comparison with the monster pieces of ordnance which the Germans had unexpectedly brought into use and developed with astonishing productive energy. Denmark was overborne by her great bullying neighbour, and almost forced, as Switzerland also was, to feed as many German mouths as possible. Holland was stronger than Denmark, but she had no grudge against Germany as Denmark had, and no large unredeemed and oppressed mass of countrymen waiting for a war of liberation as Rumania had.

Many of the Dutch farming and merchant classes threw themselves with their old cynical commercial zest into the work of making money out of Germany's necessities and out of Great Britain's stupidities. The Dutch imported American fodder in extraordinary quantities. They promised that none of this animal food should be re-exported to Germany. They merely fed their cattle on the stuff, bred calves, and increased their milk resources for cheese-making, butter-making, and skim-milk feeding for pigs. It was the pork, butter, cheese, and veal which had been produced largely by means of American fodder that were turned into German gold. Oils and fats imported under our blockade into Holland were also retained in the country in accordance with the letter of the guarantee against re-exportation. But until our surveying authorities became interested in Dutch margarine, and began to wonder if most of it was going into Germany, the oil and fat cargoes reaching Dutch ports underwent a transformation that enabled large quantities eventually to pass the German frontier.

THE SOWER OF MINES.
German submarine mine-layer UC5, an enemy photograph taken on a previous trip to that in which the craft was captured by a British ship, as shown on page 131.

American supplies through Sweden

Our Declaration of a counter-blockade in March, 1915, designed to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany, failed of general effect. American lard for the manufacture of nitro-glycerine in dynamite went to Sweden and thence passed into Germany. All the cotton Germany needed she received directly and indirectly. By April, 1915, the quays of Gothenburg were congested with bales of cotton, nominally belonging to the common stock of Sweden, at a time when some of the Swedish cotton spinners were stopping work because they could not get cotton. This condition of things was officially set forth by our Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in April, 1916, in his note regarding the allied blockade, addressed to the American Ambassador in London. Many of the consignees in Sweden of American cargoes of contraband were ridiculous, covering figures of straw; among them were Swedish dock labourers, lightermen, and other extraordinary examples of penurious hypocrisy.

In our own country there were also men who went on supplying the enemy with commodities after our Declaration of a rigorous counter-blockade. For example, we had managed during the war to annex the great cocoa trade of Hamburg, and our imports of cocoa rose from seventy-eight million pounds in 1913 to one hundred and eighty-seven million pounds in 1915. We consumed about half of our increased cocoa imports, but certain of our countrymen, engaged in the newly-enlarged trade, sent cocoa to the enemy through neutral ports. This fact was admitted by a leading member of the Coalition Cabinet, Lord Lansdowne, in January, 1916. He stated that cocoa was not added to the list of restricted goods until January, 1915, and the restriction then was only limited to cocoa powder. It was not until July 30th, 1915, a year after the outbreak of the war, and more than five months after our Declaration of a rigorous counter-blockade, that the export of British cocoa indirectly to the Teutonic Empires was prohibited.

British exports of cocoa

We seem also to have supplied, through neutral agents, considerable quantities of tea to the enemy, and there can be little doubt of other large leakages from our own country to the countries we were pretending to starve into surrender. In the test case of cocoa our Government publicly admitted the facts, but the country was not informed what politician and what administrator was responsible for permitting the export to the enemy of a British foodstuff containing a stimulant most valuable to soldiers in action. The condition of mind of officers and seamen of our blockading squadron when they found that they could not interfere with British cocoa going to Germany through Sweden may be better imagined than described. Denmark and Norway, according to Lord Lansdowne, shared with Sweden the profits of the cocoa traffic.

Sir Edward Grey at last devised a serious and well-considered plan to stop neutral countries adjacent to Germany from acting as funnels for German and Austrian commerce. Calculations were carefully made of all the imports each neutral funnel State needed to supply the wants of its own population. It was allowed that the interruption of Germanic and Russian supplies should be made good by supplies from the United States and other productive nations. Also a very liberal additional surplus was allowed to the funnel States, in order to cover all possible expansion of their legitimate requirements. Holland, of course, received an enormous supply of imports, by reason of her multitude of Belgian refugees and the requirements of the American Commission which was feeding Belgium by supplies imported through Dutch channels.

When the British authorities had worked out all their figures, the delicate and most difficult task of inducing the funnel States to agree to the proposal was tactfully started and very gradually carried out.

Powerful corporations, representing the chief commercial interests in Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, and Norway, were organised under British and French influence, and entrusted with the work of receiving and distributing the legitimate imports of their country. No shadow of threat of warlike action was made by the Allies. Peaceful inducements of an economic kind were mainly employed. In some cases shipping lines were asked to give guarantees against indirect contraband traffic with the enemy, in return for a full and constant supply of Welsh steam coal. In other cases the unavoidable delay in stopping ships on the high seas and bringing them to British ports for search was mitigated if shipowners agreed to give a guarantee against contraband traffic. According to American reports, agents of our blockading squadron developed a secret service system in the principal American ports from which neutral vessels were conveying contraband to enemy agents in neutral States. If this were so, we had a double check upon neutral shippers who attempted to act against their guarantee. We might obtain information at the neutral port from which the errant ship cleared, and perhaps from the intermediate neutral port at which she discharged or merely stopped to coal. And over all this was the exercise of our right of search, with stoppage of the ship at sea and thorough examination of the cargo in port.

Our secret service in the U.S.A.

Our position was thus a powerful one. For in addition, the wide dominions of our Empire and the great dominions of our Allies contained many substances of great value that neutral States could hardly do without. Canada, for example, had a practical monopoly of nickel, which was required by almost every steel manufacturer in the world. The American steel industry was dependent upon Canadian nickel and hungry for Canadian iron ore. In Burma was the greatest mine of tungsten, quantities of which were required by all high-power steel-makers and electric-bulb makers. Australia was the mistress of the zinc trade. British steam coal was needed throughout Western Europe, and Australian wool controlled the winter-clothing markets of the world.

Pressure on the funnel States

Thus, without the slightest threat of war, we were able to exercise considerable industrial and commercial pressure upon the funnel States. Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, and Norway at last agreed to our plan for national import distributing agencies, after making alterations in detail in our proposals. Human nature being what it is, none of the distributing organisations worked perfectly. In Holland, in particular, the smuggling of contraband across the German frontier went on to an enormous extent, and, according to a Dutch paper with strong Belgian sympathies, a very powerful Dutch corporation maintained a great contraband commerce with Germany.

The Dutch possessed in the Orient important petroleum wells, tin mines, tea, coffee, sugar, and rubber plantations. A good deal of Dutch rubber went into Germany by parcel

JUSTICE AND POWER BEFORE WHICH HONESTY NEVER HAD TO QUAIL.

The British Navy conducted the blockade with absolute justice, but with a stern authority that brooked no nonsense. This official photograph shows the officer in charge of a naval search-party making exhaustive inquiry into the character of a sailing ship.

post and by frontier expeditions in which the guards were either dodged or bribed. At last the military force along the frontier was increased, but whether every soldier was averse to making money by helping the Germans is a matter of speculation. If we were to accept as evidence statements made in Dutch papers sincerely sympathising with the cause of the Allies, the corruption of the Dutch conscience by German gold was such as to make it seem that the great republican race that once lighted the torch of liberty in modern Europe, and inspired our people in the age of Elizabeth, was in danger of growing corruptly weak in spirit. But, it must in justice be remarked that towards the summer of 1916 the Dutch Government began to take steps to divide between Great Britain and Germany what exportable food supplies remained in the Netherlands.

Dutch conscience and German gold

Sweden withstood our attempt to form even a transit company for the protection of material on the way to Russia. Our Fleet, however, established a virtual blockade of the Baltic by means of submarine operations in the autumn of 1915, and so increased the insurance rates on contraband cargoes passing from Sweden to Germany that Germany was bled of money and deprived temporarily of certain war material. Swedish iron ore, however, continued to flow into German foundries. The most remarkable feature in this class of contraband trade was the continual and regular passage of iron-ore steamers from the Gulf of Bothnia to Rotterdam. The steamers kept within the territorial waters of Sweden, then crossed the Sound into the territorial waters of Denmark, skirted the fortified coast of Germany, and hugged the territorial waters of the Netherlands. At Rotterdam the iron ore was transhipped into river boats and conveyed to Krupp's works on the Rhine. Ore from Norway also passed through Rotterdam to Krupp's works at Neuwied; and according to a statement made in the House of Lords by Lord Devonport in January, 1916, some iron ore from Spain, which had to cross the Bay of Biscay and meet our blockading ships, reached the German agents at Rotterdam.

From August, 1914, to December, 1915, a million and a half tons of ore entered the port of Rotterdam. After the declaration of a counter-blockade in March, 1915, the Dutch iron-ore imports—mainly from Sweden, but also in part from Norway—did not diminish, but increased. Obviously, the ore could not be converted into pig-iron in Holland; for, as Lord Devonport observed, there was no coke in Holland and not a single blast furnace. The Norwegian mines, from which ore was also sent, were owned by the Hamburg-Amerika line. In the Baltic the old line of traffic between Sweden and Germany from Trelleborg to Sassnitz was found to be inadequate, and goods traffic was arranged to be directed from Malmö to Stettin at a conference between Swedish and German railway representatives.

Sweden and the Allies

In the spring of 1916 there seemed a certain amount of tension between Sweden and the Allies. Our country stopped the import of Swedish chemical wood-pulp, and influenced the Swedish match-making industries by putting a tax on matches. Swedish and other timber was also placed upon the list of prohibited British imports, and Canadian lumbermen came to our country to cut down wood needed by our mines. According to Norwegian rumours, there was in May, 1916, some danger of the

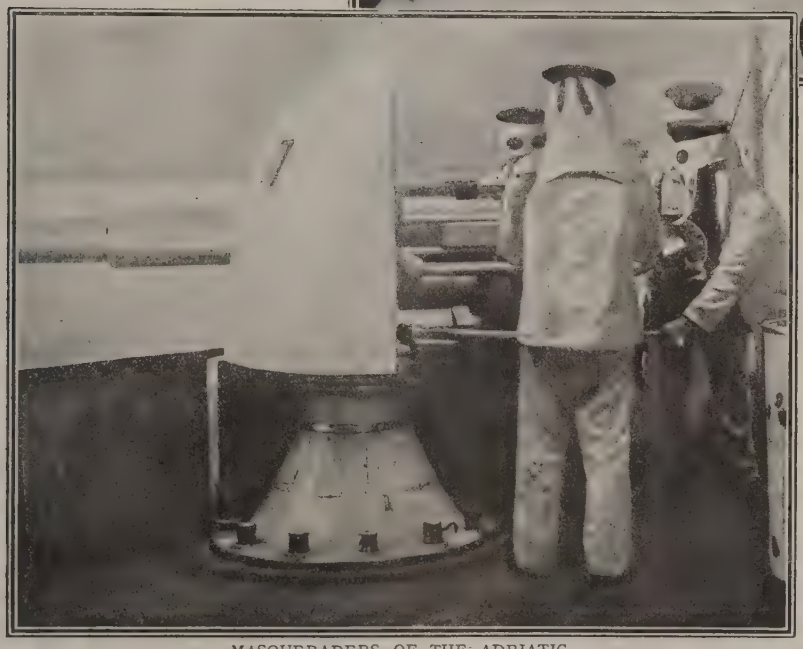
REAR-ADMIRAL ARTHUR CHRISTIAN
(On left) leaving Buckingham Palace after being invested by the King with the insignia of Companionship of the Bath, July 29th, 1916.

STOKER DAVIS AND BOATMAN WHITE. [Mault & Fox
Decorated with Board of Trade Medal for saving life. Circle: Capt. C. Fuller, who received C.M.G., D.S.O., and Medal for saving life.

Activist Party in Sweden intriguing their country into a war with Russia, with a view to helping Germany. But whatever danger there had been appeared to have been dissipated by July, 1916, by the negotiations of the Russian Foreign Office. But no agreement in regard to the restriction and distribution of imports was arrived at between Sweden and the Allies. Swedish publicists went so far as to deny the validity of the American doctrine of ultimate destination, and only the Socialist Party in Sweden showed any sympathy with even Belgium or France.

The stand made by Sweden against the blockading policy of Great Britain and France was naturally used as an effective lever against the Allies by the Government of the United States. In a Note against the blockade,

BEFORE THE JUTLAND BATTLE.
Aboard a German warship in the Kiel Canal. Enemy sailors at work among the guns.



MASQUERADERS OF THE ADRIATIC.
Weird appearance of Austrian naval gunners equipped with respirators against the effect of poison gas generated by the explosion of their shells. The part of the Hapsburg Navy in the war appears to have been practically negligible. Austrian war vessels ventured even less frequently beyond their bases than did the German ships, though Austrian submarines emulated their policy of piracy in the Mediterranean.

delivered in London on November 5th, 1915, and hailed in Berlin as the international Magna Charta of the seas, the American Ambassador denounced our methods of naval pressure as "ineffective, illegal, and indefensible." Amid a mass of detailed objections there were two principal contentions against our blockading operations. One was that no proper blockade of the Germanic Empires existed, as we did not regularly maintain a cordon of intercepting ships in the Baltic waters. The other was that delay was caused by our new methods of search.

It is common knowledge, ran the American Note, that the German coasts are open to trade with the Scandinavian countries, and that German naval vessels cruise both in the North Sea and the Baltic, and seize and bring into German ports neutral vessels bound for Scandinavian and Danish ports. It is an essential principle, which has been universally accepted, that a blockade must apply impartially to the ships of all nations. This principle, however, is not applied in the present British blockade, for, as above indicated, German ports are notoriously open to traffic with the ports of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

Sir Edward Grey's answer to this objection was well based and masterly. In his Note in reply, published on April 25th, 1916, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs showed for the first time in his treatment of our blockade problems a touch of constructive power. It is not extravagant to say that a considerable part of the American people was pleased to see the British Minister slowly rise to the height of commonsense that Abraham Lincoln and his Secretary of State, William H. Seward, attained at once in the blockade disputes of the Civil War. Sir Edward Grey did not work from text-books of international law. He was no longer like a lawyer trying to win over the rather prejudiced mind of other legal men sitting in judgment over him, but a great legislator of international rules of the sea, creating a new order of governing ideas to meet the new conditions of the world. His success in getting his new ideas accepted depended of course upon the justice and reasonableness of the ideas. He first went back to the basis of American thought in the matter, and cited a remarkably profound and comprehensive passage in a letter from W. H. Seward to the American Ambassador in Paris in 1863: "The true test of the

Sir E. Grey and the Blockade

THE SUMMER SEASON—OSTEND, 1916.
Ostend, the erstwhile resort of fashionable Europe in the summer days preceding the war, became a scene of German naval activity. A torpedo-boat is here seen signalling its departure from the harbour.

efficacy of a blockade will be found in its results. Cotton commands a price in Manchester and in Rouen four times greater than in New Orleans. Judged by this test of result, I am satisfied there never was a more effective blockade."

Thus the great rise in price in Germany of many articles most necessary to the enemy in the prosecution of the war was the fundamental test whether our blockade was "ineffective." From this point of view, the British Minister dealt with the geographical problems of the blockade. He insisted that the sea traffic across the Baltic was of no more decisive importance than the land traffic over the Danish and Dutch frontiers. As his reply ran:

Commerce from Sweden and Norway reaches German ports in the Baltic in the same way that commerce still passes to and from Germany across the land frontiers of adjacent States; but this fact does not render less justifiable the measures which France and Great Britain are taking against German trade. . . . If the doctrine of continuous voyage may rightly be applied to goods going to Germany through Rotterdam, on what ground can it be contended that it is not equally applicable to goods with a similar destination passing through some Swedish port and across the Baltic, or even through neutral waters only? *The best proof of the thoroughness of a blockade is to be found in its results.*

Doctrine of continuous voyage

A marked impression was made on American opinion by the statements of Sir Edward Grey, and the view that our blockade, though perhaps loose in style, was generally sound in principle, appears to have gained strength in influential quarters in the United States.

Yet President Woodrow Wilson and his Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, stubbornly objected to our method of search. They averred we had broken the settled law of nations by refusing to search ships at sea and taking them into port for thorough examination of the cargoes. An American official in London, according to general newspaper report, had informed the American Government that this method of delaying American shipping was a subtle British trade device, designed to prevent the American mercantile marine from growing powerful enough to compete with the British mercantile marine. The point was raised in the American Note of November, 1915, but it was not rebutted in the British reply of April 1916; for, as Sir Edward Grey remarked, it had been completely settled by interim negotiations. We had been able to prove there was no foundation for the suggestion made by the American official, and he was removed from the position he occupied in our country. It was his baseless, deplorable allegations which had created smouldering, dangerous resentment against us throughout the United States in the early period of the war, when we had resurrected the Declaration of London and were exerting no effective naval pressure upon the enemy. All the apparently academic protests by the American Government were charged with an invisible heat of passion, by reason of the suspicion that we were interfering with American shipping for unfair purposes of commercial rivalry.

Rise in American export trade

Our Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was, however, able to convince the American Government that their agent in London had been completely mistaken in his view of the blockade. At the same time, there was an enormous rise in the export trade of the United States in 1915, surpassing all previous records, and making it evident to the American people that our methods of blockade were not injuring them. By repressing the Germans we were directly making the fortunes of the Americans. Too deeply absorbed ourselves in war work, we could not capture the world markets from which our blockading squadron excluded the enemy; so that large new fields of enterprise were opened to the people of the United States. It was the grand age of gold for them. The Americans redeemed the larger part of their debts to Europe, and became a leading creditor nation instead of one of the principal debtor nations. Important American newspapers began to ridicule their own Government for pretending that the British blockade had injured American oversea commerce, and with the real ground of tension thus removed the situation became very much easier.

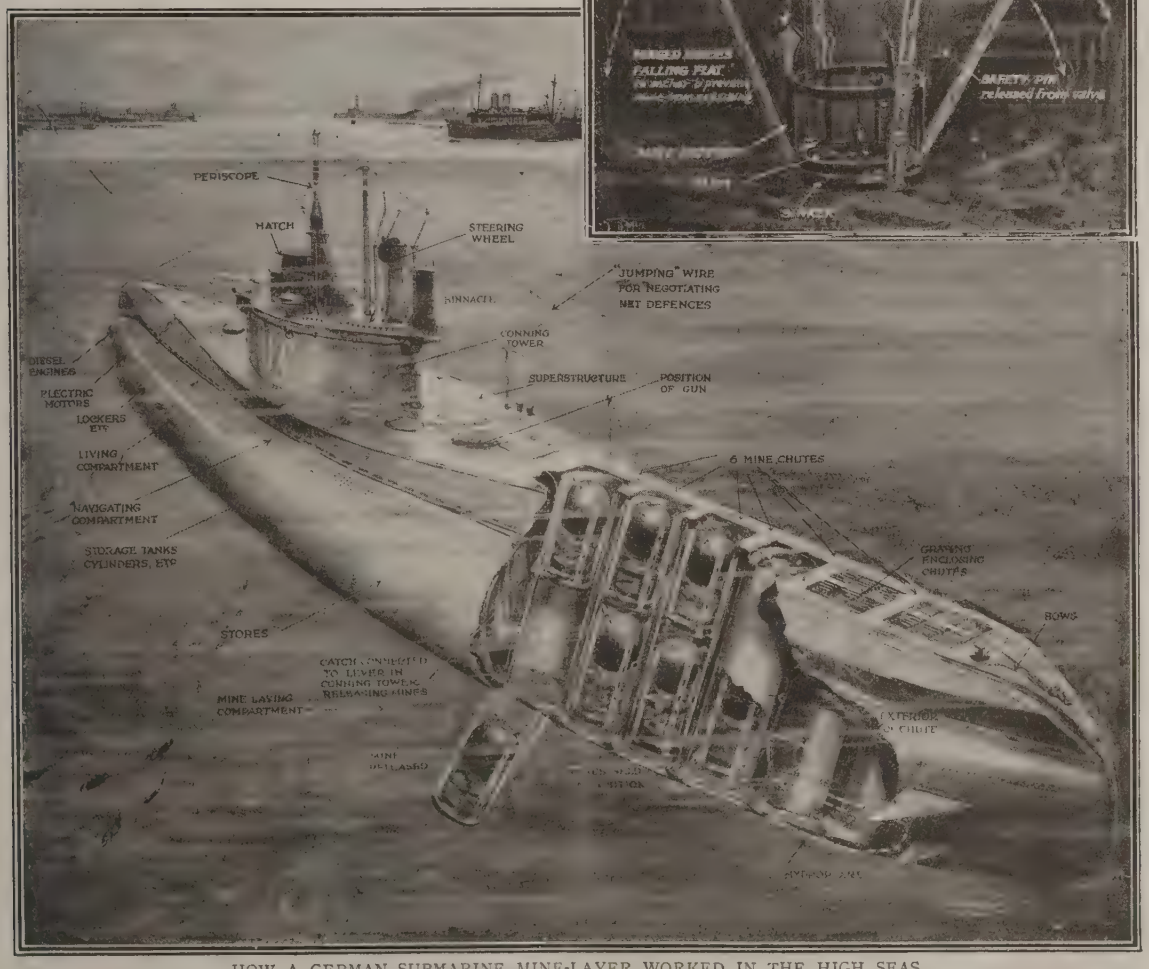
At the same time, the important point in regard to our new method of search was developed by us in an unexpected manner; for Sir Edward Grey, in this technical affair, called to his aid Admiral Sir John Jellicoe. A report from the commander of the Grand Fleet was forwarded to the American authorities. The report of the British admiral was, like most of the work of our leading sailors for generations, a creative piece of legislation in international sea law, animated with such soundness and justice that every blockading Power was almost certain in time of need to adopt it. That is to say, Sir John Jellicoe did not speak merely in the immediate interests of his own blockading squadrons and his own nation; he showed there were reasons of permanent and universal force in our methods of search. It was, of course, the newly-extended power of the submarine that brought about the new developments. Also, the increased bulk of cargoes in large modern ships and the ease with which concealment could be made of small parcels of exceedingly valuable metals for high-speed steel alloys made examination in port necessary. Sir John wrote:

I dispute the contention, advanced in the American Note, that there is no difference between the search of a ship of 1,000 tons and one of 20,000 tons. The fallacy of the statement must be apparent to anyone who has ever carried out such a search at sea. There are other facts which render it necessary to bring vessels into port for search. The most important is the manner in which those in command of German submarines . . . attack and sink merchant vessels on the high seas, without visiting the ship, and therefore without any examination of the cargo. This procedure renders it unsafe for a neutral vessel, which is being examined by officers from a British ship, to remain stopped on the high sea. *It is therefore in the interests of the neutrals themselves that the examination should be conducted in port.*

Surely the hammer-stroke of that last sentence is a masterpiece. Robert Louis Stevenson should have lived to read it. He had a high opinion of the powers of expression of our old fighting admirals, and it would have kindled him to find that our new fighting admirals could fire out ideas as well as they could fire out shells. After this reply to American contentions the genuine current of public opinion in the United States turned in favour of our methods of blockade, and the only remaining criticism of importance was that our Government should bury the Declaration of London, use the incomplete old British doctrine of continuous voyage in its complete American form of the doctrine of ultimate destination, and proclaim and exercise the most rigorous blockade possible.

The Declaration of London

For many months, however, the new Coalition Cabinet of Great Britain remained apparently attached to the Declaration of London. Despite the Declaration of March, 1915, for preventing commodities of every kind reaching Germany, cotton was not listed as contraband until August 20th, 1915. According to a passage in Sir Edward Grey's reply to the Government of the United States, cotton had continued to enter Germany up to June, 1915. The fact seems to have been that our Foreign Office and its assistant committees were averse to using direct blockading methods, and content with the very slow and very



HOW A GERMAN SUBMARINE MINE-LAYER WORKED IN THE HIGH SEAS.

Sectional drawing of the captured German submarine mine-layer UC5, indicating the method of sowing mines in the track of hostile shipping. One of the most interesting features of the UC5 was the jumping wire, to facilitate the submarine's passage through net defences and entanglements under water. The upper illustration shows a released mine rising from the sea bed, while its carrier-cage remains stationary to anchor the machine.

FOILED! A DESTROYER FLOTILLA CAUGHT BY SEARCHLIGHTS WHEN ON THE POINT OF SUCCESS.

Battleships lying at anchor off a naval port are always liable to attack by enemy destroyers. The operation is a dangerous one for the destroyers, but that fact only adds zest to it as an exhilarating adventure. In this spirited drawing Mr. Padday gives an impression of a destroyer flotilla being detected and foiled when on the very point of success. Baffled by the beams converging on them from searchlights at sea and on shore, and made an easy target by them for the battleships' heavy guns, the destroyers have no choice but to make a run for it. The sailor astride the torpedo-tube is looking through the range-finder.

leaky methods of getting guarantees from the neutral funnel States by means of coaling arrangements and other economic factors.

In a White Paper published on January 4th, 1916, it was stated that the enemy's export trade had then been practically stopped, and that with the curtailment of his credit in neutral countries his imports from such countries would automatically diminish. No figures were given in connection with German export trade from August, 1914, to February, 1915—the months in which Mr. Winston Churchill said that we were exercising such economic pressure against Germany that she would be helpless by November, 1915. It was, indeed, admitted that neutrals had freely been ordering German goods in the first seven months of the war, and receiving them under the terms of the Declaration of London. But it was stated that from March, 1915, to September, 1915, German and Austrian imports into the United States had fallen to the value of £4,400,000, as against a value of £24,800,000 obtaining before the war. It was also stated that the latest returns showed a great diminution of Germany's commerce with the United States to only eight per cent. of its peace-time volume.

The writer of the White Paper then pointed out that the plan of drawing up agreements with importers in Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland was being put into execution. Even in Sweden bodies of merchants had come to terms in regard to particular commodities of special importance, such as cotton and rubber. Undertakings backed by pecuniary penalties had been given, and many shipping lines had entered into engagements not to carry for enemy agents various articles of contraband. Rubber, copper, wool, hides, oil, tin, plumbago, and certain other metals were largely controlled by British authorities, with the result that their import into Germany had been stopped for some months without any serious friction with any neutral Government.

The other side of the case, however, was presented on January 24th, 1916, by Admiral Lord Beresford, in a letter from which we extract the following passages :

The conviction is gaining ground that had the Navy been allowed to act, and had we used our legitimate rights as a belligerent, the war would have been ended some months ago. We have neglected to use the tremendous force ready to our hands represented by the power of the Fleet.

I acknowledge there are difficulties now, but they are of our own creating. Preferential and permissive agreements with some neutrals have caused, and will cause more, difficulties. An effective blockade is impartial. Owing to want of decision and prompt action at the beginning of the war, we are now in a hopeless muddle and an inextricable tangle.

The following short summary of contradictory Orders-in-Council and Proclamations since August 4th, 1914, accounts for the position :

Contradictory Orders-in-Council

The Proclamation of August 4th, 1914, made eleven articles absolute contraband and fourteen articles conditional contraband, among the latter being foodstuffs, etc.

The Order-in-Council of August 20th, 1914, substituted the lists of the Proclamation of August 4th, 1914, for those of the Declaration of London.

The Proclamation of September 21st, 1914, added nine more articles to the list of conditional contraband.

The Proclamation of October 29th, 1914, withdrew the list of September 21st, 1914, and made the whole of the previous articles mentioned in former Proclamations absolute contraband.

At the same time the Declaration of London Order-in-Council No. 2, 1914, annulled and replaced the earlier Order-in-Council of August 20th, 1914.

The Proclamation of December 23rd, 1914, again withdrew the list, and fresh lists of absolute contraband were published.

The Order-in-Council of March 11th, 1915 (owing to public pressure after murder and piracy on the high seas), added a large number of articles to the list of absolute contraband. With regard to this Order, the Prime Minister stated that "commodities *of every kind* were to be prevented from leaving or entering Germany." This intimation was received with acclamation throughout the country. The neutrals regarded this Order as a reprisal not coming under international law.

The Prime Minister stated one thing, the Order-in-Council stated another.

The Proclamation of May 27th, 1915, added some articles to the list of absolute contraband, and some articles to the list of conditional contraband. What becomes of the Prime Minister's statement that "commodities *of every kind* were to be prevented from leaving or entering Germany" ?

On August 21st, 1915, raw cotton was added to the list of absolute contraband, although all commodities were to be prevented from entering Germany after the Order-in-Council of March 11th, 1915. Thousands of bales of cotton, which are necessary in the manufacture of high explosives, entered Germany between March 11th, 1915, and August 21st, 1915. No wonder the end of the war is not yet in sight.

War is won by fighting ; not by confusing Proclamations and Orders-in-Council or the appointment of countless committees. Unshackle the Navy, and the result will be apparent in a few weeks.

It is reported that new orders have been issued to the Fleet this month (January, 1916) to the effect that German-Americans bearing American passports are not to be interfered with. The effect of this order, if true, will be to allow reservists once more to proceed to Germany.

Lord Beresford and public opinion

The action of the Navy appears to be controlled by three different departments—the Foreign Office, the Board of Trade, and the Admiralty. Executive orders are given to the Fleet contrary to directions conveyed in Orders-in-Council. When is this foolery going to stop and the Navy be allowed to put a paralysing grip on Germany ?

If the Government wish to end the war, firm measures must be taken. Orders should be given to the Fleet immediately to exercise to the full its legal and legitimate use of sea-power, the only measure for bringing the war to an end, and the best assistance we can offer to our Allies. Why should not the four Navies of the Allies have a broad strategic plan of blockade and put it into action at once ?

The people have a right to demand that our rulers shall use the means they possess of beating the enemy. We cannot afford to throw away the powerful advantage we hold. Ship after ship has been captured by the Fleet, brought in for adjudication by the Prize Court, and released by order of the Foreign Office without coming before the Prize Court at all.

Can anything be more heartbreaking for officers and men of the Fleet than to feel that their power is crippled at such a time, knowing that if left to them the end of the war would soon be in sight ?

Lord Beresford did not speak for himself alone. Behind him an important current of public opinion made itself felt against the shackling of our blockading squadron.

CAPTAIN CHARLES FRYATT, OF THE S.S. BRUSSELS.

On July 27th, 1916, with the Kaiser's personal sanction, Captain Charles Fryatt, captured on his ship Brussels, was put to death by the Germans in revenge for his legitimate defence, in March, 1915, of his ship from German submarines, for which he had been rewarded both by the G.E.R. Company and by the British Admiralty.

ON DANGEROUS DUTY IN THE DARDANELLES.
Two naval officers fishing a mine from the Dardanelles, apparently unconcerned that the machine might explode at any moment.

by the Foreign Office. At a meeting of City men in London, on February 14th, 1916, Lord Devonport was strongly supported when he, too, stated that the blockade was not being conducted in a satisfactory manner, and that the Foreign Office system of allowing contraband to enter Holland and Scandinavia, under guarantees from distribution agencies, was resulting in an immense amount of smuggling. In the House of Lords, a few days later, Lord Sydenham also pleaded for a closer blockade, and much discontent with the Foreign Office control of our naval pressure was expressed in the House of Commons.

Yet still both the Liberal-Radical and the Unionist party leaders remained bound to the decayed and offensive corpse of the Declaration of London. Sir Edward Grey had as Under-Secretary Lord Robert Cecil, who at first fought with brilliant dexterity against the abandonment of the old peace-at-any-price Declaration and against the carrying out of the policy of a rigorous blockade, under the terms of the Declaration of March, 1915.

Germany's submarine operations

It is, of course, possible that the British Government was in a somewhat similar position in blockade affairs to that of the German Government. The German authorities had given their people to understand that the submarine campaign against our shipping would so reduce our strength as to compel us to sue for peace. First Mr. Winston Churchill vaguely, at the Guildhall banquet in November, 1914, and then afterwards Mr. Asquith definitely, in his speech on retaliatory measures against the enemy's proclamation of a war zone for submarine operations against our sea-borne commerce, had given our public to understand that Germany's economic strength would be sapped by our naval pressure. We know the German Government was prevented, by circumstances over which it had no control, from fulfilling its promises in regard to its submarine blockading campaign. But lacking the courage to acknowledge defeat by British force of arms, the directors of Germanic policy pretended to their people that they had abandoned submarine pressure out of consideration for President Woodrow Wilson's feelings. This left the German public much dissatisfied over an apparently weak political surrender to a neutral State in a matter of vital military importance.

In the case of the British Government we know that no hostile force of arms prevented our Navy from carrying out the proposals made by our leading statesmen at two critical periods of the war. Our public, therefore, receiving no explanation of the delay in using the full restrictive power of the Fleet, grew restive and worried. According to Mr. Rudyard Kipling, our sailors were still more perplexed and upset. He who never hopes never despairs. If great expectations had not been excited by men in authority, profound disappointment would not have followed. Certain political considerations appear to have led to the abandonment of our declared policy of a rigorous blockade.

Yet the agitation of the public mind produced some effect. Our Foreign Office, into which the leader of our blockading squadron, Rear-Admiral Sir Dudley De Chair, went as naval adviser in February, 1916, invented a new instrument of restriction in the black list. Beginning in February, first with Egypt, then with Greece, Holland, Scandinavia, Portugal, and Spain, the leading agents of the Germanic Empires were entered on black lists and all consignments to these persons or firms were liable to capture. In March, enemies and neutral agents of enemies in Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Central America, East Indies, and the Philippines were blacklisted. And finally persons and corporations in the United States engaged in contraband commerce with the Germanic Empires were entered on the list, which practically covered all the important productive centres of the world. Violent protests arose from the German organisations in the United States, but "unhyphenated" American opinion did not appear to be deeply perturbed.

New instrument of restriction

Lord Robert Cecil was made Minister for Blockade, with Sir Dudley De Chair as his adviser. The poor harvest in Germany in the autumn of 1915 began to tell on the

THE MESSENGER OF DESTRUCTION.
Hoisting a live torpedo aboard a warship by means of a hand crane. A stalwart seaman is keeping the weapon steady with a rope round the stern.

condition of the enemy urban classes of the humbler sort. The potato crop especially had been scanty and bad in quality, as it was in our islands, and the great German landowners did not relax anything in their methods of wringing wealth out of the misfortunes of their country. A new food dictator, Count von Batocki, had to evade fighting the dominant Prussian oligarchy by bringing pressure upon the peasantry of Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg. But none of these semi-sovereign States of the Empire would release its peculiar food resources for the benefit of the great Prussian cities. There was still no peril of famine; but food grew scarcer in the interval of anxiety between the ending of the old supplies from the harvest of 1915 and the beginning of the new supplies from the harvest of 1916. There was just enough general discomfort to aggravate the gloom of the national mind when military affairs on both frontiers were unsatisfactory.

[Official photograph.

AN OBJECT OF PARTICULAR CURIOSITY.
Submarine patrol overhauling a suspicious sailing craft in a suspected area along the coast.

[Official photograph.

UP FOR A PIPE AND A BLOW.
Interesting impression of the wake left by a submarine when under gas motors; the above-water speed of such craft is about twenty knots.

In an atmosphere of victory the Germans would scarcely have felt the power of our Fleet in the restriction of their food supplies. The loss of the ordinary imports of Russian fodder, cheap Russian eggs, and grain was a more direct blow than our blockading operations inflicted. By partly keeping from the enemy, in the summer of 1915, the wheat and meat of Argentina and the United States, and raising throughout the civilised world the price of all foodstuffs, we helped our eastern allies in making things somewhat uncomfortable for the munition makers and transport workers of Germany. Yet it is doubtful if we diminished in an appreciable degree the productive energies of the classes that armed, manœuvred, and served the German fighting men. At times the enemy seemed to consider it worth while making us fancy he was weakening from lack of proper nourishment. This was usually a sign that he was about to renew his submarine attacks on combatant and neutral shipping, or a symptom that a surprise was intended in some sudden, furious offensive movement. When neither of these alternatives obtained, the organised outcry about food was a Prussian device for attempting an increased control over Bavarian domestic matters, for the energetic Prussian believed in trying to make even an ill wind turn some of his windmills.

Cry of "Starving Germany"

Happily, our new Minister for Blockade and his new naval adviser continued to work with quite a Prussian-like energy over the problems of their work. An Order-in-Council, issued on March 30th, 1916, removed some of the diplomatic fetters from our Fleet. Both conditional and absolute contraband were made liable to capture if found on a neutral vessel bound for a neutral port but destined for the enemy. Goods consigned to a person known to have forwarded goods to the enemy were also made liable to condemnation. No vessel or her cargo was to be immune from capture for breach of blockade, simply on the ground that she was at the time on the way to a non-blockaded port.

This made a great rent in the Declaration of London, and at last, after nearly two years of debilitating and hesitant timidity, the codes of rules which never had any legal force and which were injurious to the interests of our country were completely abolished. In July, 1916, the Declaration of London was abandoned by an Order-in-Council reviving our maritime rights. The confiscation of contraband cargoes and of neutral ships carrying

contraband was to take place if more than half the cargo were contraband. Any neutral ship carrying goods indirectly to the enemy and running the blockade was made liable to capture and condemnation on her next voyage. The principle of ultimate destination was made applicable to cases of contraband and blockade. Hostile destination of contraband articles was to be presumed to exist, unless the contrary were shown, in all doubtful cases.

Thus the British and French Fleets were set free to use their full force of economic constriction against the enemy. Whether popular agitation gradually produced this desirable result may be doubted, though the student of the history of true democratic control of national destinies would like to think so. It is just possible that the military and naval successes of the Allies in the summer of 1916 removed the obstacles that had been dreaded by our Foreign Office. What those obstacles exactly were will not be fully known until the great struggle is ended. Meanwhile, we would again point out that only cotton, of which the enemy had obtained a vast store, was a decisive article of contraband. By July, 1916, all opportunity had passed for surprising him with a shortage of powder material and with no plant for any substitute. Lost was the chance of bringing about a sudden collapse of the Germanic Empires by an extraordinary manœuvre of blockade. Yet one of the greatest of English poets had the courage to say of God :

> But Thy most awful instrument
> In working out a pure intent,
> Is man arrayed for mutual slaughter :
> Yea ! Carnage is Thy daughter !

If Providence presides over the ghastliest fields of battle as well as over the happiest scenes of home life, we may be, in our apparently great mistakes, directed towards some dreadful yet purifying work by ways we cannot trace in advance. Perhaps Germany—the modern Assyria—could soon have recovered from a short, disastrous war, and would have once more become a menacing force. Perhaps only a long, wearing struggle could so completely exhaust her as to make her permanently impotent for evil.

Slow pressure of sea-power

The pressure of sea-power has always worked very slowly. A century ago it failed for twenty years to reduce France directly by exhaustion. Napoleon was really brought down by great military defeats—Moscow, Leipzig, and Waterloo—though the British Navy prepared the way by intercepting foreign trade, and causing discomfort and restiveness throughout the territories dominated by the great hostile captain. At the present time sea-power has lost much of its old bite. When we last used it in a large way, land transit was slow and costly. Armies could be moved more quickly by sea than they could by land, with the result that the power of the impending stroke resided in Great Britain. But railways and modern large canals have modified the situation.

"The power of the impending stroke," as a wise thinker has pointed out, has, to a considerable extent, passed from our Fleet to the Armies of the highly-developed Central Empires. The magnificent German railway system has worked in war time as punctually as in peace time, with a scarcely reduced train service. Strengthened by the German canal system, it fights against our marine system of transportation practically from Rotterdam to Bagdad. Better guns were able to be transported by rail and road to the Turkish forces at Bagdad than we were able to carry by sea and river to General Townshend at Ctesiphon.

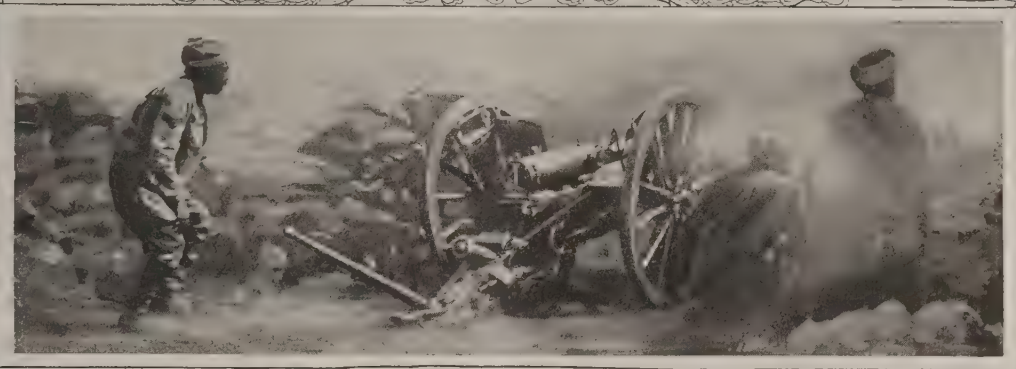
Mercantile marine on war service

As we have pointed out in a previous chapter, for nearly a year we blockaded ourselves more than we did Germany, by diverting nearly half of our mercantile marine to warlike services, especially in connection with our diverse gambles in oversea expeditions. The extraordinary rise in our cost of freightage at first more than balanced the slight economic inconveniences which the enemy suffered direct through the pressure of our Fleet. For all we did under the Declaration of London was to restrict German shipping to the Baltic and the territorial waters of Sweden and Norway, Denmark and Holland, and close German ports to a small and extremely inadequate list of contraband cargoes. For many months neutral ships were able to enter German ports with general cargoes of war material. Though the freights were heavy, the goods had afterwards to bear only the minimum rates of the German State railways and canals.

When we gradually increased the stringency and scope of our blockading action the enemy was controlling in Europe a population of nearly 140 millions, in an area of 650,000 square miles that included some of the best wheat-producing lands on the Continent. He was in railway communication with countries in Asia Minor, giving him tropical or sub-tropical produce, and he possessed a very great number of steam-ploughs, and an inexhaustible monopoly of potash that could fertilise almost any land into crop production. With a conquered population of more than thirty millions to act as her helots in agriculture and manufacture, Germany was practically secure from swift collapse through our blockade.

THE FRENCH NAVY IN ACTION IN THE MIDDLE SEA.

The "75" gun on an unusual element. The celebrated French ordnance engaging a German submarine in the Mediterranean, from a transport laden with French Colonial troops from Morocco. A great quality of the "75" was its mobility and lightness of construction



INDIAN BATTERY IN ACTION.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

SHADOWS IN THE EAST: THE DEFENCE OF INDIA.

By F. A. McKenzie.

Why Frontier Trouble was Anticipated—Growing Unrest—How the Tribes were Armed—Rumours of British Defeats—The Amir of Afghanistan's Attitude—The Position of Aden—The Attack on Shaikh Sa'id—Importance of Lahaj—The Abdali Sultan—Battle of Lahaj—The British Retire—Difficulties of Climate—Loss of Prestige—General Younghusband Appointed to Aden Brigade—Desert Skirmishes—False Turkish Claims—Fighting Around the Gulf of Oman—Arab Revolt against Turkey—Grand Sherif of Mecca's Position—Importance of the Revolt—Trouble in Upper Burma—The Kachin Uprising—No Trifling with Treason—Position on the North-West Frontier—The Jehad of the Khostwals—How Captain Jotham Earned his V.C.—The North Waziristan Militia—Trouble with the Mohmands—The Raid on Shabkadar—Influence of the Fakirs—Some Examples of Fanaticism—The Malakand Column—Fighting around Shabkadar—The Battle of September 24th—A Terrible March.—The Charge of the 21st Lancers—Colonel Scriven's Splendid Example—An Outbreak in Swat—Minor Troubles—How the British Soldiers Fought—Facing Hardships Gladly.

MANY people acquainted with the conditions of life on the mountain borders of India assumed, as a matter of course, that the outbreak of war between Britain and Germany would be quickly followed by serious disturbances in Central Asia and in Arabia. It was well known that Germany had for some time previous to the war been carefully preparing for a propaganda among the Mohammedan peoples with a view to starting a Jehad, or Holy War, against the British. But the real reasons why trouble on the frontiers was anticipated almost as a matter of course went much deeper than any external propaganda. For generations unrest had swept periodically over the Mohammedan tribes of the mountainous North-West Frontier. They are naturally robber tribes, living in mountain fastnesses and preying as opportunity offers on their weaker neighbours. Independent, hating control, warriors by birth, by training, and by instinct, fighting is their normal life, and it was only the fear and authority of the British Raj that kept many of them temporarily at peace.

The history of the Indian Frontier for half a century before the war broke out was one long record of wars, raids, and punitive expeditions. For every raid that took place a score or more were prevented by the prudence, the diplomacy, and the able management of the British Political Agents on the border. What was true of the Indian North-West was true at least in equal degree of South-West Arabia. The British held on to the rocks and barren sands of Aden and its neighbourhood. Beyond that, they tried by friendly arrangements with some of the many sultans in the desert lands to maintain cordial relations. But Southern Arabia claimed the distinction of being, with Central Formosa, the most perilous and the least explored territory in the world. The traveller who moved among the tribes did so at hourly risk to his life. Racial antipathy, fierce religious hatreds, and centuries of carefully fostered fury against white civilisation had made Southern Arabia one of the danger-spots of the world.

[Official Photograph.

INDIA'S FIGHTING PRINCES.
Lieut.-General Sir Pertab Singh with (on his right) his son Maharaj Kumar Dolat Singh, and (on his left) the Rajah of Rutlam.

Before the outbreak of war there were various indications of growing unrest on the Indian Frontier, unrest quite independent of any disputes between European nations. "Conditions on the British side of the frontier are arousing much uneasiness," wrote the Bombay correspondent of the "Times," in February, 1914. Lawlessness and insecurity prevailed to a greater extent than for many years. Robber bands from the mountains achieved such success in their raids that in case after case villagers harboured them, bribed them, and shielded them to secure their protection. It was evident that the

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SIR DOUGLAS HAIG INTRODUCING LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR PERTAB SINGH TO GENERAL JOFFRE.

native tribes were acquiring far better weapons than they had previously possessed. The trade in arms along the Persian Gulf continued, despite the utmost vigilance of our naval patrols. Weapons landed on the coast by European agents—weapons, some of them it is feared made in England by manufacturers whose greed killed their patriotism—were taken through Persia and Baluchistan to the Himalayas, and found a ready market among the tribes. Other weapons were made in Afridi factories. Mullahs—fierce preachers of Mohammedan intolerance—were at work provoking discontent and stirring up revolt.

It can readily be imagined how news of the outbreak of war and of the result of the first battles spread among the tribes of the North-West. Tales of the German occupation of Belgium, of the retreat of the British Army from Mons, of the German advance almost to the gates of Paris, of the heavy losses of the French, and of the Russian disaster in North-East Prussia were carried up by fakirs and pilgrims from the bazaars of the Indian cities to the village headquarters of the tribes. It was known that Britain had called on India to help her, and that regiments of the Indian Army were leaving in great numbers for Europe. Now, surely, was the opportunity of the North-West. Now, if ever, was the time to strike a united blow.

It was at this moment that the British were to reap the fruits of the many years of just, conciliatory, and sympathetic dealing with those troublesome clans. The Amir of Afghanistan, whose position gives him the religious standing of a King of Islam among the North-West tribes, declared himself to be a friend of Britain, and kept true to his declaration. He and his advisers were not going to allow themselves to be the tools of a German campaign for world conquest, however well disguised under the plea of a Holy War of Mohammedan nations. Several of the most powerful tribes, which in former years had been active against us, also refused to attack the British. The result was that what might well have been a serious and concerted campaign by the Central Asian Mohammedan tribes degenerated into a few sporadic and apparently unconnected risings, which could be dealt with in detail, not without trouble and some hard fighting, but without any really considerable effect outside their own territories.

Shortly after the outbreak of war with Turkey, on October 31st, 1914, it became clear that the Turks, in co-operation with a number of the Arab tribes were preparing an advance against the Aden Protectorate. The Turks had gathered in some strength on the Shaikh Sa'id Peninsula, which runs out to the south of the Red Sea towards the Isle of Perim. The 29th Indian Infantry Brigade, under Brigadier-General J. H. V. Cox, C.B., then on its way from India to Suez, was ordered to interrupt its voyage to capture Shaikh Sa'id and destroy the Turkish works, armaments, and wells there. On November 10th transports conveying three battalions of the 29th Indian Infantry Brigade and the 23rd Sikh Pioneers arrived off the coast of the peninsula. They were accompanied by H.M.S. Duke of Edinburgh, which opened fire on the Turkish defences while the transports were seeking a satisfactory landing-place. The point that had been at first selected proved impossible on account of the weather. The troops landed a little way off, under cover of the fire of the warship. They stormed the Turkish positions and compelled the enemy to retreat, leaving his field-guns behind. The sailors took active part in the fighting with the troops, and a naval demolition party assisted, on November 11th, in destroying the Turkish works. Having accomplished its task, the British force re-embarked and continued its journey. It was not considered advisable at this time to push an expedition into the country to attack the Turks there. The Turks, consequently, remained in some force on the northern boundary of the Aden Protectorate.

Reduction of Shaikh Sa'id

Off Schleswig: British destroyers and seaplanes in action during a storm, March 25th, 1916.

Off Jutland: Lucky shot destroys German torpedo and saves a British warship.

Camera impression of the great sea fight of Jutland Bank:

Destroyers in hot pursuit passing a sinking German light cruiser.

Daylight signalling in the British Navy: Heliographing a long-distance message by the aid of a searchlight.

Seven months later they reoccupied Shaikh Sa'id and endeavoured from there to effect a landing on the north coast of the Isle of Perim. This attack was successfully repulsed by the garrison of the island, the 23rd Sikh Pioneers.

In the spring of 1915 a Turkish force from the Yeamana district crossed the frontier of the Aden Hinterland and advanced towards Lahaj. Lahaj was at this time one of the most important towns in Southern Arabia. Placed in an oasis, surrounded by a fertile plain with the deserts beyond, it was the centre of trade between Aden and the Hinterland, inhabited by a prosperous agricultural people, the Abdali. Its Sultans formerly claimed rule over the Aden Peninsula, which Britain took from them in 1839 as punishment for an outrage on a shipwrecked British crew. For some years after our occupation of Aden there had been frequent fighting between the British and the Abdali, the latter seeking to reconquer their lost port. In recent years our relations had been friendly, the British paying the Abdali Sultan a subsidy for the occupation of certain land in the interior and protecting him and his agricultural people against the fierce desert tribes who hemmed them in.

Turks advance on Lahaj

Under our protection the Sultan of Lahaj had waxed very prosperous. His city, with its palace, its gallows—built for ornament rather than use—its purely Oriental life, its fine horses, its little show army, and its constant traffic in camels and caravans, seemed like a vision out of the "Arabian Nights." When war broke out the Abdali Sultan proved that his loyalty to Britain was real. Though other tribes turned against us he came to our side and prepared to help us. He soon made himself an object of special detestation to the Turks and to many of the surrounding tribes by his open and unwavering friendship for Britain.

LINKING-UP IN THE ADVANCE.
Signallers of an Indian regiment putting up a telephone wire in a French village communicating with headquarters.

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PATHANS IN A WARM CORNER.
A German shell bursting in front of a sector of trench on the western front held by the Pathans.

The Sultan sent word to General D. S. L. Shaw, commanding the Aden Brigade, that the Turks were advancing from Mawyiah to attack him, and asked for help. General Shaw ordered the Aden Movable Column, under Lieutenant-Colonel H. E. A. Pearson, towards Lahaj. The Aden Camel Troop was despatched to reconnoitre. It discovered a strong Turkish force beyond Lahaj, supported by a large number of Arab tribesmen. The Camel Troop fell back on Lahaj, where it was reinforced by the advance guard of the Aden Movable Column, numbering two hundred and fifty rifles, with two ten-pounder guns. This advance guard had moved up under most trying conditions. The heat was intense, there was great shortage of water, and it was difficult to make any progress over the heavy, sandy plains. The main body of the Aden Column was so delayed by difficulties of transport and by shortage of water that it did not reach Lahaj at all.

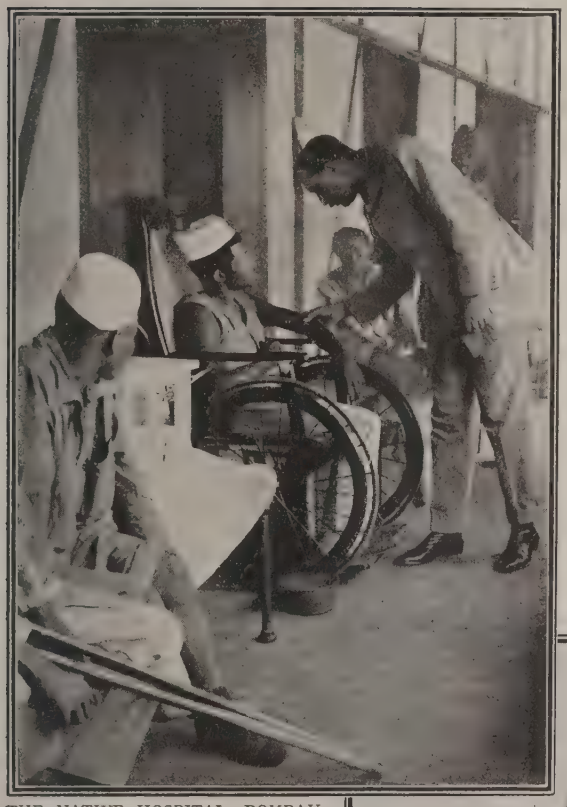
Intense heat and no water

Our force in the Sultan's capital found itself faced by several thousand Turkish troops, with twenty guns. In addition, Arab tribesmen had rallied by the thousand to help the Turks. We on our part were backed by a few hundred men, the Sultan of Lahaj's little native army. Our troops were suffering terribly from the climate and from the shortage of water. It seemed as though they must be wholly swallowed up. To add to the difficulties, the Arab camp followers of the Aden Troop deserted them in a body at the most critical hour and took with them all their camels.

Fighting opened on the evening of Sunday, July 4th. Time after time the enemy attacked our front, and time

WITH THE ROYAL FLYING CORPS IN INDIA.

War took the aeroplane to practically every corner of the world, carrying men over almost every water—the Hellespont, the Tigris, the Congo, and the Nile. The aeroplane seen here was photographed when crossing Kabul River, soaring above the pontoon bridge near Peshawar.



THE NATIVE HOSPITAL, BOMBAY.
Wounded Indian soldiers on the veranda.

after time they were driven off. The Turkish artillery was much stronger than ours, but the men of the Royal Artillery strove, by courage and skill, to make up for the inequality in numbers. They showed a devotion to duty which afterwards drew a warm tribute from the general commanding the Aden Brigade. Before long the Turkish artillery had kindled fires in different parts of Lahaj, and our men were in danger of being outflanked and cut off by the flocks of Arab horsemen. The Sultan was killed with many of his men. Our troops struggled to defend the capital as long as they could, hoping every hour for the arrival of the main body of the Aden Column. Hour after hour they waited in vain. Relief did not come. Next day there was nothing to be done but to fall back from Lahaj towards Aden.

Our losses included three British officers wounded. But our main loss was not so much in men as in prestige. A friendly Sultan had been killed, his town captured by the enemy, and his Sultanate swept away. The news of what had happened spread abroad throughout Arabia and inflicted a very serious blow on British authority. Our men at Lahaj had fought splendidly, but their task had proved beyond their strength. We had not been able to send forward an adequate number of troops to meet the Turks, and we do not seem to have made such arrangements for transport and for water supply as would have prepared us for the difficulties which every experienced traveller knew we would have to face. In the official report on the operations issued by the Government of India much stress was laid on "the intense heat, sand, and shortage of water." "The desertion of the camel-drivers and the severe climatic conditions so delayed and distressed the main body as to necessitate a withdrawal from Lahaj," the report stated. But the severe heat of the climate, the potential treachery of hired Arabs, and the shortage of water were all of them factors which had been familiar from the beginning to the Indian authorities, and, one might suppose, ought to have been allowed for.

Reinforcements for Aden

The British force fell back on the Kaur, immediately outside the Aden Peninsula. The Turks followed them up and occupied Shaikh-Othman, a town about two miles inland from Aden Harbour. This place was formerly part of the Sultanate of Lahaj, and was now within the British Protectorate. The Turks at this stage held practically the whole of the Aden Hinterland, except immediately around the peninsula. They had reoccupied Shaikh Sa'id and had destroyed Lahaj. Some appreciation of the real perils of the situation apparently reached the Indian authorities, and it was decided to increase the Aden garrison. Major-General Sir G. J. Younghusband, a soldier with a distinguished career, succeeded for a time to the command of the Aden Brigade. General Younghusband was a man who had won fame both as a soldier and as an author. Since 1878, when he served in the Afghan War, he had shared in many campaigns. He was in the Sudan in 1885 and in the North-West Frontier War of 1886. From there he had gone to the Burma War, and in due course he made one of the Chitral Relief Force, writing a notable book on that campaign. He was in the fighting in the Philippines, in the Spanish-American War; he was severely wounded in South Africa, and later on he shared in the big punitive expedition against the Mohmands on the Indian Frontier.

THE LADY HARDINGE WAR HOSPITAL, BOMBAY.
Exterior view of one of the finest buildings in the magnificent capital of Western India. The hospital was planned and organised on a scale that did honour to the British Raj.

It would have been difficult indeed to find a soldier more adept in the warfare and diplomacy now necessary in this region.

On July 20th, 1915, troops from Aden, the 28th (Frontier Force) Brigade, a battery of Royal Horse Artillery, and a

General view of a British battery in action in India. On the extreme left of the photograph, to the rear of the guns, the wireless aerial can be seen posted so as to keep in constant communication with aeroplanes that directed the fire from above.

Gunners making signals to acknowledge a wireless message received from an aeroplane. Broad strips of white cloth, plainly visible at a great height, were stretched on the ground and arranged variously on the principle of the arms of a semaphore.

WITH THE INDO-BRITISH FORCES IN INDIA: AIRMEN AND ARTILLERYMEN ACTING IN CONCERT.

detachment of Sappers and Miners, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel A. M. S. Elsmie, a soldier well trained in frontier fighting, surprised the Turks at Shaikh-Othman, completely defeated them and drove them out of the place. Between fifty and sixty Turks were killed and wounded, and several hundred men, mostly Arabs, were made prisoners. This success was followed up in the following month by an attack by a small column on a Turkish post between Lahaj and Shaikh-Othman. The Turks were driven from the town. Another attack in a different direction was equally successful. Reports reached Aden that the Turks were preparing to retire from Lahaj itself, and in September a column under Colonel Elsmie set out in the direction of Waht. Here it surprised a force of seven hundred Turks, with eight guns, who were supported by about a thousand Arabs. The Turks were driven back, and Waht fell into our hands. The troops were greatly aided both on sea and land by the co-operation of H.M.S. Philomel, under Captain Hill-Thompson.

A series of minor engagements and skirmishes between the Turks and Arabs and our own troops followed. It was found impossible for us to hold the country far inland. Early in 1916 the Turks claimed that the British had been driven back on to Aden itself, and had retreated as far as where they were covered by the fires of the warships, where they had been inactive for some months. Many of the Turkish claims were greatly exaggerated, and some wholly false. In February, 1916, Major Newman asked in the British Parliament for any information about the fighting near Aden. Mr. Chamberlain said that the Turkish claim of success which had recently been put forward would seem to have been founded on an engagement which took place on January 12th between a reconnoitring column of the Aden garrison and a Turkish force in the neighbourhood of Shaikh-Othman. The loss on our side was one British officer and thirty-five Indian rank and file killed, and four British and thirty-five Indian rank and file wounded. The enemy losses were severe, amounting to about two hundred killed and wounded. The British column was neither annihilated nor defeated, but withdrew when the purpose of the movement was completed.

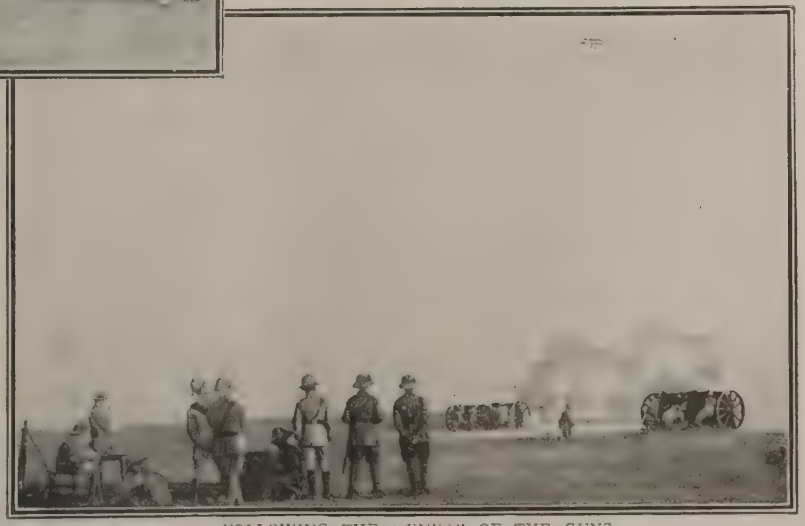
RIDING PILLION.
A British and an Indian soldier enjoying a ride on a camel, with an amused escort on foot.

Later on, the Turks officially claimed to have scored a substantial victory in further heavy fighting around Shaikh-Othman and Bir-Ahmad. This was a sheer invention. In January, 1916, the Aden Movable Column moved out to protect some friendly troops to the east of the Aden Protectorate against Turkish troops who had been sent to coerce them. Our column located the Turkish force near Subar, and defeated it. The general position was so unsatisfactory, however, that in April, 1916, it was decided, on the suggestion of the Government of India, that ladies should not be allowed to land at Aden without receiving permission from the Commander-in-Chief in India.

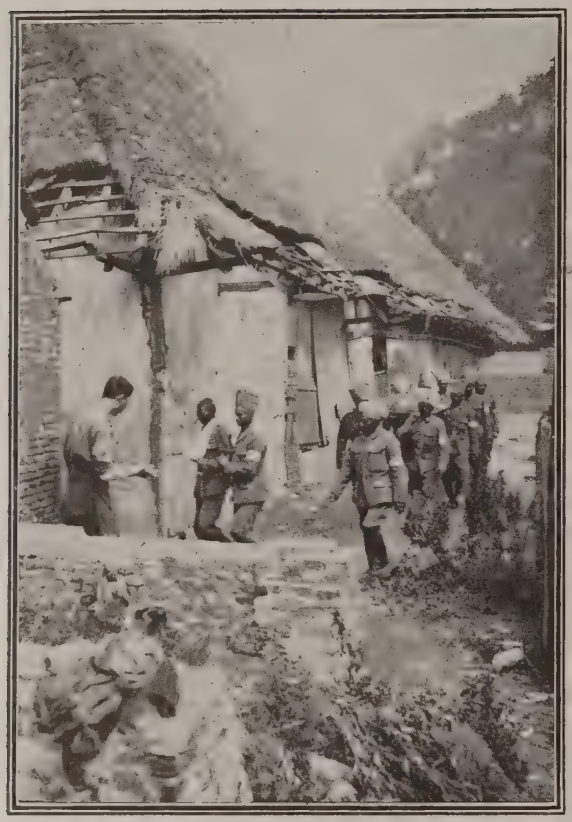
Three thousand Arabs defeated

In the region around the Gulf of Oman there was considerable Arab unrest, and early in January, 1915, some three thousand Arabs attacked our outpost lines. The entire available British force promptly moved out against them, attacked and defeated them, and compelled the Arabs to flee into the interior with a loss of over three hundred killed and wounded. In April and in May, 1915, there were two other attacks, one against the British post at Jask, and one against the post at Chahbar; both were driven off with loss.

In the summer of 1916 the situation in Arabia was suddenly and startlingly altered by a revolt by the Arabs of the Hejaz against Turkey. The independence of Arabia was proclaimed. Jedda, the port of Mecca, was seized, and the Turkish garrison compelled to surrender, and the Turks were turned out of the Holy City of Mecca itself. The Grand Sherif of Mecca openly renounced his allegiance to the Sultan. He was supported by the Arabs of Western and Central Arabia. The causes of the revolt were various. The Arabs believed that Mehmed V., Sultan of Turkey, was really in the hands of the Germans —as he was—and that the Germans were using him and his religious position for their own purposes. It was said that Enver Pasha, who had recently visited the Mecca district, had aroused intense anger by inaugurating a



FOLLOWING THE "EYES" OF THE GUNS.
Battery of British guns in action in India, their fire directed by an aeroplane hovering overhead. At the table in the foreground wireless operators were engaged in taking down the instructions transmitted to the battery by the aeroplane.



FIRST-AID FOR THE FIRST WOUNDED.
Indian casualties, some walking, others being conveyed by stretchers to a regimental aid post, consisting of a picturesque old farmhouse. A doctor was receiving the patients, and gave them temporary treatment.

number of drastic anti-Arab measures—hanging, shooting, and imprisoning a number of Moslem Arabs. It was also believed that the Turks, who had issued false statements throughout the world that the British had shelled certain sacred Mohammedan shrines, had actually done this themselves. This revolt of the rulers and people of the sacred cities of Mohammedanism had far more than a local effect. Its influence was at once felt in Egypt, in India, in Morocco, and in every Mohammedan land. The Turks, recognising its great importance, hurried up reinforcements by the Hejaz Railway to overthrow the revolting tribesmen. The Sherif of Mecca, however, armed his men, arranged his positions, and prepared to meet them.

Tribal rising on Indian Frontier

One of the earliest disturbances on the Indian Frontier after the outbreak of the war was among the Kachins in the north-east, in the Myitkyna district of Upper Burma. Here there had been a systematic propaganda to discredit the British. Rumours were spread abroad that, owing to the war, the Indian Government was short of troops, and the headman Thama, with a Shan pretender and three followers from the Katha district, tried to bring about a general rising of the tribes. Some of these, beyond the British administrative border, joined in, and for the moment the prospect looked somewhat black. A detachment of a hundred men of the 64th Pioneers, accompanied by Mr. F. C. Lowis, executive engineer in charge of the Myitkyna-Putao road, was attacked by the people of Wawang on January 29th, 1915. The troops at once cleared the district. The Kachins fought obstinately, holding each point of vantage as long as they could, and then retiring to another along a very steep and thickly-wooded road. But they were driven in turn from place after place. They made a final stand at a hastily built stockade. The Pioneers drove them from that at the point of the bayonet. Two headmen were killed.

A British movable column was subsequently formed and travelled through the disaffected country, stamping out any signs of rebellion wherever seen. Our troops, moving in detachments quickly from point to point, broke the back of the uprising and gained a complete success. The Shan pretender, accompanied by some of his followers, fled across the border, but villagers beyond our frontier captured him and brought him in. Three Kachin leaders were arrested and sentenced to transportation for life.

The Indian authorities showed clearly in dealing with the Kachins that they did not intend to treat lightly any disloyalty in those hours of crisis for the Empire. The strongest influences were used to prevent the headmen from turning against us. Where these influences failed, punishment was prompt and severe.

No clemency for the rebels

In the north-west trouble first came to a head in the Tochi Valley, in the strip of mountain land between British India and Afghanistan. It became evident towards the end of 1914 that great attempts were being made to stir up the frontier tribes, and to enlist them in a Jehad against the British.

Some of the most influential Mullahs in this strip of independent territory called the tribesmen together and led 2,000 of the Khostwals into British territory. On November 29th, 1914, a portion of the North Waziristan Militia, under Major G. B. Scott, attacked and defeated the tribesmen and drove them back in a demoralised condition. The action reflected great credit on the militia

THATCHED COTTAGE-HOSPITAL IN FRANCE.
Severely wounded Indian soldier leaving the aid post on a stretcher to be put aboard a motor-ambulance. After having had his injuries dressed he was sent down to the base.

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GURKHAS CAPTURING A GERMAN TRENCH: THE FIRST LINE.

The Gurkhas inspired the Germans with particular dread, not only by their courage, but also by their silent movement and the deadly use of their peculiar weapon the kukri. This photograph shows first-line Gurkhas capturing a trench.

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MAKING GOOD THE CAPTURE: THE SECOND LINE.

Second-line Gurkhas rushing up through the wood amid shell fire to win the trench. The smile on the face of the officer in the foreground suggests that the conduct of his company met with his complete approval.

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GURKHAS IN BOMB ACTION.
Gurkhas bombing their way along a German trench in France.

and on the officer in charge of the small force. Fresh troops were sent up, and Major-General H. O'Donnell proceeded with the Bannu Movable Column and part of the North Waziristan Militia to keep the tribesmen in check. On January 7th, 1915, the militia, after a long march, came in touch with the enemy, and despite the fact that odds were greatly against them, immediately attacked with the greatest enthusiasm. Some fifty or sixty of the enemy were killed, and the Khostwals were driven in confusion over the frontier. Among the many brave individual deeds of the British troops during this fight one specially stood out. Captain E. Jotham was in a desperate situation. He was practically surrounded at close range, and was under orders to run for it with his party. As he was falling back with his men, he noticed that a wounded sowar had lost his horse. He stopped to help him, and tried to carry him into safety. Both were killed. Captain Jotham subsequently posthumously received the Victoria Cross. Dafadar Darim took up a position by himself half way to safety and fought single-handed to cover the flight of his comrades.

The tribesmen, driven back on their own territory, had not yet had enough. They continued to gather on the hills and to threaten our frontier. Late in March, between 7,000 and 8,000 Khostwals assembled together and threatened Miranshah. The Bannu Movable Column and a portion of the North Waziristan Militia again moved out under the command of Brigadier-General V. B. Fane. The British force was directed with great skill. One part of it, under Major Scott, made a long night march and gained a position in the rear of the enemy. Another portion, under Lieut.-Colonel H. E. Lowis, of the 10th Jats, made a direct frontal attack. The British were completely successful. Our troops struck at the enemy in the front and in the rear. On our right there was a force of cavalry to guard our flank. Our attack was supported by the fire of a mountain battery of artillery. Two hundred Khostwals were killed and three hundred wounded, and those left hastily retreated. It was officially stated afterwards that our success was largely due to the skilful manner in which the column under Major Scott had gained its position during the night in rear of the enemy, in time to combine with the frontal attack.

Eight thousand Khostwals surrounded

For some months after this there was peace along this part of the frontier—an armed peace however, where the tribesmen were restrained by the sound common-sense of our civil authorities, and where a force of troops waited behind, ready to deal with trouble immediately it came to a head.

At the end of 1914 reports were received from different quarters of serious trouble brewing in the Mohmand country. The Mohmands are a powerful Pathan tribe, living partly in Afghanistan and partly in the districts around Peshawar. They are turbulent, fanatical, and quarrelsome, ready subjects for fiery Mullahs to stir up to revolt. Long before the outbreak of the war they had been in repeated conflicts with the British. Between 1872 and 1908 there had been several expeditions against them. In January, 1915, there came a raid in the neighbourhood of Shabkadar, a fortified post eighteen miles north of Peshawar, but it was easily driven off. In April it was reported that the Mohmands were collecting with a view to raiding Shabkadar. It was evident that a serious blow was now being planned, and the British forces in the district were greatly strengthened. The Khyber Movable Column was brought up and other troops held in readiness. On April 18th the tribesmen attempted to advance, but were met by our troops and driven back to the hills, where the British did not attempt to follow them.

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CLEARING OUT THE CAPTURED TRENCH.
That the task accomplished was a difficult one is proved by the still figures lying in the undergrowth.

After this repulse the trouble died down for a time, and some of the troops were temporarily withdrawn. But it was soon abundantly evident that the Mullahs did not mean to allow things to rest. All possible religious pressure was being brought on these Mohammedan tribes to make them fight again. There were large tribal gatherings in which fanatical preachers played on the feelings of the assembled hillmen and roused them to fury, painting in glowing colours the possibility of success, and promising Paradise to those who fell in the battle between the Crescent

and the Cross. The Ramadán fast, in July, brought a temporary respite, but throughout the whole summer the British Movable Columns were kept constantly on the alert, and the troops had always to be ready to resist an advance. In August, Haji Sahib of Turangzai, a notorious anti-British Mullah, gathered several thousand men around him in the Ambela Pass, and prepared to invade British territory. The men he had assembled around him were not to be despised. The majority of them were Pathan hillmen, trained in fighting from boyhood. Scattered among them were a group of Hindu fanatics. Then there were fakirs of many kinds, reputed miracle workers, men of extraordinary austerity—fierce, lean, keen religionists, who showed the marks on their own bodies of the tortures they had delighted to inflict on themselves to prove the sincerity of their faith. Every factor that in previous generations had made the Mohammedans so tremendous a force in warfare in semi-civilised lands was embodied here. Each man was taught that Heaven itself would help him in the fight, that angels would come to strengthen his arm, and that Paradise was his.

The British authorities knew better than to underestimate the menace of a tribal Jehad. Nineteen years before in this very region a fakir, known as the Mad Bareheaded Mullah, had stirred up the country-side to revolt. Coming from Kabul he had gone among the tribes, assuring them that he was sent from Heaven to tear the infidel out of the hills and hurl him and his armies back into the plains of the Punjaub. He declared that he was backed by untold hosts of horsemen and footmen concealed in the hills, men fed with food from Heaven. He did not want other men to assist him, he declared. That was not necessary. He himself could go single-handed, if need be, against the Infidel, for even though he went alone there would be armies of angels of Heaven on either side of him, making him invulnerable and invincible.

In scores of hillside villages he preached his message, and soon crowds of tribesmen rallied around him. He promised them plunder such as they had never dreamed of, loot in abundance from the stores of the British rulers, treasures on earth, and undying bliss after. He worked the people up to such a state that he brought about a great rising, in which the Mohmands fought against British forces with almost incredible fanaticism. Peasant boys with stones rushed against our fine Indian infantry; men with sticks tried to fight troops with modern rifles, confident that Heaven was with them. The whole country-side was ablaze, and after our troops had fought back the Mohmand advance it was necessary to organise a punitive expedition to sweep through their country to teach them our strength.

The Mad Mullah from Kabul

That was in 1896. There had been other trouble since then, and now Haji Sahib was doing the same work of stirring up the people against us as the bare-headed fakir had done a generation before.

On August 17th a hostile gathering of 3,000 or 4,000 tribesmen came down from the Ambela Pass towards Rustam. It was reported that another force was coming to support them. British troops at once pushed up to attack the Ambela Pass party before it was reinforced, and drove it back with great loss. The 91st Battery Royal Field Artillery came up during the course of the action after a forced march, its shells doing great execution. A brigade was now concentrated at this point, and wherever the tribesmen appeared it attacked them. In the latter part of August there were three fights between our troops and the tribesmen, and on each occasion the enemy was driven back into the hills, and the villages which had sheltered him were destroyed.

Enemy driven to the hills

A still more formidable gathering of hillmen under a fakir, known as the Sandaki Mullah, advanced down the left bank of the Swat River to invade the Lower Swat. This force was reported to be between 17,000 and 20,000 strong. The Malakand Movable Column took up a position on the left bank of the river on a ridge known as the Landakai Ridge, which gave them a great advantage of position in meeting the hostile advance. The tribesmen attacked our outposts in strong force on the evening of August 28th and 29th, but were driven off. Next day the Malakand Column moved out, destroyed a fort, and shelled several villages held by the enemy. The tribesmen scattered, and for the time their offensive was broken

The fanatics were at work on the Mohmand border, and the reports from here were so threatening that two brigades and a mobile column were ordered up to Shabkadar with a mounted column and divisional artillery, while a mobile column was formed at Mardan and subsequently moved to Abazai. Other troops were held in readiness to proceed to the Mohmand front if necessary. There had been various large tribal gatherings in the Mohmand country, and early in September considerable numbers of the men moved down to the foot-hills and prepared sangars in the vicinity of Hafiz Kor. The movements of these tribesmen were carefully watched, but for the moment they were left alone, our aim being to permit them to come down from the mountains on to the plains where our troops could deal with them. The enemy grew in numbers until by the evening of September 4th they totalled fully 10,000. Then Major-General F. Campbell, commanding the British troops, determined to attack. The battle that followed was the biggest that had taken place on the North-West

GALLANT SIKHS WHO GATHERED LAURELS IN FRANCE.

The Sikhs have always been famous as warriors. The men shown here, returning from the trenches to their billets in France, were the company of the 15th Ludhiana Sikhs commanded by Lieutenant John G. Smyth, who won the Victoria Cross at Festubert, May 17th, 1915.

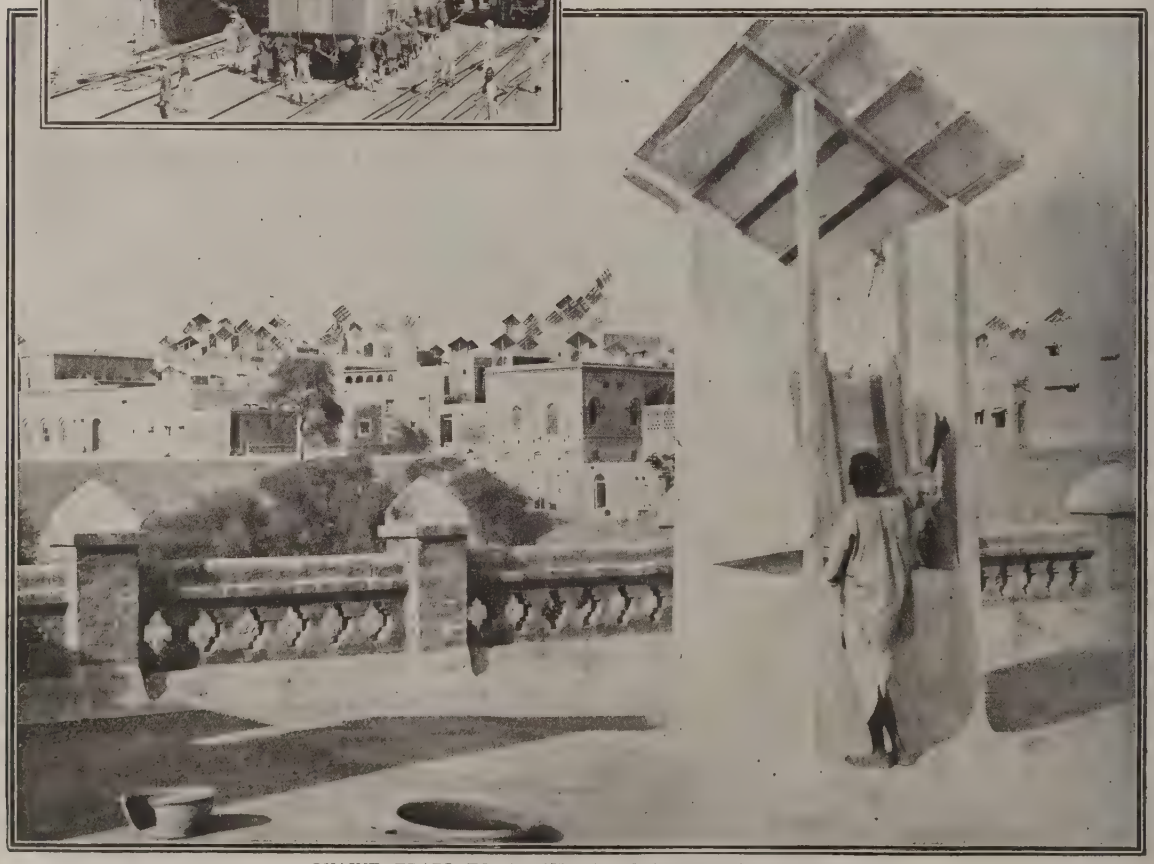
Frontier since 1897. Some of the British and Indian troops that took part in the engagement had reached their positions after record journeys. A British and Indian force covered a thirty-four mile march to Abazai, where the revolting tribes were reported in strong force, in ten marching hours, travelling at night and going over roads described by one officer who took part in the fight as "the most appalling I have ever seen." The dust was two feet deep. "You can imagine what this was like with cavalry on ahead of us and all our transport. I shall never forget the march as long as I live, nor will the others, and added to the dust was the frightful stifling heat. Not a man fell out, which is an extraordinary performance, especially as the last nine miles from Zeam to Abazai were done in the hottest part of the day—12 to 3 p.m.—arriving at Abazai, the hottest and most mosquito and sandfly-ridden place on the frontier. The weary soldiers were bitten all night."

Those troops were then ordered on to Matta, a levy post on the Shabkadar-Abazai road, where our outposts had already been heavily engaged and had been driven in, Mohmands estimated at 3,000 strong having practically surrounded them.

The troops who were engaged in this fighting with the Mohmands and their neighbours included many notable corps—the famous 21st (Empress of India's) Lancers, Skinner's Horse, Lumsden's Guides, Watson's Horse, the 14th Lancers, the Liverpool Regiment, the Royal Sussex Regiment, the North Staffordshires, and the Durham Light Infantry, besides Punjabis, Rajputs, Gurkhas, the Guides, the Sikhs, and the Dogras. Nor must we forget the Royal Artillery, who did very notable work.

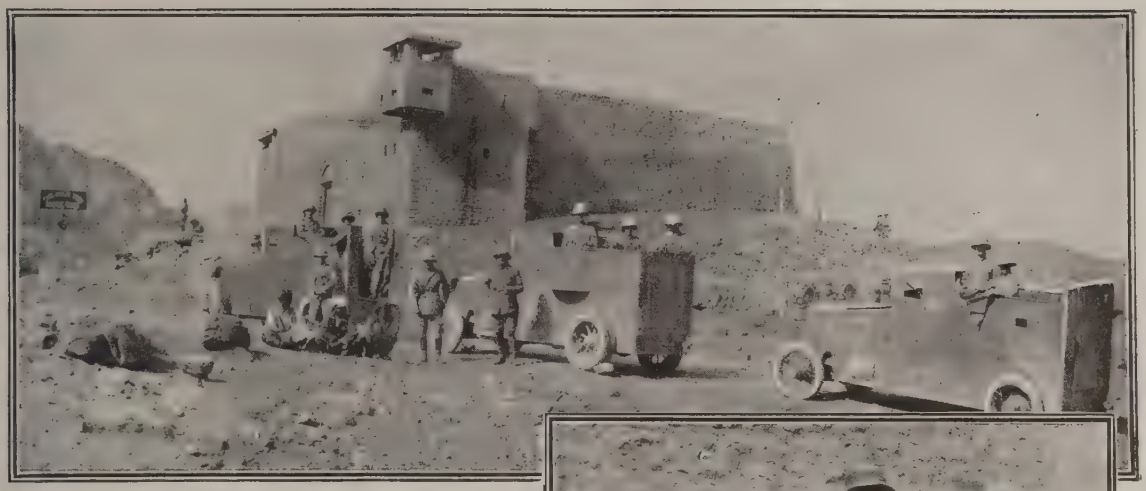
Famous corps fighting Mohmands

On the morning of September 5th the tribesmen, who had come down from the hills by the Kuhn Pass, advanced right in the open nearly down to the Shabkadar village. As they approached, the British howitzers and field-guns opened on them, but the tribesmen kept on, threatening our left. Thereupon two squadrons of the 21st Lancers, one squadron of the 14th Lancers, and one squadron of a mounted battery of the Royal Horse Artillery moved



QUAINT TRAPS TO CATCH THE WANDERING BREEZE.

Hyderabad has the reputation of being the hottest city in India. The houses are fitted with air-shafts and ventilators, not unlike the funnels of a ship, and these give a fantastic, decorative appearance to the roof-lines of the famous capital of the Nizam's dominions. Above: A steamer unloading at the harbour of Karachi, the chief seaport of Sind, in the North-West Provinces of India.



ON THE SUMMIT OF THE PASS.
View of Kohat Fort, commanding the Kohat Pass, on the North-West Frontier of India. Armoured cars did excellent service against the recalcitrant Mohmands.

LOYAL DEFENDERS OF THE BRITISH RAJ.
A group of tribesmen from Kohat Fort who did not revolt. The taller of the two British officers is Captain Clifton, who was in charge of the armoured cars.

out to meet them. Our troops moved out around Shabkadar village and occupied some foot-hills to the north. The Mohmands, ignoring the Indian Cavalry, concentrated their fire upon the British Lancers. The gallant 21st were eager to distinguish themselves, for it was then within two days of the anniversary of their great charge at Omdurman in 1898. The Mohmands were entrenched in their sangars and in the nullahs (deep, dry ditches) along the foot of the hills. The 21st Lancers charged full against a large force, went through them, and turned straight again into a dense mass of Mohmands. At one point they were charging over what they thought to be level ground when a blind nullah intervened. To quote the description of one soldier of the Royal Sussex Regiment: "The 21st Lancers charged what they thought to be a small belt, but came suddenly on a big ditch, and a lot of horses and men fell in. Then out of the grass on the other side about 3,000 Mohmands came. The only thing they could do was to charge. They went right through them, turned round, and charged back again. One chap, about nineteen years old, just out from England, killed five with his lance, leaving it sticking in the fifth one, and two more with his sword."

21st Lancers in glorious charge

The British cavalry came out splendidly. Emerging from the bed of the Minchi-Abazai Canal they came under very heavy fire at close range. They charged the enemy a third time, and in this charge, which really decided the battle, they suffered heavily. Many stories of the fighting were afterwards told by the survivors. Lieut.-Colonel Scriven led his squadron in the charge, and did great execution with his sword until his horse was shot and fell upon him. Two of his lance-corporals assisted him to his feet. Shortly afterwards he was shot through the heart and fell, shouting, "Go on, lads. I'm done." Two men guarded his body until they were rescued. Captain Anderson who had been severely wounded, fought desperately with his revolver until he was shot dead. Lieut. Thompson was so severely wounded that he died in the evening. Of five officers who rode in the charge three were killed and one wounded, the adjutant alone coming out unhurt. He, however, had his horse shot from under him, and was only fifty yards from the enemy when he was rescued by a shoeing-smith. One sergeant was unhorsed, and after killing two natives, grappled with a third huge native on the ground. Each man had his hand at the other's throat, when another sergeant came up and shot the native. At the same moment he himself was shot and severely wounded.

All the troops engaged did well. The Sussex and the Staffordshires were engaged in fierce hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy. But it was undoubtedly the charges of the Lancers that saved the day. Their tremendous courage and irresistible élan cowed for the moment even the fanaticism of the Mohammedan tribesmen. After some hours of fighting the Mohmands broke and the cavalry pursued them to the hills.

Although the Mohmands and their neighbours were thus repulsed, they were still not wholly broken. The Mullahs made fresh efforts to stir them up, and early in October some 9,000 men again gathered in the neighbourhood of Hafiz Kor.

The British forces under Major-General Campbell, which had been strengthened by the addition of another brigade, took the offensive against them. The enemy fought well and offered strong opposition, but in the end was defeated. This occasion was especially notable because armoured cars were used for the first time in actual fighting in India, and proved of great value. They were exceedingly successful both in reconnaissance work and in covering some of the movements of our cavalry. This fight practically brought the unrest among the Mohmands to an end.

Armoured cars in action

In October there was an outbreak in Swat, when 3,000 Bajauris advanced towards Chakdara to stir up the troops of Dir and Swat to attack the fort there. Lieut.-Colonel C. C. Luard, of the Durham Light Infantry, who was then temporarily in command of the Malakand Movable Column, decided to attack the enemy. He did so with the

utmost vigour. He drove them back, pursued them, captured a standard, and gave them a lesson which evidently went right to their hearts, for months afterwards it was officially reported that there had been no further gathering of the tribes on that border.

There were some more minor troubles along the frontier, but little, if any, more than would have happened at ordinary times. In Baluchistan one chief looted the treasury of the Khan of Kalat, and it was feared that the trouble might spread, but a column visited the district, and things rapidly settled down. There was an attempt to raise a Jehad among the Black Mountain tribes in the summer of 1915, but it came to nothing. Peace was maintained on the British side of the border of the Shan States, but the French experienced some trouble on their side. Their post at Samenna was attacked and looted by a strong band of Chinese. Troops were hurried to the scene. The marauders were intercepted, and two hundred killed in action. Another band of considerable strength had also to be broken up. But these disturbances were really due not so much to the European War as to the fact that a large number of disbanded Chinese soldiers, with no money and no means of returning to their homes, had become brigands and were ready for any trouble.

It is difficult to convey to readers unacquainted with life in Northern India any idea of the great hardships gladly endured by the British troops in the frontier campaigns during the war. Young British soldiers found themselves exposed to great variations of climate, to tremendous heat, to nights of bitter cold, to shortage of supplies, and to physical efforts of the most exhausting type. Thrown into mountain country, pitted against tribesmen of magnificent physique, who were fighting on their own territory and accustomed to mountain war, with little public appreciation and with the knowledge that their own countrymen knew little of what they did, they fought their lonely fight with a magnificent endurance that was the admiration of all who knew of them. Some idea of the physical trials of our troops was obtained by the British public by the report of one ghastly journey of troops moving from Karachi to Peshawar in June, 1916. They had to travel through one of the hottest regions in India, where the shade temperature is constantly above 120 degrees. A large number of the men collapsed, and nineteen deaths were officially reported. In this case the great strain on the men was accentuated by amazing official neglect, a neglect for which three high officers were subsequently dismissed from their posts. Such neglect was exceptional, but severities of heat and biting cold almost undreamed of in England were, time and again, the inevitable lot of the soldiers who so bravely kept the peace for Britain on the Indian Frontier.

Privations of heat and cold

WHERE AND WHY HELMETS SUPERSEDED THE TURBAN.

Masked in anticipation of a gas attack, these Indians on the western front would have been indistinguishable from their white brothers-in-arms but for the turbans which a few of the men left uncovered by the protecting hood. Only the iniquitous devices of Teuton Kultur could have availed to persuade the Indian to hide the distinctive head-dress of Oriental civilisation. Above: Indian natives making roofs of mud, after their immemorial practice, for the transport sheds of the most modern branch of armies, the Royal Flying Corps, on service in India.

NATIVES ON LUALABA BANK

CHAPTER CXXIX.

WATCHING NAVAL EXPEDITION

GENERAL SMUTS' GREAT CAMPAIGN IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

I.—To the Capture of the Usambara Railway.

By Robert Machray.

German East Africa "the Jewel of all Germany's Foreign Possessions"—Geographical and Historical Survey—The Treaty of 1890 and the Creation of German East Africa—Opening of the Campaign with the British Bombardment of Dar-es-Salaam, August 13th, 1914—German Successes at Tanga and Jasin—British Occupation of Mafia and Complete Blockade of the Coast—Indecisive Fighting During the Summer Campaign of 1915—Lieut.-General Smuts Appointed to the Supreme Command—The General Military Situation on his Arrival at Mombasa, February 19th, 1916—Magnificent Preliminary Work Done by Major-General Tighe Recognised—General Smuts Decides to Occupy the Kilimanjaro District Before the Rains—The 1st Division under General Stewart Advances from Longido—The 2nd Division under Major-General Tighe Bombards Salaita—General Van Deventer's Column Occupies Taveta—The Fight for Latema Nek—The Advance on Kahe—General Van Deventer Crosses the Pangani River and Occupies Kahe Hill and Kahe Station—General Sheppard's Fight at the Soko-Nassai River—The Conquest of the Kilimanjaro-Meru Area Completed, March 21st, 1916—General Van Deventer's Rapid Advance Along the Central Railway—General Smuts' Advance Along the Usambara Railway—Capture of Mombo—Capture of the Usambara Highlands—Capture of Handeni—Defeat of the Enemy at the Lukigura River—General Smuts Announces that he has Effective Possession of the Entire Usambara Railway, July 21st, 1916.

EARLY in the spring of 1916 the course of the war brought it about that the territory known as German East Africa was the last colony that remained to Germany, not only out of her once immense and potentially magnificent African empire, but in the whole world. And it was just at that time that the Allies, with General Smuts in command of their principal forces—which were British—began, after previous reverses under other leaders, their sustained and successful campaign for the conquest of this most important area.

In this case the special tragedy for Germany was that as this was her last colony, so also was it her largest and best. To quote the words of a prominent German writer, who was well acquainted with it: "German East Africa was the jewel of all her foreign possessions," or, to vary the metaphor, it was like a darling son, for whom nothing was too good, and Germany complacently stated that by comparison the neighbouring East African protectorates on the north appeared to be treated by Great Britain as if they were unwanted and unwelcome step-children. Upon her favourite Germany poured out money without stint. All that the patient but prodigious skill of her administrators could accomplish had been done for it without a grudge.

COMMANDER G. B. SPICER-SIMSON, R.N.
The officer in charge of the motor-boats' expedition to Lake Tanganyika, an account of which romantic episode will be found on page 180.

Here in this tropical semi-savage land, if nowhere else on the globe, the Germans displayed a real genius for colonisation, evincing the keenest intelligence alike in the development of its resources and in their dealings with its native population. A series of able officials had given, in the thorough German fashion, the closest study to its problems, and had sedulously tried all manner of experiments to ascertain its agricultural, commercial, and other possibilities. Numerous plantations had been started in suitable localities and many industries organised throughout the country. Cities and towns of characteristic German solidity had been built, harbours made and railways and roads of a permanent nature constructed. In a word, nothing was left undone to open up the entire region and put it on a prosperous basis. The Germans, moreover, had managed, though not without occasional grave failures, to conciliate and even make friendly the bulk of the natives. In a large measure they had put down slavery and brigandage.

When the war broke out, German East Africa was unquestionably a great and a growing success. One of the little ironies to which that fateful

NAVAL EXPEDITION'S OVERLAND TRIP THROUGH AFRICA TO LAKE TANGANYIKA. Armed motor-boats were conveyed from Cape Town to Lake Tanganyika, travelling 2,800 miles overland. Roads and bridges had to be made for their passage through the bush. Above: Two of the boats on the lake preparing for action.

August of 1914 gave grim point was that the Germans had planned and advertised, far and wide, a large exhibition, which was to be held in that very month at Dar-es-Salaam, its capital, to exhibit its products, announce its facilities for settlement, and draw attention to it generally as a shining example of the power, adaptability, and persuasiveness of German Kultur.

Without a shadow of doubt Germany firmly believed that her possession of this area would endure for ever more, and she had dreamed brilliant dreams of its future—to give her her due, she had gone some way towards their realisation by governing it well. But when she invaded Belgium, and consequently Great Britain declared war upon her, the doom of her colonial empire immediately came into sight, and its passing into other hands became inevitable.

Geography and inhabitants

Germany had been in undisputed occupation of the country for about a quarter of a century. She obtained, when Africa was divided up among the Great Powers of Europe, a considerable share of the continent, both west and east. Part of the plunder was the spacious territory subsequently known as German East Africa. Bounded on the north by British East Africa, on the south by British Nyasaland and Portuguese Mozambique, on the east by the Indian Ocean, and on the west by the line of the great lakes, Nyasa and Tanganyika, and the small lake of Kivu, it was over 384,000 square miles in extent, or twice the size of Germany herself. It was upwards of 60,000 square miles bigger than German South-West Africa, the colony whose forces had surrendered unconditionally to General Botha on July 9th, 1915. Its native black population was seven and a half millions, and several of the tribes were of a superior type, some of them being half-civilised; there were, and had long been, many Arabs in the country, and their influence on it was marked.

Over this vast region Germany first flew her flag in 1890, but it should not be forgotten that this region was part of an enormous tract of land, usually and compendiously described as East Africa, which had had an interesting history long before her traders ever touched its coast. There can be little doubt that the Phœnicians and their allies in Southern Arabia sent their questing ships thither more than two thousand years ago, and it is on record that about the commencement of the Christian era the Arabs had posts and stations on the island of Zanzibar and the mainland behind it.

Coming to later dates, both Arabs and Persians in the twelfth century were settled at Zanzibar, Mombasa, and Kilwa. At the last-named place, which was situated in what very much later was called German East Africa, an Arab State, with all the characteristic features of Arab civilisation, flourished for a lengthy period. All along the coast from Somaliland southwards the Arabs held sway over the blacks, and, favoured by the monsoon, despatched gold, ivory, and other merchandise to India and the East—slaves, too, where there was a demand for them. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Portuguese, the daring navigators of their day, arrived upon the scene and, ousting its Arab sultan, made Kilwa their headquarters. But in their turn they were deprived of a large share of their conquests by fresh incursions of Arabs from Asia, and afterwards by hordes of negro warriors—the Jagas, from the Congo—who laid Kilwa in ruins. The Portuguese were pressed back to the south side of the Rovuma River, which, however, remained their northern boundary; above it the Arabs gradually regained all the ground they had lost to the blacks.

Ancient Arab influence

It was not till the beginning of the nineteenth century that the British paid any particular attention to East Africa. By that time they occupied the Cape of Good Hope, and they were bent on frustrating certain schemes of the French, who had garrisons in Madagascar, and then owned Mauritius. The British Government fitted out an expedition which, in 1804, sailed round the Cape and up the east coast of Africa for the purpose of entering into diplomatic relations with its Arab rulers. Later, an important British consulate was established at Zanzibar. At that period Zanzibar and all the other Arab possessions

in East Africa were governed from Muscat, the capital of Oman, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and the British were on the most friendly terms with its sultan. In those days everything went well for Great Britain in these regions.

Very little then was known to the outside world of what lay behind the coast, and one of the most fascinating chapters of all history was that which narrated the adventures and experiences of the explorers who, from about the middle of last century, penetrated into the interior. It started in humble, evangelical fashion with the opening of missions at Zanzibar and on the littoral of the mainland, by representatives of the Church Missionary Society of England, and they, curiously enough, were men of German birth. But they heard from the Arabs amazing and well-nigh incredible tales of gigantic snow mountains far within that torrid land, and of enormous lakes hundreds of miles to the west. Fired by what they had been told, two of these missionaries, Krapf and Rebmann, natives of Würtemberg, travelled inland, and were rewarded by the discovery of the majestic mass of Kilimanjaro, one of the greatest mountains in the world and, for the most part, a wonderland of beauty. Their accounts of what they had seen inspired other explorers, among them Burton and Speke, the latter of whom discovered Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza. The remaining portion of the chapter was glorious with the names of Livingstone, Stanley, and Commander Cameron. In this absorbing story British explorers easily came first, but French and German travellers also played some part in it.

A wonderland of beauty

In the second half of the nineteenth century Great Britain was fortunate in having a really remarkable man as Consul-General at Zanzibar—Sir John Kirk, G.C.M.G. Possessed of extraordinary political grasp and magnetic in personality, Sir John, who had served as surgeon in the Crimea, and had accompanied Livingstone on his Zambesi expedition, spent over twenty years in East Africa. Known and trusted by the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Arab chiefs, who governed themselves by his advice, he became the virtual ruler of the whole immense area from Somaliland down to the territory of the Portuguese. His main preoccupation was the extension and consolidation of British influence, and next to it was the suppression of the slave trade. To a large extent he was successful in attaining both objects. He induced the Sultan of Zanzibar to prohibit the traffic in slaves, but in the purely political field he encountered the opposition of France, who had established a rival consulate at Zanzibar; and with her there were treaties in existence which tied his hands.

Great Britain and France, in the period of the Second Empire, had agreed, in order to avoid a conflict, that neither of them would bring under her control politically the Muscat territories in East Africa or the lands which belonged to the Sultanate of Zanzibar. There was, however a good deal of competition between the two Powers, but no disturbance of the existing *status quo* took place, and the Arabs retained their possessions. Then another Power stepped in, and soon brought about a radical change in the situation. That Power was Germany, eager for her "place in the sun," and not too particular as to the means of getting it.

Arabs retain their independence

THE LONG ARM OF THE NAVY PENETRATES INTO REMOTE AFRICA.

A traction-engine taking a motor-boat across one of the rivers encountered on the way. Above: Removing a boat and its crew from the railway truck at the point on the line whence the naval expedition began its long trek through the bush.

German traders appeared at Zanzibar as far back as 1846, but it was not till some years after the unification of Germany was accomplished that Kaiser Wilhelm II. and his Ministers entered on that policy of expansion which aimed at the establishment of a great German colonial empire. All the globe had been pretty thoroughly parcelled out with the exception of Africa, and it was natural, no doubt, that Germany should turn her attention to the opportunities presented by that continent. A move was made in 1884 by sending Dr. Karl Peters to East Africa, where, according to the German version, he acquired some treaty rights from the native chiefs, and in the following year the German Government gave him and his associates in this enterprise an "Imperial Charter of Protection." In 1885 Germany declared a protectorate over the independent State of Witu. In 1886 Great Britain and Germany came to an understanding that the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions included Zanzibar, Pemba, and the Lamu archipelago, in addition to a ten-mile belt along the coast from Tungi Bay to Kipimi and some northern towns—much less, in fact, than these Zanzibar princes had claimed.

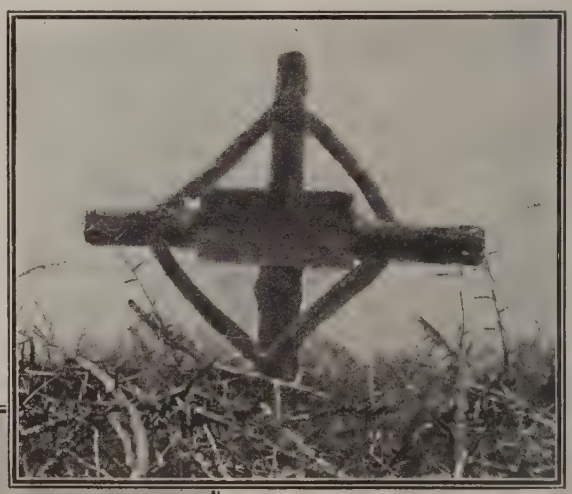
Meanwhile the British, who scarcely had made as good use of their chances in East Africa as they might have done, had formed a chartered company, the British East African Association, to offset the activities of Dr. Peters' company and counteract German intrigue, which was incessant all over the country. In 1887 the Sultan of Zanzibar granted a lease of his mainland possessions between the Umba River and Kipimi to the British company, but in the succeeding year he made similar concessions to its German rival with respect to his territories south of the Umba. As was to be expected, there was much jealousy and considerable friction between the British and the Germans, and with a view to terminating this unsatisfactory state of things, a treaty was signed on July 1st, 1890, by Great Britain and Germany, to which France was also a subscriber.

Rise of German East Africa

This treaty created "German East Africa." By its terms Germany withdrew from Witu, and resigned her rights, which more properly might have been designated pretensions, to other lands north of her new colony, but now she received its definite cession. (It may be recalled that Heligoland was included in the bargain.) Great Britain established a protectorate over Zanzibar and Pemba and the regions north of the new German zone up to Somaliland, reaching westward from Mombasa as far inland as Uganda. By the treaty Germany recognised this British sphere. France obtained recognition of her claims to Madagascar, the Sahara, and the Nigerian Sudan. Great Britain afterwards organised three protectorates in the area assigned to her—the East African Protectorate which included Witu, the Uganda Protectorate, and the Zanzibar Protectorate. The Governor of the East African Protectorate was High Commissioner for Zanzibar, but in other respects their administrations were separate and distinct.

Situated on the island of the same name, the city of Zanzibar was by far the greatest town, and its harbour was much the best in East Africa. Nothing in the country given over to Germany was of anything like the same immediate importance or value, and there was no little discontent among the colonial party in Berlin and Hamburg when the details of the treaty were published. But the Germans at once went to work to find other ports, and discovered them in Tanga and Dar-es-Salaam. From the former, in 1891, they set about building a railway, known as the Usambara Railway, into the Usambara Highlands and on to Kilimanjaro, and from the latter they subsequently constructed a line right across the whole breadth of their territory to Lake Tanganyika, its terminus being Ujiji where, in 1871, occurred the strikingly dramatic meeting between Livingstone and Stanley. At the outset of the war the Usambara Railway from Tanga stretched as far west as Moshi, a distance of over two hundred miles from the coast, while that called the Central Railway,

Enemy competition and enterprise



IN MEMORIAM.

The cross amid the thorny vegetation of an East African battlefield. The lonely grave of Lieut. W. T. Dartnell, V.C., 25th Royal Fusiliers ("Frontiersmen"), who fell in action in September, 1915.

THE CEMETERY BEYOND THE HILLS.

Graves of British patriots who fell in the service of the Empire fighting the Germans in Equatorial Africa. Each grave was marked out with white stones, and inscriptions appeared on every cross.

running from Dar-es-Salaam to Ujiji, which was only completed in February, 1914, was seven hundred and eighty miles in length. These ports and railways were what might accurately be termed the vitals of German East Africa, and it was certain that if the Germans lost them to a vigorous enemy, no long time would pass before there would be an end of their power in this territory.

Although Germany had set such store by this her premier colony, settlement had gone into it very slowly. It was estimated that

After hours of marching through East African desert and bush, a British column has discovered a water-hole, the only one within a radius of fifty miles. This illustration, reminiscent of a prairie scene, shows some of the men and mules refreshing themselves before advancing farther.

So overjoyed were the troops at their timely find that they drove their tired and dusty steeds through the whole extent of the pool. One of the difficulties in the way of concentrating a large force at Mbuyuni was the absence of water in this district.

THE POOL IN THE DESERT: BRITISH EAST AFRICAN TROOPS STRIKE THE ONLY SPRING WITHIN A RADIUS OF FIFTY MILES.

NATIVE TROOPS ENTRAINING FOR THE FRONT.
The enemy made numerous attempts to blow up more than one of our railways, but these were all frustrated.

in 1913 its entire white population was under six thousand, or only about a third of the white population of German South-West Africa. All its males of military age, however, were trained soldiers, and when the war began their numbers were increased by the arrival of German reservists in the East until they mustered a strength of about 3,000 men. They had plenty of machine-guns, rifles, and other munitions. Further, they were supported by several battalions of askaris—blacks, partly from the Sudan and partly from their own Masai and Manyumwezi tribesmen—to the number of six or seven thousand men, who, fortified by German discipline, and well armed and well led, were excellent fighting material, particularly in such a tropical country. After the war had started the Germans recruited thousands more of the natives.

German Reservists for the East

Apparently it had never entered into the mind of Germany that she might be forced to relinquish her East African domain, which she prized so highly. She was well aware that the British forces in the protectorate were so insignificant as to be practically negligible, and calculating that the war would soon be over, she felt no great concern for its fate. On the contrary, it was her intention to carry hostilities into the British territorities, which were unprepared for defence or attack, and on the north offered in the Uganda Railway, running from Mombasa to Lake Victoria Nyanza, a conspicuous mark for hostile operations. This line lay almost parallel with the German frontier, the distance between them varying from fifty to a hundred miles, and their Usambara Railway from Tanga to Moshi gave the Germans a quick and easy means of concentrating troops against it. The plans of Germany included an assault on it by land, with the cruiser Königsberg (sister ship to the Emden) co-operating from the sea, by the bombardment of Mombasa, as well as invasions from her southern boundary of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

RESERVE WATER SUPPLY TANKS.
General Smuts' forces required several hundred thousand gallons of water daily. The watering arrangements were so carefully worked out that not a single hitch occurred.

In point of fact, when war was declared the British in East Africa were in a serious position. They were able to put into the field hardly more than a thousand men during the first month of the struggle. In British East Africa and Uganda they had the 3rd and 4th Battalions of the King's African Rifles, but these were not in full strength, and at the moment the majority of their effectives were in the north of the protectorates and in Jubaland, where, as luck would have it, a punitive expedition was going on against the Somalis. But the troops were immediately recalled, and some five hundred King's African Rifles concentrated. About two hundred police defended the railway. Two corps of volunteers, the East African Mounted Rifles and the East African Regiment, were raised among the white settlers, and the existing Uganda Railway Volunteers were called out for the

NATIVE CARRIERS ON THE TREK WITH MACHINE-GUNS.
In many parts of the area of General Smuts' operations there were no roads at all, and native porters exclusively had to be relied on.

protection of the bridges on the line. The total number of men in these three forces was perhaps five hundred, the Mounted Rifles mustering four-fifths of that figure.

As regards quality, the King's African Rifles were splendid fighting men, and, want of training excepted, the same could be said of the Mounted Rifles, who were composed of young British settlers, in whom the sporting instinct was strong, and of Boers from Uasin Gishu, whose deadly skill in shooting was an important asset. But it was obvious that the whole British East African Army was far outweighted by the German, which, however, failed to take full advantage of its opportunity in the north during August, 1914. The Germans attacked the British in the south at Karonga, on Lake Nyasa, and in the west at Abercorn, near Lake Tanganyika, but gained little or nothing by these attempts; indeed, in this area the British held or repulsed the enemy. If the Germans had at once advanced in force on the Uganda Railway, they in all probability would have achieved a striking success. Beyond seizing Taveta, and Vanga, on the coast south of Mombasa, they allowed August to elapse, and it was not till the close of the first week in September that serious operations against the railway were begun. In East Africa the campaign of the Allies commenced on August 13th with the bombardment of Dar-es-Salaam, the German capital, by a British cruiser. The port was shelled, landing-parties were sent into the harbour, and a new wireless installation was destroyed. The German ships were dismantled, and the Möwe, a survey ship of six hundred and fifty tons, together with a floating dock, was sunk. The British Tars performed very thoroughly the work they were given to do. On the same day, in the far south-west, the British steamer Gwendolen took by surprise the German steamer Von Wissmann, named after a really great German administrator of the colony, and captured her captain and crew—this was near Sphinxhaven, on the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa.

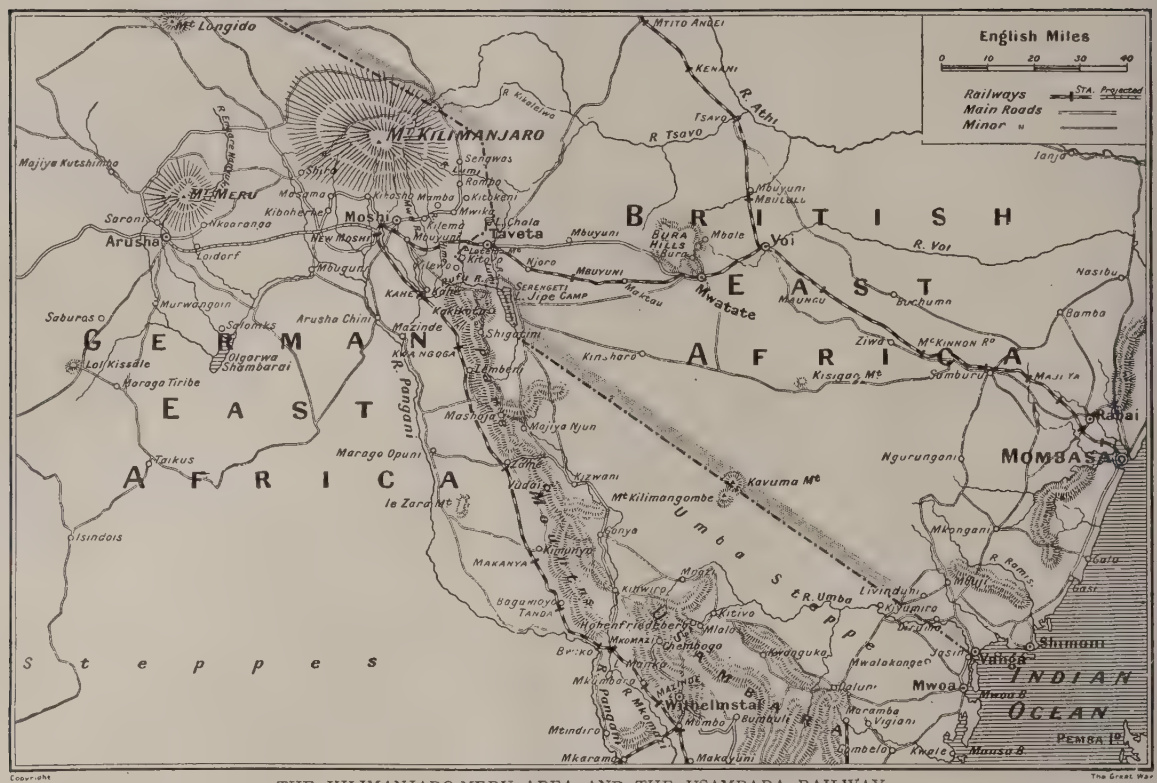
NEW LINE LAID THROUGH JUNGLE TO KAHE.
The work of our railway engineers was particularly fine. At one point they actually laid a mile of line a day through virgin jungle.

August passed, and on September 3rd reinforcements from India reached the small British force in the north. They consisted of the 29th Punjabis, a battalion of Imperial Service troops, a battery of Calcutta Volunteer Artillery, some maxims, and a mountain battery. With them was Brigadier-General J. M. Stewart, and he assumed command of the entire British forces. Even thus strengthened, the British in the north were still hardly in sufficient numbers effectively to resist the Germans if they attacked in any decided strength, but, thanks to German inactivity in August, they were now in a much better position. The country there, which, generally, is a waterless desert covered with dense and thorny scrub, was also in their favour so far as defence was concerned. On one occasion a party of Germans, who crossed the frontier with the design of blowing up the railway at Maungu, got lost, missed the water-holes, and were all captured.

Waterless desert land

MAGNIFICENT MASAI WARRIORS.
Scouts and guides of the Masai tribe, some of the tallest and finest natives of Africa.

NATIVE WARRIORS EMPLOYED AS SCOUTS AND GUIDES.
German askaris captured by British troops. Askari signifies a native of any African tribe who has been specially trained by Europeans for service as soldier-scouts.



THE KILIMANJARO-MERU AREA AND THE USAMBARA RAILWAY.

Detailed map showing the area covered by Lieutenant-General Smuts between February 12th, 1916, when he assumed command of H.M. Forces in East Africa, and April 30th, 1916, when he sent home his despatch announcing the capture of the Kilimanjaro-Meru district and his effective occupation of the entire Usambara Railway.

During September the enemy made several advances against the Uganda line, three of them being in some strength. In the first of these he was held and finally thrown back near the railway bridge over the Tsavo River by some companies of the King's African Rifles and a half battalion of the Punjabis. In the second some of the King's African Rifles, close to Lake Victoria Nyanza, drove him out of Kisii, which he had succeeded in occupying, and then, aided by the steamers Winifred and Kavirondo, forced him from Karungu on the lake itself, compelling him to fall back across the frontier. His third advance was the most dangerous, and its route was from Vanga up along the coast to Mombasa. It was with this expedition that the Königsberg was to act in combination.

According to schedule, the Königsberg was to bombard Mombasa, which stood on an island connected by a bridge with the mainland, and then capture it, the German land forces having meanwhile destroyed the bridge. But the schedule was not carried out, for the Königsberg was unable to appear at the appointed date—British sea-power saw to that. Nor, for that matter, were the German land forces up to time. They had been checked and held at Gasi by some of these redoubtable King's African Rifles, supported by an Arab company. The fighting was desperate. All the white officers were wounded, and the situation was saved by the courage and coolness of a native colour-sergeant of the Rifles, who took command, and headed the charge which routed the enemy. On October 2nd some Indian troops came up, and this at one time menacing advance definitely failed. Throughout October the Germans retained Taveta, some seventy miles from the line, and one or two other posts equally distant from it, but the British, considering the circumstances in which they were placed, had done very well, for they kept their railway from destruction or even damage, and gained time for the arrival of much-needed reinforcements.

Native sergeant saves the day

A second force from India reached the coast on November 1st, and, escorted by two gunboats, lay off Tanga next morning. It was commanded by Major-General Aitken, and consisted of the 95th and 101st Indian Regiments, together with the 63rd Palamcottah Light Infantry, the 61st King George's Own Pioneers, some detachments of Imperial Service troops, and two mountain batteries, besides one British battalion—the 1st Loyal North Lancashires. Tanga was summoned to surrender, but when the officer in charge asked for some hours' grace for the purpose of communicating with the Governor, who he said was absent, his request was granted. On the expiry of the time specified, an extension was given of some hours more for the same reason. It was a pretext of the rankest kind, for he employed the day in bringing up soldiers from the interior by the Usambara Railway and in increasing and strengthening the defences of the town.

Treacherous German armistice

In the evening the British landed one and a half battalions which, after advancing towards the town, were compelled to fall back to the shore. The rest of General Aitken's troops disembarked next day, and the attack was renewed on the 4th. After heavy fighting the British succeeded in reaching Tanga itself. Among the foes they had had to overcome on the way were swarms of infuriated bees. Hives of these insects had been hidden in the bush and along the paths, and concealed wires had been fastened to their lids, which were pulled off as the British came up, with the result that many of the soldiers were stung severely. From one man of the North Lancashires over a hundred stings were extracted. With great determination the North Lancashires forced an entrance into the town on the right, while the 101st Indian Regiment attacked with the bayonet on the left. But in the streets they came under so heavy a fire from the houses that they were unable to advance farther, and were compelled to retire to the shore and re-embark. Their losses were serious, being some eight hundred casualties, including one hundred and forty British officers and men. An attack on Longido, which the Germans had occupied, failed on the same day with considerable losses, but the enemy abandoned the place a fortnight later, and the British took possession of it again. In the third week of November the Germans

Under the broiling sun, along a plain devoid of vegetation, a British 4 in. gun is being towed into action by an erstwhile motor delivery van.

Troops of the Loyal North Lancashires on the march. The heat was so intense that the men discarded their tunics, working only in shorts and shirts.

Men of the King's African Rifles, which regiment took part in the attack on Latema Ridge, co-operating with the Rhodesians and Baluchis.

British 4 in. gun in action. To the left of the weapon is seen the brushwood shelter of the gunners.

ARTILLERY, LOYAL NORTH LANCASHIRES, AND KING'S AFRICAN RIFLES MOVE INTO ACTION.

A RELIC OF THE ELUSIVE KÖNIGSBERG.
Destruction of one of the German 4 in. guns which were dismounted for land warfare from the enemy cruiser Königsberg. It will be recalled that this ship sought refuge in the Rufigi River, and was subsequently destroyed by British monitors, July 4th, 1915.

invaded Uganda and captured Fort Kyaka, but were repulsed elsewhere in that protectorate.

January, 1915, saw another unfortunate affair for the British on the coast, up which the Germans, after their victory at Tanga, had advanced into the territory of the former. The invaders were checked and thrown back across the frontier, losing Jasin, twenty miles south of it. On the 20th of the month, however, the enemy, with a force of over 2,000 men, attacked this post and compelled its surrender next day. It had been held by three companies of Indian infantry, and they did not give in until all their ammunition was expended. Help, which was attempted from the north, was unable to reach them owing to the superior strength of the Germans. But they put up a splendid defence, and this was acknowledged by the enemy permitting the two British officers in command to retain their swords. About two hundred and forty men were made prisoners. Some twenty of the Kashmirs fought their way out of the place, and one of the King's African Rifles, a negro, succeeded in bringing his machine-gun into the British lines, humbly apologising for having had to leave its tripod behind.

Indians' splendid resistance

After the loss of Jasin the British retired from other outlying positions on the mainland of German East Africa—for a time. They, however, occupied Mafia, the island lying opposite the mouth of the Rufigi River, and on February 26th began a complete blockade of the whole coast, neutrals being allowed four days to clear. The Germans in the colony thus were entirely cut off from outside assistance, and British sea-power remaining supreme it was evident that, unless Germany was absolutely victorious in the other theatres of the war, German East Africa was now straitly and hopelessly besieged. In January, Dar-es-Salaam was bombarded a second time. In July the Königsberg, which for months past had been sheltering up the Rufigi, was destroyed by indirect fire from the monitors Mersey and Severn, directed by aeroplanes. But the Germans managed to preserve some of her guns, and these reappeared later in the field elsewhere.

At the end of April, Brigadier-General Tighe, with the rank of major-general, was given command of the British in East Africa. While there was much desultory fighting, the summer campaign of 1915 contained no incident of the highest importance. German attacks on the Uganda Railway were made repeatedly in the course of the year, but were uniformly unsuccessful On Lake Victoria Nyanza an expedition commanded by General J. M. Stewart, and consisting of detachments of the Loyal North Lancashires, the Legion of Frontiersmen (25th Royal Fusiliers), and King's African Rifles, defeated the enemy at Bukoba on June 25th. In the south of the country, four weeks previously, a naval force under Lieutenant-Commander Dennistoun, with field-artillery and some King's African Rifles, captured Sphinxhaven, a German town on Lake Nyasa. In June and July the Germans, in considerable strength, attacked Abercorn, a few miles south of Lake

Enemy defeated at Bukoba

THE RED CROSS IN CENTRAL AFRICA.
Hospital waggon crossing the Wiri Wiri River, East Africa. The arduous work of the Red Cross in Equatorial Africa can well be imagined. Surgeon-General G. D. Hunter, C.M.G., D.S.O., medical officers, and personnel were specially praised in General Smuts' despatch.

BRITISH PIONEERS OF CONQUEST IN A SYLVAN CORNER OF GERMAN EAST AFRICA.
British engineers rebuilding a bridge over a river for the advancing troops, a picturesque impression of the scenery typical of Germany's last colony. The enemy had spent lavish sums in the exploitation of this territory, and had governed the natives with an unusual intelligence and resource.

Tanganyika, but the British received reinforcements in time to beat them off. In this southern area the British forces were drawn mainly from the Northern Rhodesia Rifles and the Northern Rhodesia Police.

During the campaign the British suffered greatly from flies and other tropical pests, to say nothing of having to be on their guard against lions, hippopotami, and other wild beasts at all times. Malaria and such diseases as prey on a white man in a black man's land were prevalent. A British officer wrote home that it was the devil's own country, swarming with tsetse and every known form of insect, in addition to several varieties peculiar to itself of astonishing viciousness, and it also was subject to sleeping sickness and nine kinds of fever, each worse than the one before.

Towards the close of August the Germans retired from Lake Victoria Nyanza. Early in September they advanced in the south from Bismarckburg and New Langenburg against Rhodesia, but were held up. However, in November, on the north, they regained Longido, and took Serengeti, east of Taveta; in the following month they rushed the small post of Kasigau, seventy miles west of Mombasa. They were again menacing the Uganda Railway.

Meanwhile, intense dissatisfaction had been expressed throughout Great Britain with regard to the failure of the British to achieve any vital success in East Africa. Questions were put in Parliament, and the newspapers urged the Government to bestir itself and display much greater energy in the operations in this quarter. Fresh troops were despatched, and in December the announcement was made of the appointment of the veteran General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien to the chief command. Particularly in South Africa, whose soldiers had returned from their triumphs in German South-West Africa, had there been much comment of an unfavourable character. It was proposed that South African troops should be sent to the scene of action, and with this, prior to the appointment of Smith-Dorrien, was coupled the suggestion that they and the other British forces should be led by General Smuts. General Botha's name also was mentioned in this connection, but he let it be understood that he considered his proper place now was in the Union itself, of which he was still Prime Minister. A strong recruiting campaign was organised in South Africa, and enthusiastic meetings were held to promote it. The movement spread, and many thousands enlisted. It was not to be expected that the campaign against East Africa would attract as numerous recruits as that against South-West Africa, in which the interests of South Africa were much more direct. The number, however, was great. In a proclamation General Botha stated that 35,000 men had come forward. Several infantry and mounted regiments were despatched in the winter of 1915-16 to Mombasa.

WELL SINKING IN DESERT TERRITORY.
Boring for water at Serengeti Camp. The Serengeti Plains were practically a waterless desert.

General Smith-Dorrien duly set out for his new post, but he was attacked by pneumonia on the voyage. On February 10th the War Office stated he had retired because of ill-health, and that Lieutenant-General Smuts had been chosen to succeed him. The news that this distinguished South African soldier

(see Chapters LII. and LXVIII.) was to assume the chief command was hailed with delight both in the Union, which appreciated the compliment to itself, and throughout the British Empire generally. It was pointed out that the appointment was appropriate, as South Africa was contributing large contingents to the forces in East Africa, and that the general's special experience in war, together with his great powers of intellect and insight, could not but prove invaluable. He left Durban for the front immediately, and arrived at Mombasa on February 19th, where he was met by General Tighe, who had been conducting the operations against the Germans.

WHERE DANGER LURKED.
An enemy machine-gun hidden where the figure stands did much harm before it was located.

A GERMAN POM-POM POSITION IN THE SCRUB.
In German East Africa, as in Cameroon, the British troops had to advance against strongly entrenched positions cunningly concealed in jungle and scrub, and well supplied with machine-guns of various kinds.

Shortly before the appearance of General Smuts in East Africa, the British in the northern section had been successful in repulsing hostile attacks at several points, and the smart recapture of the Serengeti Camp and of Longido was auspicious in the last week of January. A prominent feature of the fighting in these affairs was the splendid work done by the naval armoured cars, which the natives called the "rhinoceroses that spit bullets," an armoured car in motion somewhat suggesting a charging rhino. Early in February the Germans evacuated Kasigau, having held it for about sixty days, but they still retained Taveta. And a British assault on Salaita on the 12th of that month failed, with about one hundred and seventy casualties. But the whole British position in that region had greatly improved. Large reinforcements from South Africa had arrived under trusted leaders, and additional troops had come from India in the shape of Pathans, Baluchis, Bhurtpores, and mountain batteries. The construction of a branch line from the Uganda Railway at Voi had been successfully completed, in spite of German attempts on it, as far as Njoro, past Mbuyuni, at which place arrangements had been made for concentrating a large force. A pipe-line was laid from the Bura Hills to Serengeti, which gave a daily supply of 40,000 gallons of water, the supreme desideratum in this desert area. The camp, however, needed 100,000 gallons a day, and the difference was made up by using railway and storage tanks. Transport also was seen to on a huge scale, between two and three thousand motor-lorries and waggons being accumulated, with plenty of petrol. A push forward was imminent.

Such was the situation on the north. In the west the British, with the assistance of the Belgians—who from the beginning of the war had done what they could from the Congo side—made themselves masters of Lake Tanganyika. This fine result was mainly the work of two armed motor-boats, with a complement of twenty-seven officers and men, which had been brought all the way from the Thames into the heart of Africa. Leaving England on June 12th, 1915, these vessels, which were named Mimi and Tou Tou, travelled out to Cape Town, and thence were conveyed by rail to Fungurumee, the terminus of the Rhodesian line nearest the lake, to whose waters they were hauled by traction-engines for many miles over roads hewn out from the bush by the axemen of the expedition—the whole in its way a record achievement. They promptly showed their power by forcing the surrender of the German steamer Kingani after an action which lasted only ten minutes. Her captain, who had belonged to the Königsberg, and her other German officers were all killed in this engagement. On February 9th, 1916, the gunboat Hedwig von Wissmann was destroyed by them with Belgian aid, and Lake Tanganyika was freed from the Germans.

The motor-boat miracle

General Tighe explained to General Smuts how matters stood in the northern area, and detailed the preparations he had made for an offensive, before the setting in of the rainy season, from Mbuyuni on the east and Longido on the west, against the Germans in the Kilimanjaro district. Smuts forthwith went with Tighe to see for himself the two proposed lines of advance, and this personal reconnaissance

[Elliott & Fry.

Major-General Sir Michael Joseph Tighe, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O.

Who did brilliant work in the earlier stages of the East African campaign.

To Kilimanjaro and victory: Troops of General Smuts' command crossing a river in East Africa.

Keeping its place in the Kilimanjaro column: 13-pounder gun treks on three wheels and a tree trunk.

General Smuts surveys an East African battlefield from his armoured car.

determined him to attempt the conquest of this portion of East Africa at once. So complete had been the organisation and preparation for the campaign by Tighe, that Smuts, who cordially recognised the excellence of the measures which had been taken, was able from the start to devote his whole energy to active operations. In a despatch, dated April 30th, 1916, to the War Office, General Smuts said he could not "speak too highly of all the preliminary work done by General Tighe," and handsomely admitted that the subsequent success of his own operations was to a great extent due to General Tighe's foresight and energy. Major-General Tighe, who was already C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., was promoted K.C.M.G. on March 29th, in acknowledgement of his services in East Africa.

General Tighe's great work

General Smuts arrived at headquarters at Nairobi on February 23rd, telegraphed to Lord Kitchener his belief that the occupation of the Kilimanjaro district before the rains was a feasible operation, and two days later received the sanction of the British Government to undertake it. No time was lost in putting matters into shape for the advance, and, early in March, Smuts' considerable force was strengthened by the coming of the 3rd South African Brigade, the 1st and 2nd Brigades being already on the ground. By March 4th all was ready. His army was disposed in two divisions—the 1st Division at Longido, and the 2nd Division at Mbuyuni and Serengeti, but from the former he had taken the 1st South African Mounted Brigade, which he added to the latter. The army artillery was with the 2nd Division. He now transferred his headquarters to the field at Mbuyuni, retaining with himself as a reserve force the 2nd South African Brigade, and one field and one howitzer battery.

Believing in having an adequate, and even more than a sufficient number of men, General Smuts led an army which decidedly outclassed that of the Germans, whose total strength in the Kilimanjaro district was estimated at 6,000 rifles, with sixteen guns and thirty-seven machine-guns. On the other hand, if Smuts was in superior numerical strength, the enemy had selected his defensive positions carefully and well, and further was protected by the difficult nature of the whole region. To attack him successfully meant having greatly preponderant strength, and the coming of the wet season, which was expected about the end of the month or the beginning of that following, necessitated the conducting of the operations with all possible celerity. It should be stated, however, that the term division, which in European armies connoted 12,000 effectives and upwards, did not imply anything like the same number of men in the army of General Smuts, his two divisions comprising in infantry and cavalry, besides details, only about 17,000 men at the outside. It was a small army, as armies went in the war. He had, in addition, to place many men along the frontier from the coast to Lake Victoria Nyanza to guard it from attacks, and his line of communications as he advanced absorbed many more.

General Tighe's plan had been to make a converging assault from Longido and Mbuyuni with the 1st and 2nd Divisions respectively on the Kilimanjaro area, Kahe, south of Moshi, on the Usambara Railway, being the objective. In the main General Smuts followed it, but altered certain dispositions to avoid expensive frontal assaults on entrenched enemy positions in the dense bush, and also to secure that rapidity of movement which was essential in the circumstances. This was why he transferred the 1st South African Brigade from the 1st Division at Longido to Mbuyuni. The strategy of the campaign was at once simple and sound. The 1st Division was to advance from Longido to the River Engare Nanjuki, across thirty-five miles of desert to the south, and thence between Meru and Kilimanjaro to Boma Jangombe, from which it was to march to Kahe and cut the Usambara Railway. The 2nd Division was to advance through the gap between Kilimanjaro and the Pare Mountains against the enemy's

Sound and simple strategy

CROSSING ONE OF THE LUMI RIVER'S LITTLE TRIBUTARY STREAMS.

British troops crossing a drift of the Lumi River on their way to Taveta. General Smuts paid special tribute to the work of the Supply and Transport Services in keeping open and available roads which often were mere clearings through jungle.

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The Great War

THE LAST OF HER LOST COLONIES: GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

main forces concentrated at Taveta, Salaita, and behind the Lumi River. The 1st Division was allowed a start of two days, so as to time up with the 2nd Division later when they would converge and come into touch with each other. The 2nd Division had the much harder task, and nobly did it accomplish it. The 1st Division was delayed, and did not join up with the 2nd till after the other had completed its work.

Occupation of Chala

Under General Stewart, the 1st Division began the advance from Longido on March 5th, and encountered only slight opposition, as the enemy in this quarter was taken by surprise. It crossed the thirty-five miles of waterless tract in safety, and on March 8th reached Geraragua. On the 9th it halted to let its supplies come up, and allow the general to reconnoitre. There was trouble in finding a road, and the ox transport was exhausted. On the 10th a track was found, and three days afterwards the division arrived at Boma Jangombe, the six companies of the Germans, who had resisted it but feebly, having retired before it to New Moshi on the 12th. When the division got up to New Moshi on the 14th, it discovered that the town was already in the possession of the 1st South African Mounted Brigade and the 3rd South African Infantry Brigade under General Van Deventer, who had started out with this column from Mbuyuni and Serengeti on the evening of March 7th for Chala, which lay to the north of Salaita and Taveta, and after heavy fighting, in company with the 2nd Division, had occupied the place on the 13th.

General Deventer's column and the 2nd Division took a prominent part in the keen and bitter struggle which was waged for the possession of the Kilimanjaro area.

Setting out from Mbuyuni and Serengeti on the evening of March 7th, General Deventer marched northwards all night, and a hard march through the thick bush in the ghostly darkness it was. Early next morning he reached the Lumi River at two points, one, with the 1st South African Mounted Brigade, at the south end of the Ziwani Swamp, and the other, with the 3rd South African Infantry Brigade, at the crossing of the stream east of Lake Chala. With swift success the ford was seized with insignificant loss; the rapid movements of Deventer surprised and confounded the enemy. Next, having made good the plateau lying between Chala and Rombo, he directed a converging advance on the position of the Germans at Chala, meanwhile sending out patrols to cut off retreat to the south. Thus threatened, the enemy fell back on his chief supports at Taveta, pursued by the South Africans, who, when they found their opponents in considerable force, halted before nightfall and retired to concentrate near Chala. During the afternoon a body of Germans to the number of several hundreds, which had been isolated from the rest by Deventer's unexpectedly sudden coup, attacked his outposts, but was easily repulsed.

While all this was going on, the 2nd Division, under General Tighe, was bombarding Salaita, and the men of its 1st East African Brigade advanced against the place, and dug themselves in to be ready for the assault next day, March 9th. In the meantime something important had occurred. At dawn Deventer with his mounted troops occupied the road between Taveta and Moshi, with the immediate result that the enemy evacuated the former town. Later in the day he gained possession of the bridge over the Lumi east of Taveta, and the Germans taken on both flanks, forthwith retired from Salaita. On the morning of March 10th Deventer entered Taveta, forestalling a strong German detachment which had evidently been despatched with the intention of reoccupying it. After a fight this German force was driven back towards the Latema-Reata Nek, west of the town. The 2nd Division marched to Taveta on the same day. The initial moves of Smuts' campaign here had been most successful in strategy and inexpensive in casualties, notwithstanding the difficult country. Within three days the Germans were forced from their strong position behind the Lumi, though it was covered by miles of jungle, and turned out of their entrenchments at Taveta and Salaita at slight cost in spite of these having been most carefully prepared.

Two days afterwards came the real struggle, and it was stubbornly contested, fortune swinging backwards and forwards for many hours from one side to the other.

ABOVE THE CLOUDS ON PARE HILLS, EAST AFRICA.
The district of Kilimanjaro as seen from an aeroplane flying over Ngulu Pass. The Pare Hills are seen in the immediate foreground.

The Germans had withdrawn to formidable positions in the Kitovo Hills, which were densely wooded and easily capable of defence. On the morning of the 11th the British made a general advance, in the course of which the 4th South African Horse and the 12th South African Infantry captured East Kitovo Hill after a brisk skirmish, while the mounted troops of the 2nd Division reconnoitred the Latema-Reata Nek, where they found the enemy in force. The 2nd South African Infantry Brigade, with artillery, was then being brought up from Chala to Taveta. General Smuts now determined to take the Latema-Reata Nek, and for this purpose sent forward, under General Malleson, a mixed force consisting of the 3rd King's African Rifles, the 130th Baluchis, the 2nd Rhodesians, Belfield's Scouts, the Mounted Infantry Company, and field and howitzer batteries, besides machine-guns, including those of the Loyal North Lancashires. About noon General Malleson advanced to attack the spur of Latema, which commanded the nek from the north, but made little

Advance on Latema-Reata Nek

ENEMY STRONGHOLD IN BRITISH POSSESSION.
Captured German fort on the Rhodesian border. A British force under Brigadier-General Northey operated at the southern extremity of Lake Tanganyika, and on June 8th, 1916, a column under Colonel Murray occupied Bismarckburg, the only German port of any consequence on this part of the lake.

REMINISCENT OF EUROPEAN TRENCH WARFARE.
British native soldiers on guard at a look-out station in East Africa. The edifice was constructed with wattles, mud, and stones, and a number of loopholes were left for rifle fire. On the right of the photograph a British officer, in shorts and a pith helmet, was also on observation duty.

headway. The enemy had plenty of cover, and from the bush-clad slopes of the hill maintained so severe a gun and rifle fire that the British were held up.

In the middle of the afternoon General Tighe took command of the operating force, as General Malleson had become seriously ill. About the same time the 2nd South African Infantry Brigade reached Taveta, and Smuts ordered its 5th Battalion forward to reinforce the fighting line. On its arrival Tighe assaulted the Latema Ridge with the Rhodesians and the King's African Rifles, the Baluchis co-operating on the right. This attack was, in the words of General Smuts, "gallantly pressed home, especially by the Rhodesians, but failed to make good the ridge." Those splendid warriors, the King's African Rifles, were hotly engaged, and had the misfortune to lose their leader, Lieut.-Colonel Graham, and several other officers. The Baluchis, heavily pressed, had to be strengthened with half of the 5th South Africans. At eight o'clock in the evening the 7th South African Infantry came up as a fresh reinforcement. Tighe now determined to try to carry the nek by sending up the two South African battalions with the bayonet by night.

Gallant but ineffective onslaught

Led by Lieut.-Colonel Byron, commanding the 5th South Africans, the 7th South Africans formed the first line, with the 5th in support. Advancing with great dash through the dense thorn bush, which was partially illuminated by a young moon, they steadily drove the enemy to the crest, where, however, they were checked. It was about midnight when Colonel Byron, with only twenty men, reached the nek within thirty yards of the Germans' main position. Some of his men had got lost in the scrub, and he had encountered fierce opposition. At one point the brigade-major, Major Mainprise, R.E., and twenty-two men had been killed by the concentrated fire of three machine-guns. Being unable to advance or even hold the ground he had won, Byron was reluctantly compelled to withdraw. But part of his force had done very good work. He had given orders that when the crest was reached, Lieut.-Colonel Freeth, commanding the 7th, and Major Thompson, of the same battalion, should occupy the heights north and south of the nek respectively, the hills Latema and Reata. Freeth fought his way up the steep sides of the former till only eighteen of his men remained, but being joined by some Rhodesians and King's African Rifles, who had clung on to the top of the hill since the earlier assault, he held on till daylight. Major Thompson, with one hundred and seventy men, secured an advantageous position on Reata, where he dug himself in.

Holding on till dawn

With the fighting so much scattered in a night that now had become dark, General Tighe found it almost impossible to keep in touch with his attacking troops, but, getting requests for reinforcements, he sent up the Baluchis, who fell in with Colonel Byron and his small force retreating. Tighe thereupon entrenched astride the road to await daylight. Hearing from him of what appeared to be the unpromising position of the battle, General Smuts considered it to be prudent not to press the attack farther, preferring to see what would be the result of a turning movement which he had ordered for the next morning. He accordingly directed General Tighe to withdraw before daybreak to a line more distant from the nek. This retirement was actually in progress when it was reported by scouts that both Latema and Reata were in the possession of the British and, more important still, that the enemy was in full retreat from the nek towards Kahe to the south. The struggle was over—finished. It cost the British about two hundred and seventy casualties

but the Germans suffered much heavier losses in men, besides losing a 2.4 in. gun and three machine-guns, a quantity of rifles and ammunition. So, on March 12th, the Kitovo position was occupied. The same day General Van Deventer, on Smuts' right, advanced to the bridge over the Himo, on the road from Taveta to Moshi, meeting with small resistance, and on the 13th he entered Moshi unopposed, the enemy having retired the previous night on Kahe. And there Deventer remained for a week.

Kahe now obviously was Smuts' next objective. From March 13th to 18th was spent in reconnoitring towards it, in bringing up supplies, reorganising transport, and in mending roads. So far General Smuts had succeeded in driving the Germans out of British territory, and in taking from them the greater part of the important districts of Kilimanjaro and Meru. As the 1st Division, under General Stewart, had now joined up, his whole army was available for operations. But he had to negotiate formidable natural obstacles in the Ruwu River, the upper part of the Pangani, and the dense tropical forest lying immediately north of it. On March 18th he ordered a general advance towards this river, and that day his infantry occupied the line Euphorbien Hill-Unterer Himo without difficulty, while some of his cavalry marched from Mue along the road towards Kahe. The advance was continued on the 19th, but little progress was made through the thick and well-nigh impenetrable bush which fronted the German position on the Himo about Rasthaus. On the following day he directed Deventer, with the 1st South African Brigade, the 4th South African Horse, and two field batteries, to march from Moshi, cross the Pangani, and get in rear of the enemy at Kahe. Deventer found the crossing of the Pangani far from easy, but by noon of the 21st he had taken both Kahe Hill and Kahe Station with slight loss. Kahe Hill was the key of the Ruwu position, and the Germans made several determined efforts to recapture it, all of which failed. As soon as General Smuts knew that Deventer was nearing Kahe he gave orders to General Sheppard, of the 1st Division, to advance with the 2nd East African Brigade, the 2nd South African Brigade, the East African Rifles, the 1st King's African Rifles, field, howitzer, and mountain batteries, and two of the naval armoured cars. Sheppard's march lay along and on both sides of the road from Masai Kraal, south of Mue, to Kahe. But he had gone on only a short distance when he was checked by a large force of the enemy in a strong position between the Soko Nassai and the Defu Rivers. His attempts to advance were met and repulsed by rifle and machine-gun fire in front and on the flanks. A turning movement made by the Baluchis, across the Soko Nassai, was unsuccessful. In his full report to the War Office, General Smuts said that "the whole force was ably handled by General Sheppard, and the men fought like heroes, but they were unable to turn the enemy from his strong position." Sheppard dug himself in, purposing to renew the attack next morning, but at dawn his scouts discovered that the Germans had retreated under cover of the night across the Ruwu and were falling back along the road to Lembeni. Such had been the effect of Deventer's fine turning movement from the right. In the Soko Nassai fighting the British casualties were two hundred and eighty-eight, but the

Dense bush impedes operations

Germans retreat over the Ruwu

IN BUKOBA, LAKE VICTORIA NYANZA, BEFORE THE VICTORIOUS BRITISH ATTACK.

German soldiers and natives of Bukoba, which was captured by the British forces in June, 1915—a photograph discovered in a colonist's house. The smaller illustration depicts natives repairing an East African rail-track after an accident which occurred within thirty yards of a bridge.

enemy also suffered severely. During the battle he had used two of the 4·1 in. guns of the Königsberg, and one of these he lost.

Arusha, west of Moshi, and an important centre, was occupied by some of Smuts' mounted scouts on March 20th, the German force which had held it being dislodged and driven in a southerly direction. This put the finishing touch to the conquest of the Kilimanjaro-Meru country, "probably," as the general stated, "the richest and most desirable district of German East Africa." Lord Kitchener telegraphed congratulating him and all ranks on the brilliant success which they had achieved, and on the dash and energy of the operations in a region whose difficulties were not unknown to him (Lord Kitchener). This phase of the campaign, though brief, had been a trying one, by reason of the long marches in the hot sun and in occasional heavy rains, and there were times when rations ran short. General Smuts bore witness that all hardships were endured with unfailing cheerfulness.

Great hardships cheerfully endured

Having transferred his headquarters to Moshi, and placed a chain of outposts along the Ruwu, he set to work to reorganise his forces for the next move, concentrating the troops as far as possible in healthy localities to give them a rest after their trials. Meanwhile the rainy season supervened, and it was not till towards the end of May that General Smuts began his second advance, which ended in the occupation of the Usambara Railway.

In another part of the field, however, he achieved results of importance during April. Having gained the western terminus of the Usambara Railway, he proceeded to strike a blow at the Central Railway, which ran from Dar-es-Salaam to Lake Tanganyika. This movement also had the effect of tying up the Germans in that area, so that they could not send reinforcements to their friends in the north. Its conduct was placed in the capable hands of General Van Deventer. Moving from Moshi to Arusha, Deventer concentrated at the latter place, at the end of March, a considerable body of mounted troops, with the infantry and artillery of the 2nd Division, mainly drawn from the South Africans. Advancing with great rapidity, his mounted forces defeated the Germans at Kissale on April 4th and 5th, and marching south-westerly occupied Köthersheim, or Umbugwe, as the natives called it, on April 12th, and Salanga on April 14th, capturing many prisoners and driving the rest of the enemy's forces southwards. On the 17th he was in the neighbourhood of Kondoa Irangi, one hundred and twenty-five miles from Arusha, and one hundred miles from the Central Railway. At this point, which was the centre of several main roads, the enemy offered a stubborn opposition, but Deventer overcame it, and took Kondoa Irangi on the 19th. This success was gained, it was reported, by the employment of typical South African tactics, the centre being firmly held while the flanks were enveloped, but the enemy broke away before the process was completed, and retreated to a strong position in the hills to the south-east of the town.

Cavalry success at Kissale

Doubtless, the disconcerting rapidity with which Deventer had struck at Kondoa Irangi had much to do with the defeat of the Germans, who, as soon as they had somewhat recovered themselves, proceeded to effect a great concentration about Kilimatinde, on the Central Railway, with a view to opposing his farther advance, and to forcing him out of the town. In the first week of May they displayed some activity in the direction of the place, and on the night of the 9th of the month, after a heavy

THE LABORIOUS WORK OF CONVEYING SUPPLIES TO THE EAST AFRICAN FRONT.

East African natives carrying ammunition in the rear of an advancing column. Owing to a lack of road communication through the thick bush, and a scarcity of water, the difficulties of conveying supplies from place to place were considerable. The smaller illustration depicts a water supply column on its way to the front from an outpost in the desert.

A LONELY LOOK-OUT IN THE EAST AFRICAN BUSH.

British observation post in Kilimanjaro, an illustration giving a good idea of the tall jungle grass and other tropical vegetation abounding in this region. General Smuts began his vigorous offensive on February 25th, 1916, and by the end of March the whole of the Kilimanjaro-Meru area, which is described in his despatch as "probably the richest and most desirable part of German East Africa," was under British occupation.

bombardment in which another gun of the Königsberg took part, they delivered a heavy attack on Deventer, which was repulsed with severe losses to them. During the next two days the enemy, who was led by General von Lettow-Vorbeck, the German Commander-in-Chief, persistently assaulted the British positions, making in particular, on May 11th after the sun had set, a great effort against the left flank of Deventer, but without success. This effort was the last of importance for about two months, during which the South African general, with occasional fighting, held up — "contained"—a very considerable enemy force.

Last enemy effort for two months

But as it drew on towards the close of July he received reinforcements, and was able to resume his advance, occupying Dodoma, on the Central Railway, on the 29th. More than a week before that date General Smuts announced that he had got the whole of the Usambara Railway in his hands.

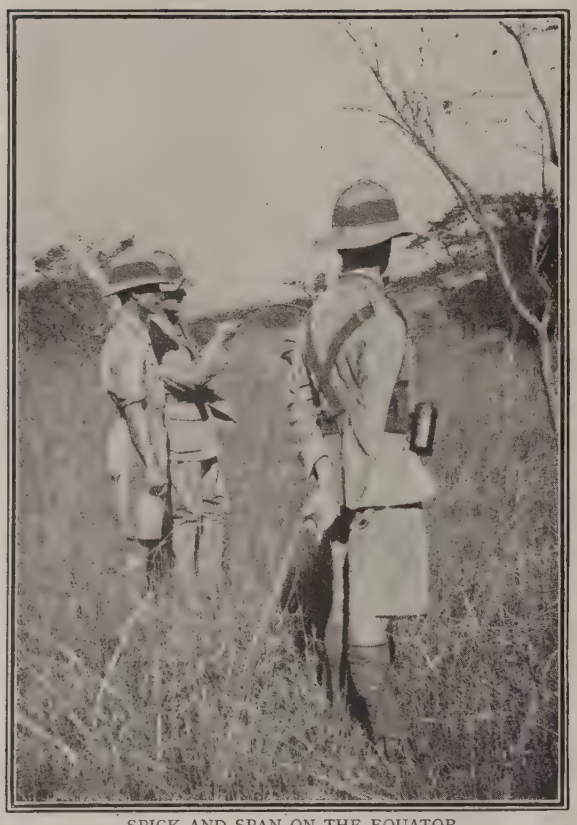
As the rainy season came to an end in May, General Smuts, who meanwhile had rested and reorganised his troops in the Moshi-Kahe area, resumed his offensive for the occupation of the northern railway. Despite the torrential rains and the flooding of the rivers, there had been no failure in supplies, and thorough preparation had been made for the energetic prosecution of this part of the general campaign. He had now a distinct advantage in having railway communication all the way from the Uganda Railway, the branch line from Voi being completed by the beginning of May to Moshi, where it was linked up with the rail-head of the Usambara Railway.

For this fresh advance against the Usambara Railway Smuts had at his disposal the 1st Division, now commanded by Major-General A. R. Hoskins (General Tighe had gone back to India), with Generals Sheppard and Hannyngton as brigade commanders, as well as other forces, including South Africans. By May 25th his advanced troops had moved along the line, and occupied Lembeni, twenty miles south of Kahe, and Ruwu Lager, on the Pangani River, twenty-six miles south-west of Kahe. By the same date he was in Ngulu, in the Ngulu Pass, lying between the Northern and Central Pare ranges, eight miles south-east of Lembeni. He entered all three places without opposition. East of the railway his line of march led through a region of hills rising in places to a height of three thousand feet, and covered with forests, and still farther on he had to negotiate the Usambara Highlands. It was in this area, which provided positions of great natural strength, that he expected to find the most determined resistance. On May 25th he reached Zame, on the railway, and with another column moved down the Pangani River, by way of Marago Opuni, eighteen miles north-west of Zame, to Le Zara. The enemy had retreated southwards to Mikocheni, a fine defensive position at the southern end of the Pare Mountains which lay between them and the river, with the railway in the middle. The Germans had entrenched, and were strongly placed to defend the bridge over the Pangani; the thickness of the bush was also in their favour. After a reconnaissance on the 29th the British assaulted and carried the enemy's trenches next day, with slight loss. On the 31st he was in full retreat, and, coming under the fire of a flanking movement from the hills, had many casualties.

Smuts gave the Germans no rest. Pressing on he arrived at Mkomazi, on the railway, where he found a train had been left behind by the retreating foe, who, however, had destroyed the bridge as they had destroyed that at Mikocheni. From Mkomazi he marched on to Bwiko, a station midway between the Pare Mountains and the Usambara Highlands, which gave the name to the district and the railway. On the morning of May 31st his left column, which had advanced through the Gonya Gap from Zame, reached the Shegulu Bridge over the large tributary of the Pangani called the Mkomazi, ten miles north of Mkomazi Station, and progressed southward along that stream.

Capture of Mombo

After halting for a few days, during which he bridged the Pangani at Mikocheni, he again had his forces in rapid motion. General Hannyngton, whose troops were operating along the railway, was at Mazinde, twenty miles south of Mikocheni, on June 8th, and on the following day he captured Mombo, eight miles farther on, dislodging the Germans who had tried to hold it. This was an important success, as from Mombo there ran a light railway south to Handeni, forty-five miles away, and this line, the existence of which had not been generally known



SPICK AND SPAN ON THE EQUATOR.

British officers selecting an outpost position near the German East African frontier. Pith helmets and shorts seem to have composed the most comfortable uniform in this tropical region of the world-war.

before, became an avenue for a second British advance towards the Central Railway.

From the station of Mombo a good road zigzagged up the slopes to the capital, Wilhelmstal, which lies in a pleasant valley four thousand feet above sea-level and surrounded by mountains. Wilhelmstal was a favourite health resort. When within the next week of the advance the British were in possession of this town, they found that the wives and families of many Germans had been left confidently to their care.

Crossing to the right bank of the Pangani, at Mikocheni, General Hoskins' forces marched down to Mkaramo, where the light railway from Mombo passed over the river fourteen miles south-west of the junction, and there had a sharp fight with a considerable body of the enemy, which ended in the Germans being driven off to the south, while Mkaramo was occupied, with insignificant casualties to the British. Both at this point and at Mombo the enemy had severe losses. By June 13th Hannyngton was at Makayuni, eight miles from Mombo, and two or three days later, by gaining Korogwe, only forty miles distant from Tanga, the coast terminus of the railway, and the second town in Usambara, he made Smuts practically master of the whole of the Usambara Highlands. It had been a quick and, everything considered, an inexpensive conquest. Nowhere had the Germans really availed themselves of the splendid opportunities for defence presented by the district. The Highlands had been outflanked, and the enemy had, in fact, come to the conclusion, which was abundantly justified, that he would not be able to retain the railway, and that his further efforts to beat the British—or at least to hold them off as long as possible with the other Allies, from taking the country, for he could look for nothing else in the final issue—must now be made south of the line.

Enemy in full retreat

Although the Usambara Railway was not yet wholly abandoned by the Germans, they had now withdrawn their main forces from it, and had taken up positions between it and the Central Railway. When General Hoskins forced them out of Mkaramo, an event which took place on June 10th, they retreated along the light railway towards its rail-head at Handeni, forty-five miles away, and there threw up entrenchments. Between the two places the country was dense jungle, and movement through it was almost impossible. Besides, water was very scarce. And no doubt the enemy laid his account with delaying a hostile advance because of the difficulties which Nature had interposed, while in the meantime he would have time to concentrate his men and prepare strong positions. To a certain extent he was right. Yet on June 15th the part of Hoskins' division which was commanded by General Sheppard succeeded in arriving at Kwedizwa, only six miles from Handeni, and on the morning of the following day pushed on through the bush to the village of Kilimanjaro, close to the German camp. Having regard to the obstacles the troops had to overcome it was a wonderful march.

Port of Tanga captured

Handeni was a settlement which contained several German plantations, and from it a good road went east to the port of Pangani, at the mouth of the river of the same name. It also had a water supply, and the German forces were entrenched in its vicinity. Other troops belonging to General Hoskins came up, and on the 19th the place was taken, the enemy retreating south to the Lukigura River, after incurring some losses in a rearguard action. Four days later the British got close to the Lukigura, and on the 24th a battle developed. The enemy was attacked by three columns. One, under the personal command of General Hoskins, by an arduous night march, enveloped the Germans on the flank. The second, led by General Sheppard, made for and held the bridge across the river, attacking frontally. The third, composed of South Africans, engaged the enemy on the other wing. After considerable fighting the enemy was heavily defeated, and drew off in the direction of the Central Railway, having lost many killed and wounded, some machine-guns and a pom-pom, munitions, and numerous prisoners, including several Germans. The British losses were trifling. The Germans managed to get away their Königsberg gun, shelling the British with it, in the words of Reuter's correspondent, "erratically, sullenly, and at random through the darkness."

While this second advance in the direction of the Central Railway was successfully going forward, General Smuts completed and consolidated his conquest of the Usambara Railway. As far back as June 13th it had been reported that the enemy had evacuated Tanga, the terminus on the coast. From Korogwe, occupied by Hannyngton on the 15th, the British marched along the line down to the sea, but found that the statement of the evacuation of Tanga was incorrect. The port, however, was captured on July 7th after a brief resistance by the Germans, who destroyed the waterworks before retreating. The country in the neighbourhood was not yet cleared of all hostile bands, and these gave some trouble by endeavouring to cut the railway and Smuts' communications between Korogwe and Tanga, but they were driven down the Pangani, with the loss of a field-gun, and then forced south of that river. On July 21st General Smuts announced the occupation by him of Amani and Muhesa, the former some miles north of the line, and the latter a little south of it, and stated that he had taken effective possession of the whole of the Usambara Railway, which was being repaired by his engineers. Thus triumphantly came to an end this stage of his campaign.

BRITISH SUBMARINE CREW GREETS CHANNEL STEAMER.

CHAPTER CXXX.

THE WONDERFUL WAR WORK OF THE MERCANTILE MARINE.

By Percival A. Hislam.

Our Right to the Dominion of the Sea Proved by the Rally of the Mercantile Marine to the Service of the Flag—Naval Reserve Called Out August 2nd, 1914—Magnificent Response of the Merchant Service—Their Work on the North Sea Patrol—Beaching of the River Clyde at Gallipoli—The Mercantile Marine and the Blockade—Rear-Admiral Sir Dudley De Chair's Tribute—Utility of the R.N.R. Man's Special Knowledge of Merchant-Ship Construction Illustrated—The Trawler Section of the R.N.R.—Work with the Dover Patrol on the Belgian Coast—Vice-Admiral Sir Reginald Bacon's Tribute—Distinguished Service off Gallipoli Praised by Vice-Admiral Sir John de Robeck—Peaceful Pursuance by the Merchant Service of its own Vocations—Rise in Freights Owing to Depletion of the Mercantile Marine—Failure of the German "Submarine Blockade" to Affect British Merchantmen Infuriates the Germans—Captain Charles Fryatt, of the s.s. Brussels, Evades Submarine Attack, March 3rd, 1915—Captain Fryatt Tries to Ram another Submarine, March 28th, 1915—The s.s. Brussels Captured June 23rd, 1916, and Taken to Zeebrugge—Court-martial on Captain Fryatt at Bruges—Murder of Captain Charles Fryatt by the Germans, July 27th, 1916—Other Merchantmen's Encounters with Submarines—Adventures of the Lady Plymouth.

NOTHING that occurred in the course of the Great War was more significant of the latent strength of the British Empire, or provided a stronger proof of our inherited right to the dominion of the seas, than the magnificent rally of the mercantile marine to the service of the Flag. In every department of naval activity the ships, officers, and men of the merchant service fought side by side with the specially designed ships and the professionally trained personnel of the Royal Navy, and distinguished themselves to a degree that challenges comparison with the Navy itself. Outside the actual fighting-line—in which the deeds of the Carmania, the Alcantara, and the Engadine will always be remembered with pride—the merchant service provided us with everything necessary for the maintenance of the enormous transport services involved in the prosecution of a gigantic and almost world-wide war; it was solely responsible for the performance of many auxiliary duties without which the fighting fleet could have had neither mobility nor efficiency; and, finally, the ships and men that were left behind to pursue their "lawful occasions" as in time of peace, carried on with their work under the highest possible pressure, and in circumstances which made their existence from day to day hardly less perilous than that of a regular warship and her crew. Indeed, it might be urged with some show of reason that the lot of the merchant seaman was the more perilous, for while the enemy's submarines were not long in coming to recognise the neighbourhood of a regular warship as a rather unhealthy one, they were able to give their attention to our helpless trading steamers with something approaching comparative impunity.

MOMENTS OF LEISURE ON A BRITISH PATROL SHIP.
Not on the look-out for submarines or Zeppelins, merely watching a spirited sailor boxing bout aboard a British warship at sea.

It is well that there should be set on record, however inadequately, something of the debt which the British Empire and the cause of civilisation generally owe to the splendid fellows who, in normal times, fill our larders, provide work for our factories, and are responsible for more than a half of the carrying trade of the world. A little over three hundred years ago the rôles of trader and warship were interchangeable; for, since the trader had, for her own protection, to be armed against the attentions of pirates and privateers, the Sovereigns of those

AN ALLIED WAR VESSEL,
steaming at a moderate rate, as she appeared in the North Sea from a friendly hydroplane.

distant times found it economical—as well as very sensible—to do without a fleet until a war came, when they would simply hire from the shipowners as many ships, with crews and guns complete, as they thought would be necessary for dealing effectively with the enemy.

As the science of shipbuilding and of gunnery advanced, however, this interchangeability ceased to be possible save in a very limited degree; but the British Admiralty still retained the system in a sort of tentative way. In the official Navy List, as it existed at the outbreak of war, there will be found a list of vessels "held by the Cunard Co. at the disposal of the Admiralty." The "list" contained only the Lusitania and the Mauretania; but a note was added to the effect that in return for the annual subsidy paid in respect of these ships, the Cunard Company held the whole of its vessels at the disposal of the Admiralty, for hire or purchase, whenever the need should arise.

So far as ships are concerned, these were the only arrangements of this kind that had been made by the Admiralty with a view to war. That may have been an instance of official short-sightedness, especially in view of the fact that when war actually came the Admiralty found it did not really require the services of either of these fast and gigantic ships. At the same time, it throws into stronger relief the extraordinary rapidity with which a great fleet of liners was fitted out for war service. Had the Navy been maintained on a wholly adequate basis, it would never have been necessary to reinforce it from the ranks of ships that were urgently needed to meet our requirements in other directions—that is, for transport services and the carriage of munitions—but when the authorities found themselves face to face with the crisis they met it with a highly commendable promptitude. Our greatest need was for cruisers—moderately armed vessels of fair speed and great staying power for the patrol of the trade routes and the defence of our floating commerce against the enemy's raiders. For many years before the war, Governments had been saving money on these ships.

Dangerous economy in cruisers

They "dressed the window"—and very effectively—with Dreadnoughts, and saved a few millions of pounds upon ships which, however essential to the successful conduct of war, would not be missed by anyone who had not made a close examination of our position.

No sooner, then, did war come than the Admiralty were compelled to fall back upon the mercantile marine to make up our obvious deficiencies. War was declared on August 4th, 1914. Within a fortnight, twenty-two liners—including such well-known vessels as the Alsatian, Aquitania, and Oceanic—had been put into commission as auxiliary cruisers. In nearly every case the whole of the ordinary crew of the ship volunteered to remain for war service under the Admiralty, and were transferred to the Naval Reserve, and the Navy itself was represented only by the commanding officer, one or two juniors among the executive officers, and a stiffening of Navy-trained

"MOSQUITO" CRAFT "GUARDING THE ACE."—
The great work of the destroyers became prominent in the Jutland Battle, but apart from their supreme importance in action, these splendid craft had a vital work to perform in what is known as "guarding the ace"—a nautical expression signifying battleship. No battleship ever proceeded to

men among the rank and file. The number of these auxiliary cruisers steadily increased as the war progressed, and by the end of the second year of hostilities more than a hundred of them were on active service, sharing with the Navy the distinctions and the dangers which attached to the maintenance of the command of the sea against the world's second strongest naval Power.

The fighting work of these vessels is described in its proper place in this history, but in such a general survey as this it will not be out of place to make a passing reference to it. Take, for instance, the case of the Carmania. In peace this Cunarder was commanded by Captain James Barr, who held a commission in the Naval Reserve as a commander. On August 4th, 1914, she was commissioned by Captain Noel Grant as one of his Majesty's ships, and was promptly sent westward into the Atlantic to assist in the protection of our commerce. Within six weeks she had distinguished herself by defeating and sinking in single combat the German auxiliary cruiser Cap Trafalgar, a new Hamburg-South America liner of 18,500 tons that had been specially designed to take her share in the destruction of British commerce in war. As a matter of fact, she was sent to the bottom before she had accounted for a single British tramp steamer, and Commander Barr was decorated with the C.B. for the part he played in winning the action.

Triumph of the Carmania

CLOUDS OF ILL-OMEN AT SEA.

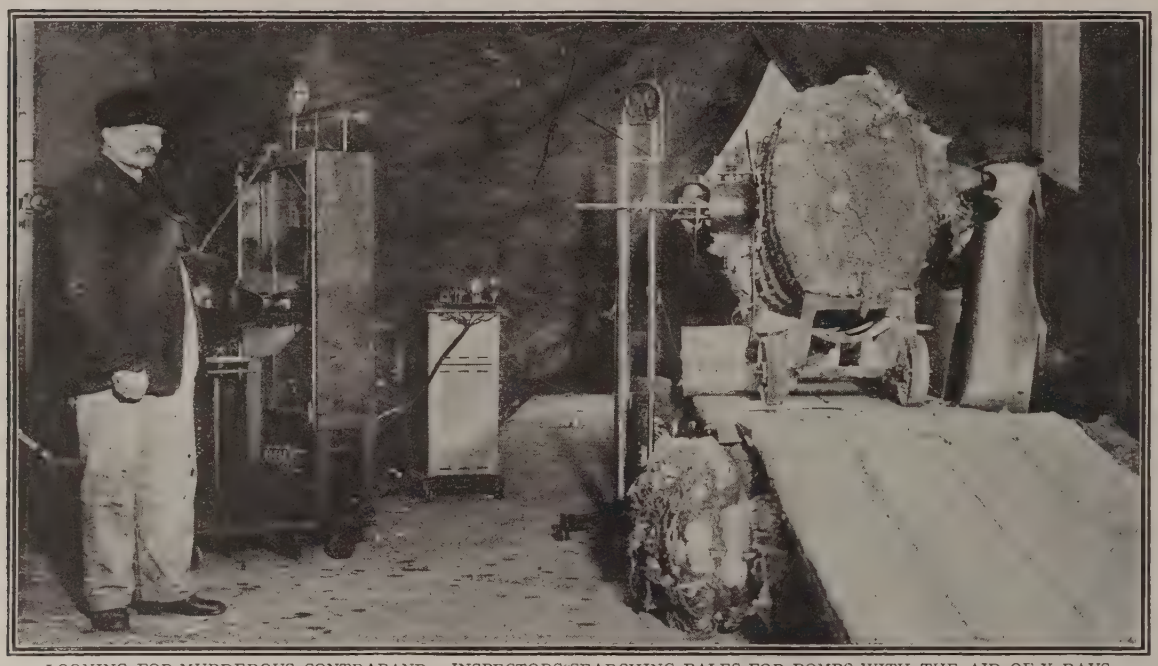
As in land warfare, the Germans are known to have made use of gas at sea, this being generated by shell explosion. The above illustration, secured from a British warship, shows German gas clouds on the horizon,

It would be out of place here to traverse the whole of the ground covered by our converted merchant ships in the course of the war—and, indeed, our theme lies rather with men than with ships. Never in any great war have we been found at the start with sufficient seamen for our needs. In the old days we met the difficulty either by offering a liberal "bounty" to men who would volunteer for service, or else by the persuasive agency of the press-gang. In recent years, however, the Admiralty had taken time by the forelock by instituting the Royal Naval Reserve, a force composed of officers and men belonging to the seafaring profession who undertook to put in a certain amount of training with the Fleet each year, and to place their services unreservedly at the disposal of the authorities in war. On August 2nd, 1914, the Naval Reserve was "called out"—mobilised—and the Admiralty at once found itself the richer by some 20,000 officers and men. It was useful, but it was not enough. The regular Fleet itself was expanding rapidly under the stress of war and the feverish energy of our shipyards, and it was a physical impossibility for the Admiralty to turn out trained officers and crews as fast as they were turning out ships, to say nothing of the steady appropriation of additional vessels from the mercantile marine.

It will readily be seen that in circumstances like these the mighty products of our shipbuilding yards would have been little more use than scrap-iron unless the authorities had had a reservoir upon which they could draw for an

—HOW A BATTLESHIP PROCEEDED TO SEA AND WAS SHIELDED FROM ENEMY SUBMARINES.

sea without a cordon of destroyers ahead and astern in close line, all on the alert with guns at the ready to open an effective fire on hostile periscope or conning-tower that showed itself on the surface. Thus a torpedo attack on first-class battleships was rendered practically impossible.



LOOKING FOR MURDEROUS CONTRABAND: INSPECTORS SEARCHING BALES FOR BOMBS WITH THE AID OF X RAYS

So many efforts were made in America by German intriguers to place bombs aboard steamers bound for allied ports, that the authorities examined all cargo destined for Europe, particularly cotton bales. The inspectors resorted to X rays, looking through a fluoroscope, and wearing a rubber apron impregnated with lead oxide, to protect the wearers from the heat. This photograph shows the ingenious method in operation.

adequate supply of trained seamen. Call after call was made upon the merchant service as the needs of the Navy grew, and every call was answered with a promptitude which reflects eternal honour on that splendid force. Exactly how the breaches were filled it is still too early to tell in detail, but it is possible to give some idea of the extent to which the merchant seamen responded to the call of war. In July, 1914, the number of executive officers enrolled in the Naval Reserve was 1,288. At the end of the second year of hostilities the number had increased to 4,435—and over a hundred had laid down their lives for their country. The number of engineer officers increased in the same period from 318 to over 2,000. There is good reason to believe that the total strength of the Naval Reserve in the first two years of war was multiplied at least ten times.

Naturally, all those who were specially entered were not trained for war work, but they were expert in the duties relating to the handling of their own ships. From truck to keelson they remained responsible for everything concerned with navigation, seamanship, and engineering, and all the Navy had to do was to put in a commanding officer who knew how to get the best out of the ship as a fighting unit, and a few specialists to take charge of the fighting equipment. Thus it happened that, when the Admiralty armed and commissioned a great liner for service in the blockading squadron that held so effectively the northern outlet from the North Sea, they found ninety per cent. of the crew already at their stations, trained and seasoned to their work, leaving only the expert members of the guns' crews and two or three officers to be provided out of the established strength of the Navy.

Into the greatest danger

It seems most anomalous that men who came into the fighting service of the nation under these conditions should be described as members of a "reserve." They stepped straight from their civil occupations into the line of greatest danger, remaining not for one moment in any position that could be described as a reserve. From the day they went into the service of the nation they were constantly on active war service, and nothing but war brought them into the service. There is nothing in our military organisation which is called a "reserve," with the exception of those "veteran" corps which undertake to perform combatant work in the almost impossible event of a hostile army landing on our shores, and it seems altogether out of place to apply the term "reserve" to a body of men who, day in and day out, faced the treacherous perils of the North Sea Patrol.

In the early days of the war the ships that were specially commissioned for this service suffered rather heavily. In September, 1914, the famous White Star liner Oceanic was stranded and wrecked on the Scottish coast. The Viknor (ex-Viking) and the Clan McNaughton were lost respectively in January and February, 1915, because of the fierce storms which they encountered off the North of Ireland, or, as was alleged both at the time and subsequently, because their guns had been mounted on the upper decks with insufficient regard to the effect which the added weights at such a height would have on their stability. On March 11th, 1915, the Bayano was torpedoed and sunk in the Irish Sea; but from then until the end of the second year of the war the only armed merchant vessels lost on the patrol service were the Ramsey, the India, and the Alcantara. The Ramsey was sunk in fair fight with the German mining-ship Meteor; but the latter was detained so long on the job that she was overhauled before she could get back to shelter, and had to be sunk by her own crew to avoid capture. The India—a P. and O. boat—was torpedoed off the Norwegian coast on August 8th, 1915; while the Alcantara met her end in nipping in the bud an attempt on the part of the enemy to get the disguised raider Greif out on to our trade routes.

Losses among liners

So magnificent was the response of our merchant officers and seamen to the call of the Admiralty, that a large surplus was available after every provision had been made for the manning of the specially commissioned liners. To nearly every ship throughout the Service a proportion of "reservists" was drafted, relieving the enormous drain made by the war on the regular personnel of the Fleet, with the result that the merchant marine had no small share in every victory that we won.

The magnificent story of the beaching of the transport, River Clyde, at Gallipoli, will always be remembered with especial pride by those who sail under the Red Ensign.

The officer in charge of that perilous, disastrous, and yet glorious expedition was Captain Edward Unwin, who went straight into the Navy from the merchant service, as a supplementary lieutenant, in 1895; and of the six Victoria Crosses awarded in connection with that stupendous exploit one went to him, another to Midshipman G. L. Drewry, of the merchant service, and a third to Seaman George Samson, of the Royal Naval Reserve. No other incident of the war brought out so fully the magnificent fighting stuff of which our merchant seamen are made.

Outside the actual fighting-line, the merchant service performed innumerable services without which the Fleet could not have existed. The Navy, like the rest of us, is dependent for its daily bread upon supplies brought into the country from oversea, and of the dangers which our merchant ships cheerfully and successfully faced in maintaining those supplies more will be said anon. At the end of the second year of war well over a hundred cargo-boats had been put into commission as "Mercantile Fleet Auxiliaries," charged with the duty of keeping the Fleet supplied from day to day with everything it could possibly require. Petroleum for our oil-fired ships had to be brought from the termini of pipe-lines in Persia and Mexico. Coal had to be ferried round from the Welsh ports to the Fleet bases away in the north. Ammunition, ranging from the 3-pounder of the semi-automatic gun to the 1,950 lb. shell of the 15 in., had to be delivered with such regularity that no ship, within twelve hours of the end of its latest fight, had a depleted magazine. For all these things, and many others, the merchant service was solely responsible. After the great and exhausting action off Jutland, Sir John Jellicoe reported that "at 9.30 p.m. on June 2nd" the Grand Fleet was fuelled and replenished with ammunition, and "ready for further action." It is well that we should realise that this remarkable performance, accomplished within thirty-one hours of the Fleet's departure from the scene of its victory off the coast of Denmark, was rendered possible only by the regular and efficient services of the mercantile fleet auxiliaries, which are manned almost exclusively by officers and men of the Naval Reserve. In spite of the thousands of voyages which these vessels made, only one was lost in the first two years of the war, the Fauvette, 2,644 tons, which was mined in the North Sea on March 13th, 1916, with a loss of two officers and twelve men.

CAPTAIN SCOTLAND, OF THE CLAN LINDSAY.
Early in 1916 the Clan Lindsay was attacked in the Bay of Biscay by a German submarine. Captain Scotland replied to the fire so hotly that the pirate disappeared.

To maintain the commercial blockade we relied almost entirely, as well for men as for ships, upon the mercantile marine. When Rear-Admiral Sir Dudley De Chair took the blockade squadron to sea from Queenstown in August, 1914, it consisted almost entirely of ancient cruisers manned for the most part by immature ratings under training. It was a false move, sacrificing efficiency to expediency, and it was not long before the Admiralty effected a thorough modification of their arrangements. In December, 1914, the admiral commanding the blockade

THE BRITISH WAR-FLAG WHICH NO STRANGER SHIP DARED TO IGNORE.
All round the British coasts all ships were challenged by destroyers belonging to the Examination Service. These flew a distinguishing flag, white and red horizontal, surrounded by a blue border, and a blue ensign; also three red vertical balls (lights at night) if the port were closed.

INVALUABLE SERVICE OF THE "YACHT PATROL": STEAM-YACHTS ESCORTING BRITISH TRANSPORTS CROWDED WITH MEN BOUND FOR THE FRONT.
Every kind of craft that floats was offered to the Admiralty when war broke out, and the services of many were promptly accepted. An idea of the help they were able to give in matters of the very first importance is conveyed by this picture of two large steam-yachts escorting three transports laden with priceless lives, alert to mark and charge any lurking submarine.

squadron transferred his flag from the twenty-two-year-old cruiser Crescent to the Allan liner Alsatian, and within a very short time the whole network of warships patrolling the area between Kirkwall, Iceland, and Norway was composed of converted merchantmen.

Speaking once to an interviewer regarding the nature of his work, Admiral De Chair said: "Although there is an adequate sprinkling of Royal Navy men in command, by far the majority of blockade officers are drawn from the Royal Naval Reserve. These men, many of whom have had splendid careers in the British mercantile marine, are peculiarly fitted for blockade work. They are accustomed to manifests and ships' papers; they know how to make a quick, comprehensive, and judicial inspection of cargoes." The admiral might have added that it really takes a merchant service officer to see through such tricks as Germany and her friends devised in order to smuggle past the blockade the goods of which the enemy stood most in need. It is no disparagement to the British naval officer to say that he would have been wholly taken in by many of the devices which the mercantile man detected with very little trouble, thanks to his deeper knowledge of merchant-ship construction. To give but one instance of this: A ship was stopped one day on her way from America, laden to all superficial appearance with cotton (this, by the way, was in those times of folly when the Government declined to class cotton as contraband, and so permitted the enemy to receive vast quantities of material necessary for the manufacture of explosives). The ship's manifest said she carried cotton. A few bales were hauled out of the hold, opened, and found to contain nothing but cotton. The boarding-party was about to leave, satisfied, when a Naval Reserve man suggested to the officer in charge that for a ship loaded with nothing but cotton, which is very light in comparison with the space it occupies, she was lying strangely low in the water.

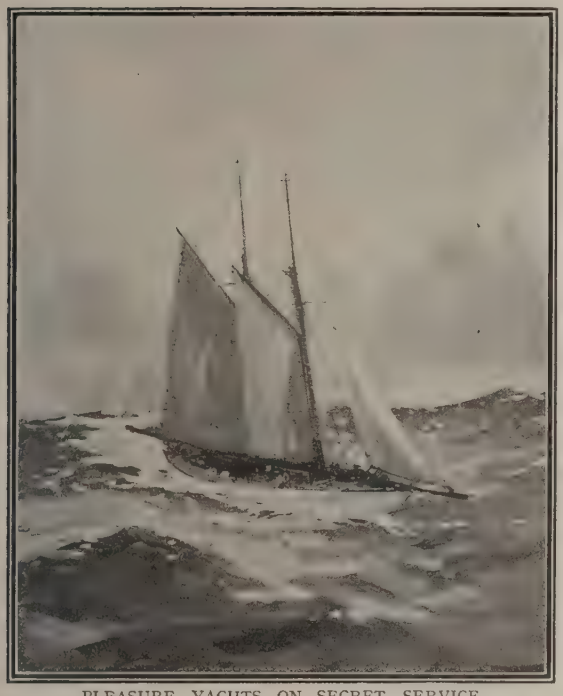
What the merchantman saw

The naval officer took a glance at the ship's side, and his suspicions were aroused. He ordered the stranger to make another dip among his cotton bales; and when one was brought up from the lower layers it was found to contain practically nothing but copper. There were, in fact, several hundred tons of the metal on board, and it would all have got through to Germany if that Naval Reserve man had not brought to bear his special knowledge of the characteristics of merchant ships.

It is a remarkable testimony to the efficiency of the blockade, and of the merchant service officers and men who were mainly responsible for its maintenance, that in two years of fighting only one enemy ship, submarines apart, managed to get out of the North Sea. The Möwe, blatantly disguised as a neutral trader, managed to sneak out into the Atlantic in the midwinter of 1915-16, when the hours of darkness in the northern latitudes where the patrol worked are abnormally long and fogs are frequent. The only other known attempt was that of the Greif, a similar vessel to the Möwe, which was rounded up and sunk on February 29th, 1916, by the converted Royal Mail liner Alcantara, which in turn succumbed to a torpedo fired just as the German was about to go under. To be strictly accurate we probably ought to include among the enemy vessels that slipped past the blockade the "Norwegian" ship Aude, which convoyed the submarine in which Roger Casement travelled from Germany to the coast of Tralee; but as the Aude was quietly shepherded by the British Fleet for the whole of her journey, and, when her object was partly accomplished, was duly taken in charge by the armed sloop Bluebell, she is hardly to be reckoned as a blockade-breaker.

Only three blockade breakers

In no department of our glorious naval service has the merchant seaman shone more conspicuously than in the manning of those almost innumerable groups of steam trawlers and drifters upon which the Navy largely depended



PLEASURE YACHTS ON SECRET SERVICE.
Much work of a serious kind was done for the Admiralty by little sailing yachts, once attractive features of summer-time regattas.

for its protection against mines and submarines. Rudyard Kipling once put into his inimitable verse the forecast that, when the time came for the British Empire to reassert its claim to the dominion of the seas, our great liners would be ordered to preserve themselves in the security of safe harbours while the Navy would have to "up and fight" for the cargo-boats upon whose coming and going we depend for our daily bread. The liner never for a moment succumbed to the stay-at-home idea. Those that did not put on war-paint in one shade or another were called upon to redouble their energies in the carrier service on the high seas; and if, here and there on the map of the world, the Royal Navy was called upon to settle an account with the enemy on behalf of the "little cargo-boats," the debt was surely repaid a thousandfold.

We have it on the authority of Mr. Balfour that when war came there was not a single harbour on the East Coast of Great Britain where the Grand Fleet could lie in safety from submarine attack. It was a defect that was quickly remedied in various ways, with which Germany, doubtless, became familiar as speedily; but from the very first day of the war the Fleet found itself most severely handicapped not only by the absence of protected harbours, but by the serious lack of small craft capable of countering the only methods by which Germany was able to carry on the war in the North Sea. Our enemy showed his hand very clearly on the first day of hostilities, when the disguised mine-layer Königin Luise was discovered pitching mines over her stern within a relatively short distance of the East Coast. By the indiscriminate scattering of loose mines and the surreptitious laying of anchored fields in areas likely to be traversed by our warships, a great part of the North Sea was rendered altogether too perilous for our heavy vessels to enter; and when, at the end of three months of war, our losses through mine and submarine in the North Sea alone had run up to ten ships, with a death-roll of close upon 2,500, there were many who felt that we were confronted with a state of affairs which might conceivably bring disaster in its train. But the men who man the smallest of our "little cargo-boats"—the hard, incomparable fishermen of the English and Scottish coasts—were already getting the situation well in hand. A few years before the outbreak of war Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) Donald Munro—himself an ex-merchant service officer—had laid before the Admiralty a plan for utilising steam-trawlers for dealing with the menace of the mine which he could see was bound to arise in the event of a war with Germany. Lord Beresford, then in command of the Channel Fleet, was ordered to carry out the necessary tests, and he reported on the scheme most favourably. A few trawlers were bought and attached to the Fleet, and a number of old gunboats adapted as mine-sweepers; and in 1911 a special branch of the Royal Naval Reserve was formed with the object of putting at the disposal of the Admiralty in time of war a large body of seamen inured to the handling of small craft in all sorts of weather, and, in particular, expert to the last degree in everything that appertains to the handling of nets and the trawling up of submerged objects.

Lack of East Coast harbours

Great rally of fishermen

The Trawler Section of the Royal Naval Reserve was not a great success to begin with, and in the three and a half years from its establishment, at the beginning of 1911, to the outbreak of war only one hundred and eleven "skippers" enrolled themselves; but, whatever may have kept them back, it was certainly not lack of patriotism, for with the first blast of war the crews of the fishing fleets all round the coast began to roll up to the naval recruiting offices in their hundreds. The Admiralty hired or purchased the trawlers and drifters from their owners; they parcelled off the North Sea into areas, and to each area they allotted a division or a group of these little patrol craft to trawl up the lurking mine and ensnare the elusive submarine. In the whole theatre of naval warfare there was none in which monotony was so subtly combined with ever-present danger. The light draught of the trawlers enabled them to steam in safety over the average mine-field; but their

MINE-SWEEPERS' "ADMIRAL" IN THE VAN.
Flotillas of mine-sweepers were led by an "admiral," the ship carrying the officer in charge, usually a lieutenant of the Royal Navy.

work lay not so much in saving themselves from destruction as in destroying the mines laid for the destruction of others, and many a gallant little vessel was lost through the explosion of a mine fished up in her own trawl. The work was done well beyond the range of public vision. An occasional honours' list reminded the country of the existence of these craft, plodding away day in, day out, to clear the sea routes for the passage of the British Fleet and of the merchant ships that used our ports; but far more frequent was that brief official statement, lost in the confusion of the day's news, which recorded the unsung death of a skipper and a dozen men of the Trawler Section of the R.N.R., blown up in the execution of their duty by a mine laid for the destruction of a super-Dreadnought with a crew of a thousand souls.

Unsung heroes of the R.N.R.

The work of the drifters was even less generally recognised than that of the mine-sweeping trawlers, for it was the particular business of the former to protect the Fleet by an "offensive defence" against hostile submarines, and how they did it, and where, and the measure of success that came their way, could not be known until the time was past for Germany to gain anything by the knowledge. Throughout the first two years of war the splendid work of the drifters only once received any measure of public recognition. Whenever the Admiral of the Dover Patrol took his monitors across to the Belgian coast to bombard the enemy's positions and bases there, he always took in company a great flotilla of trawlers and drifters to clear away the enemy's defensive mine-fields and to protect the heavy ships against submarine attack, for which all the conditions were intensely favourable. In penning his first despatch to the Admiralty, dated December 3rd, 1915, Vice-Admiral Sir Reginald Bacon wrote as follows: "Their lordships will appreciate the difficulties attendant on the cruising in company by day and night under war conditions of a fleet of eighty vessels comprising several widely different classes, manned partly by trained naval ratings but more largely by officers of the Naval Reserve, whose Fleet training has necessarily been scant, and by men whose work in life has hitherto been that of deep-sea fishermen. The protection of such a moving fleet by the destroyers in waters which are the natural home of the enemy's submarines has been admirable, and justifies the training and organisation of the personnel of the flotilla. But more remarkable still, in my opinion, is the aptitude shown by the officers and crews of the drifters and trawlers, who in difficult waters, under conditions totally strange to them, have maintained their allotted stations without a single accident. Moreover, these men under fire have exhibited a coolness well worthy of a service inured by discipline. The results show how deeply sea adaptability is ingrained in the seafaring race of these islands." Coming from Sir Reginald Bacon this was, indeed, high praise, for no man was ever more sparing in the distribution of compliments, or a greater stickler for the prestige of the regular naval service.

FISHING FLEET AT FLUSHING IDLE THROUGH FEAR OF MINES.
The Germans' indiscriminate mining of the North Sea had military results quite incommensurate with the enormity of the offence, but it crippled neutral fishing industries. This fishing fleet was laid up at Flushing.

This chapter does not aim to be a record of events, but rather a general survey of the contribution made by the merchant service—both in ships and in men—to the winning of the war It would, however, be incomplete if no mention were made of the work our fishermen did outside the North Sea. During the operations off Gallipoli, and particularly after the arrival of the first German submarines in May, 1915. their vigilance and promptness in action saved the Fleet from many a disaster, and when, in the spring of 1916, the King bestowed the Distinguished Service Cross on three skippers, on the recommendation of Vice-Admiral Sir John de Robeck, it was officially noted that the men had "performed long, arduous, and dangerous duties, and are specially selected from over a hundred names." In such a case as this, therefore, less than three per cent. of those who were recommended were rewarded. or even given the honour of a public "mention in despatches." The country, too, knew nothing of the work of our "fisher patrols" in the Adriatic until the Astrum Spei and the Clavis were sunk by an Austrian cruiser in July, 1916.

So far mention has only been made of the work of the merchant service in close and active co-operation with the fighting Fleet, but in the peaceful pursuance of its own vocations it exhibited a courage and an indifference to danger worthy in every way of our highest traditions as a maritime nation. Germany had long perceived—and, indeed, we ourselves had recognised—that our greatest danger in a war with a first-class naval Power would lie in the possibility of our merchant shipping being so seriously disturbed as to dislocate our industries and force the prices of the necessaries of life up to famine figures. The Germans traded from the first upon what they believed to be the weakest link in our Imperial organisation, and the needs of our own case were such that we were compelled, in meeting our immediate naval and military requirements, to give the enemy a substantial start in the direction he desired to travel. One of the very first steps taken by the Government when war was seen to be inevitable was the requisitioning of a great number of ships for service as cruisers, transports, hospital ships, and for various other services. As the war progressed the proportion of shipping thus taken away from its ordinary employment increased rather than diminished, with the result that in the summer of 1916 the tonnage taken by the Government "for the naval and military and essential civil needs of the allied countries" amounted to forty-three per cent. of the whole, while another fourteen per cent. was occupied in "carrying foodstuffs and raw materials on behalf of the Government and its Allies."

Conversion of merchant shipping

If the German Fleet never experienced the joy of a great sea victory, enemy torpedo-boats at least enjoyed the exhilaration of sea-power in holding up neutral steamers. Frequently Dutch craft came under this surveillance in the North Sea, and such an incident is illustrated above.

German submarine raiders about to shell a peaceful liner on the high sea. With feverish haste the gun is being brought to bear on the steamer, and perhaps a torpedo was being launched simultaneously. The German commander was giving orders from the conning-tower. (From an enemy painting.)

EASY PREY FOR THE GERMAN TORPEDO CRAFT AND SUBMARINE.

In other words, only two ships were left to do the work for which five were previously available, and, with the withdrawal also from the world's carrying trade of large proportions of the French, Italian, and Russian mercantile fleets, and the entire suppression of the German and Austrian, each ship remaining in ordinary service represented a correspondingly more important factor in the economic structure. The operation of the law of supply and demand sent freights up to a staggering height—over £5 a ton was asked and paid for carrying coal from the Tyne to Genoa, as against a normal peace quotation of 4s. 6d. or 5s. Ships, earning sufficient in a couple of voyages to pay for their cost and provide their owners with a profit, changed hands at fabulous prices, the ultimate burden falling, of course, upon the purchasers of the goods which the ships carried.

It was upon a mercantile marine thus already depleted of three-fifths of its ships that the Germans turned with their methods of barbarism in order to frighten the remainder out of their legitimate business. The more or less cleanly-played game of the Emden and her fellow-corsairs on the high seas had failed completely, and when the German Naval Staff found that the military effectiveness of their submarines was undergoing a similar process of strangulation, it determined to change its objective and see whether the U boats could not be employed successfully to scare the British merchant seamen off the seas.

The full story of the "submarine blockade" is told elsewhere in this work. It had no effect whatever on the British mercantile marine, beyond the bare record of ships sunk. Never after the first week of the "blockade's" existence was there the slightest trace of the moral of our merchant seamen being affected. Ships entered and left our ports with their old regularity, and, subject to the demands of the Government, in their old numbers. Many were sunk, for the threat of the German Naval Staff was far from being an empty one; many, when attacked by hostile submarines, were handled with such skill by their captains that they succeeded in escaping even after rapid-fire guns as well as torpedoes had been brought to bear on them. Such cases were usually rewarded by the Admiralty with a gold watch for the captain, together with an expression on vellum of their appreciation of his seamanship, while the owners usually liquidated their indebtedness to the officers and ship's company in coin of the realm. As time went on, the authorities extended very largely the practice—begun, as a modern measure, a few months before the opening of the war—of giving our merchant ships one or two light guns, with a competent gun-layer for each, as an additional means of defence against submarine attack, and in many cases these were used with considerable effect. The practice of the Admiralty in withholding all information relating to the destruction of U boats prevents us for the time being from appreciating as fully as we otherwise would do the useful part which the merchant service has played in this direction.

The German U boat bogey

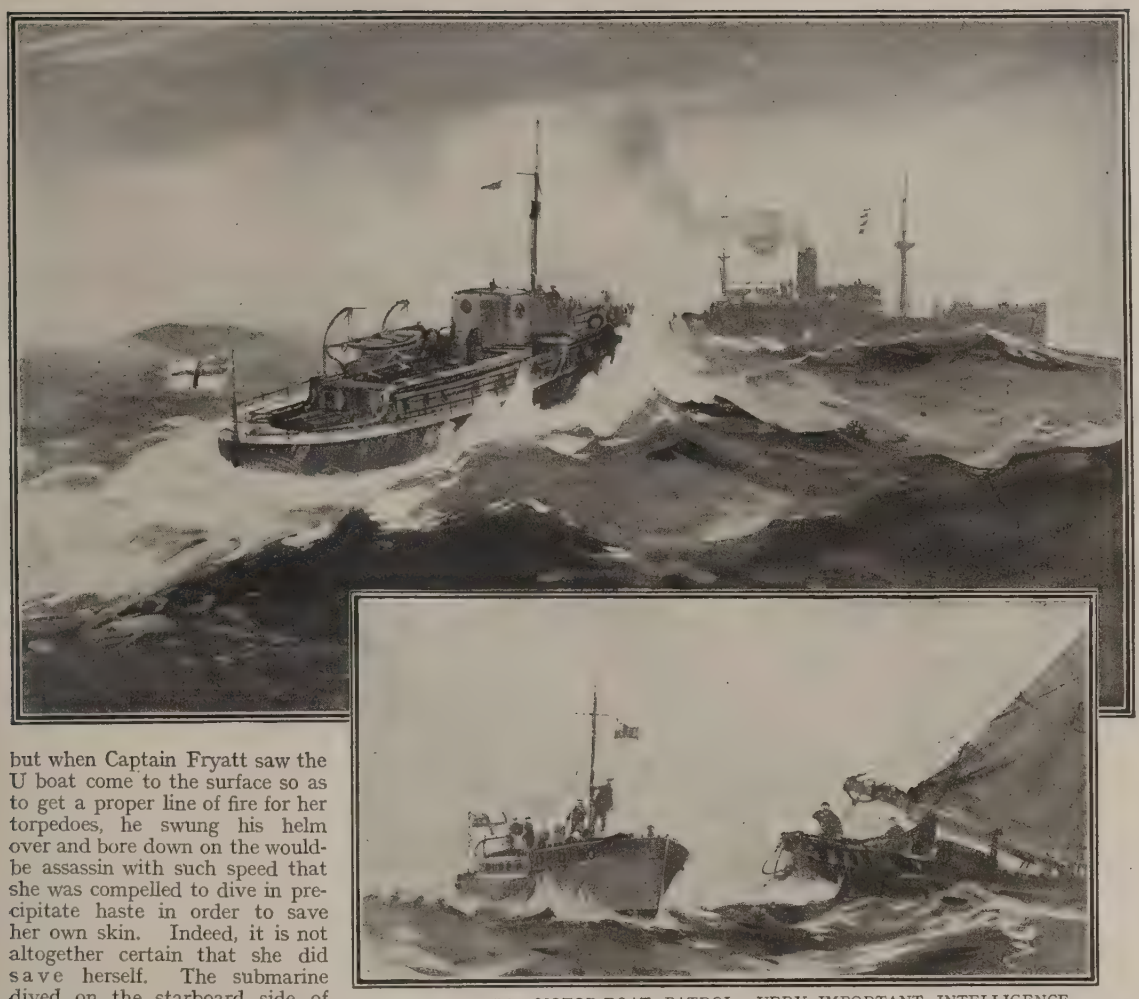
The nonchalance with which the British merchant service pursued its normal courses, in spite of the fiercest and most barbarous efforts of the Germans to drive it off the seas, roused the enemy to a pitch of frenzy which led them into the commission of perhaps the most dastardly crime that lies even to their discredit. Nothing in the whole war story of the mercantile marine can have been more galling to Germany than the continuance of the British steamship service between our own East Coast ports and Rotterdam. The nearest German naval base to the north of the River Maas, on which Rotterdam stands, is only one hundred and fifty miles distant, while Zeebrugge, to the south, is only fifty miles away. Both Emden and Zeebrugge were bases for German torpedo craft, both surface and submarine, and yet, in spite of their proximity to the line of route, steamship communication with the Dutch port was maintained—not, indeed, regularly, but with sufficient frequency to expose the impotence of the Germans and the absolute failure of their methods of "frightfulness" as aimed at our merchant seamen.

Running the gauntlet to Rotterdam

Captain Charles Fryatt had been running the Great Eastern Railway steamer Brussels on this route since the outbreak of war, and the Germans had made many attempts to intercept and destroy his ship. In the month of March, 1915—a month in which no fewer than nine merchantmen were torpedoed by German submarines without the slightest warning being given—two separate and determined attempts were made by the enemy to get rid of the obnoxious Brussels. On the 3rd of the month Captain Fryatt successfully dodged an attack and brought his ship safely into port, and was presented by his owners with a gold watch in appreciation of his seamanship. On the 28th a further attempt was made to sink the vessel;

MOTOR-BOAT PATROL RETURNING TO THE DEPOT SHIP FOR ORDERS.

The motor-boat patrol was a new branch of the Service, organised to deal with any emergency as naval initiative and resourcefulness might suggest. This illustration shows two of the boats returning to the depot ship for orders.



WITH THE MOTOR-BOAT PATROL: VERY IMPORTANT INTELLIGENCE.
One of the most responsible of the motor patrol's many duties was to attend transports and keep them safe from submarine attack. Inset: A fisherman telling a motor patrol he had sighted a submarine just previously, heading in a certain direction.

but when Captain Fryatt saw the U boat come to the surface so as to get a proper line of fire for her torpedoes, he swung his helm over and bore down on the would-be assassin with such speed that she was compelled to dive in precipitate haste in order to save her own skin. Indeed, it is not altogether certain that she did save herself. The submarine dived on the starboard side of the Brussels and came up on the other—so close, as Captain Fryatt said, that "you could easily have hung your hat on the periscope as she lay alongside us." Then she suddenly disappeared and was not seen again, and as there were some members of the Brussels' crew who reported having felt a shock while the U boat was submerged, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that she sustained an injury that sent her to the bottom. The Admiralty on this occasion presented a gold watch to Captain Fryatt, the chief officer, and the chief engineer.

For another fifteen months the Brussels, still under the same commander, continued her trips between England and Holland, until she was at last trapped by a flotilla of German torpedo craft, making one of their periodical midnight excursions from Zeebrugge. Treachery is believed to have played its part in the misfortune—at any rate, one man who was on board at the time of the capture was treated with marked consideration by the enemy. However that may be, the Brussels found herself, in the early morning of June 23rd, 1916, in a ring of German torpedo-boats. There was nothing for it but to submit to the inevitable. The steamer was captured and taken into Zeebrugge.

Captain Fryatt's tragic fate

The sequel—though it was but the murder of one man—sent a wave of indignation through the world that was not outdone in intensity by the wholesale massacre of the Lusitania. In doing his best to save his ship from being sunk on sight by a German submarine, Captain Fryatt had acted in strict accordance with the law of nations. He had done nothing whatever to controvert even those "maritime laws" which Germany had framed principally with a view to the protection of her own interests. Most particularly of all, it was distinctly laid down in these German laws that if enemy merchant seamen were captured after offering armed resistance to German warships, they were to be treated strictly as prisoners of war. Judged by any and every conceivable standard, therefore, Captain Fryatt should, at the least, have been assured of an honourable captivity—the more honourable because of the success with which, for nearly two years, he had pursued his dangerous calling, almost, as it were, between the lines of the German Navy. It was for just such a reason that the British people had loaded almost unreasonable praise upon Captain von Müller, of the Emden, though he had destroyed millions of pounds' worth of our property and sunk a Russian cruiser and a French destroyer.

With Captain Fryatt in their hands, however, the Germans threw all laws and all honour to the winds. They regarded him only as an object upon whom they might vent the hatred they felt towards the whole of our merchant marine—a non-fighting service that had pursued its way without fear and without wavering in despite of the policy of organised assassination which had been adopted towards

CHANGING THEIR COLOURS: ARMED BRITISH LINERS BEING PAINTED MAN-OF-WAR GREY AT LONDON DOCKS.
The great work of the mercantile marine constituted a strong aid to sea-power. When war broke out, many of the largest liners put on war-paint, mounted quick-firers, and generally made ready for all emergencies. The London Docks presented a scene of unusual animation, all the ocean liners changing their colours to "man-of-war" grey before proceeding on their various and perilous voyages.

it. Captain Fryatt was brought to trial before a so-called court-martial at Bruges. The only business of a court-martial is to administer military law, and the German law in this case was as plain as daylight. Captain Fryatt had defended himself against the attack of German warships, and the German law said quite unequivocally that any merchant seamen who had done that were "to be treated as prisoners of war." The court-martial overrode and ignored the law it was supposed to administer. It condemned Captain Fryatt to death as a franc-tireur. The "trial" took place on July 27th. He was murdered the same evening, the sentence being "confirmed"—as it had, in all probability, been ordered—by the Kaiser himself.

The Kaiser's part

Words altogether fail one in the attempt to describe so foul a crime. It was committed under no misapprehension. The whole thing was done under the cloak of the law, and with the express sanction of the German Emperor—and, indeed, no one but he could have authorised such a contravention of German law as was involved in the murder. There is no imaginable code of punishment that fits such an atrocity as this; but Mr. Asquith voiced the unanimous feeling of the British people—and, indeed, of the whole civilised world—when he declared that "his Majesty's Government desire to repeat emphatically that they are resolved that such crimes shall not, if they can help it, go unpunished. When the time arrives they are determined to bring to justice the criminals, whoever they may be, and whatever their station." "The Government are determined that this country will not tolerate a resumption of diplomatic intercourse until reparation has been made for the murder." The German Government allowed it to be stated that this atrocity marked a precedent, and that any other British seaman who deliberately tried to save his ship from destruction and his own and his crew's lives from murder at the hands of a German submarine, would be murdered in cold blood at the first available opportunity. It was another attempt to frighten the British merchant seaman off the seas; and it was a more hopeless and ignorant attempt than any that went before it. Nothing the Kaiser could have dreamed of could have so steeled the nerve and the determination of the whole of our maritime services as the doing to death of Captain Fryatt. It may have been something of an omen that just a week after this murder Captain David Thomson, of the steamship Strathness, reported that he had sunk a large German submarine in the Mediterranean on July 15th.

It must not be supposed that the only exciting experiences met with by our merchant ships were occasioned by direct encounters with enemy submarines. It would be altogether impossible to recount these other experiences in anything like detail, but a brief resumé of the adventures of a single steamship, the Lady Plymouth, will give a very good idea of the exigencies that befall a British merchant vessel in war time. On March 26th, 1915, this vessel left the Clyde on her maiden voyage, bound for Buenos Aires. When two days out of port the look-out sighted a lifeboat crowded with men and women, and although the sea was so rough that oil had to be pumped out to quell the waves, she succeeded in rescuing the survivors of the steamship Aquila, which had been sunk twelve hours before by a German submarine. The occupants of the boat were well-nigh exhausted, and if the Lady Plymouth had not run across them it is doubtful if any of them would have survived. On November 5th, 1915, the same steamer came across a boat empty of life, but well stocked with fresh provisions—the only remaining evidence, possibly, of one of those cases where the Germans had attacked a ship and sent her to the bottom before the passengers and crew had time to get into the boats that were lowered. Later in the same day a raft bearing the name Calvados was sighted, but no trace of life was found on or near it. The Lady Plymouth proceeded on her way, and an hour or two later came across another raft, this one laden with French soldiers. They had been on board the Calvados, which, having embarked some hundreds of French troops who had for fifteen months been fighting on the Belgian frontier, was torpedoed by an enemy submarine when within twenty-five miles of her destination—the port of Oran, in Algeria. Captain J. K. Watson, of the Lady Plymouth, took the soldiers aboard—they had been adrift for twenty-four hours—and shortly afterwards another raft was sighted with a load of fifteen men. The steamer stood by to pick them up, and while she was in the middle of the work the periscope of a submarine was

Adventures of the Lady Plymouth

sighted. There is little doubt but that the submarine was only waiting a favourable opportunity for torpedoing the Lady Plymouth and sending her to the bottom with the men she had rescued; but, thanks to vigilance and good seamanship, the steamer got safely away after taking all the soldiers on board. At two o'clock the following morning, while Captain Watson was going the rounds to see that all the men he had saved were comfortable, two shots were fired at the Lady Plymouth, one passing over her amidships and the other dropping a hundred yards astern. No craft was sighted, but there is no doubt that the U boat was still in chase. However, the vessel got safely into Algiers, having on board fifty-five French soldiers—all that were saved out of some nine hundred who were on board the transport Calvados when she was torpedoed. Captain Watson was awarded a gold medal by the French Government for his services on this occasion.

In February, 1916, when the Lady Plymouth was in the Atlantic south of Gibraltar, she was hailed by a suspicious vessel who made signals for her to stop. German submarines had been active in that neighbourhood for some time, and were known to have disguised themselves as tramps, with dummy funnel and upper works. Besides, it was not long since the raider Möwe had passed through the same region. So, when Captain Watson found the first signals followed by a gibberish which he could not comprehend, he came to the conclusion that someone was trying to lure him close enough to be destroyed with the minimum of trouble; and, putting on full speed, he signalled in the international code, "I cannot understand your message, and thank you."

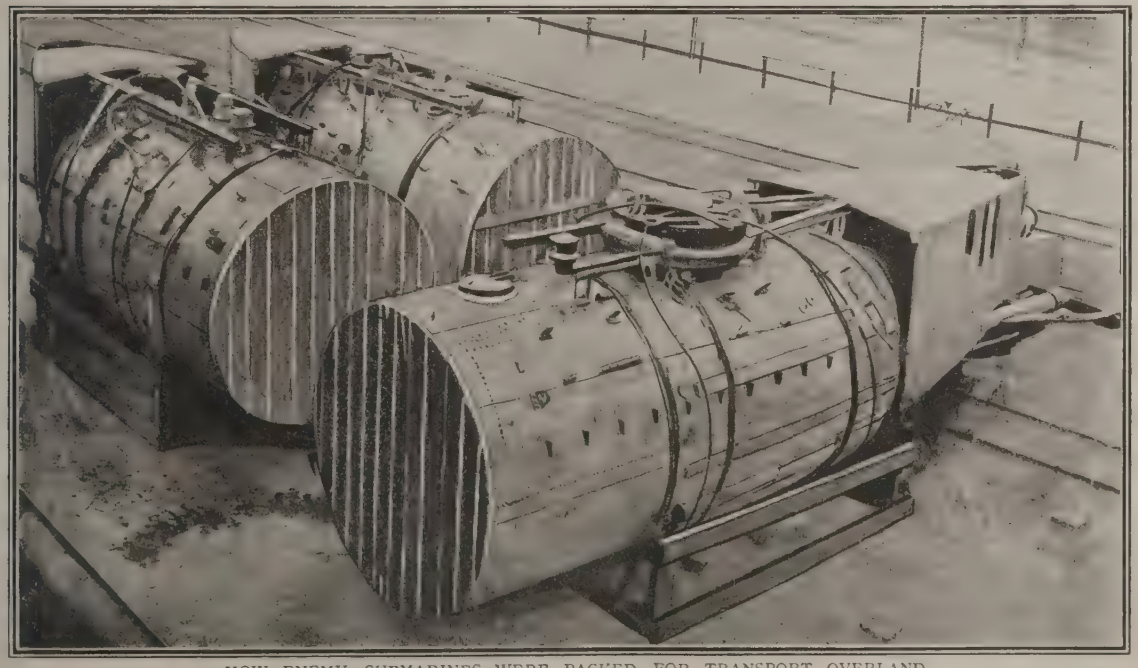
Ignoring the bait

In the following April, those on board the Lady Plymouth heard the sound of firing, and, though they could see nothing, distinctly counted thirty-one shots. The vessel kept on her course, and about an hour later sighted the Russian barquentine Imperator. There was no one on board; the sails were flapping aimlessly about; and the vessel, loaded with timber, was on fire. A boarding-party was despatched to endeavour to put out the fire, and the Imperator was taken in tow; and then, shortly after midnight, a red flare was observed which, on investigation, was found to come from a lifeboat containing twenty-four officers and men of the crew of the steamship Angus, which had been sunk by a submarine a few hours before. A few days later the Lady Plymouth skilfully avoided the deliberate attempt of a submarine to torpedo her in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, and in June, 1916, an attempt was made by German agents to blow her up as she lay in an American port awaiting her cargo. The incendiaries endeavoured to get on board and drop their infernal machines into her open holds, and were only deterred when the night watchman opened fire on them.

A charmed existence

Such is the bare record of fifteen months' experiences of a British merchantman in war time—a vessel of whose name not one person in a thousand is aware. It is typical in a way of the extraordinary work that was done by the mercantile marine as part of its daily and nightly routine. The risk of sudden death moved alongside our merchantmen wherever they went, and the most outrageous punishments were held out in prospect by the Germans if ever a man who had avoided a submarine attack should fall into their hands. Nothing, however, succeeded, and nothing is ever likely to succeed, in disturbing the equilibrium of the British merchant seaman. Calmly and quietly he proceeded with his own business, in the face of perils far greater, far more subtle, and certainly no less inhuman than any trader faced in the heyday of the Barbary pirates.

Whether fighting in advance of the Navy on the North Sea Patrol, shoulder to shoulder with it in all its fights from Coronel to Jutland, or following up in its rear to clear the seas of mines scattered by a retreating enemy, the merchant service proved itself worthy to rank with the greatest of our fighting sea kings.



HOW ENEMY SUBMARINES WERE PACKED FOR TRANSPORT OVERLAND.

To avoid a long sea passage, the peril of mines and hostile ships, smaller German submarines were occasionally transported overland from Kiel and Wilhelmshaven to Zeebrugge, whence they were able to pursue their policy of piracy on the high seas. This illustration, though not taken during the Great War, shows how U boats were packed for transport, to be fitted on arrival at their destination.

AA

JAPANESE ARMY

CHAPTER CXXXI.

BESIEGING TSINGTAU.

JAPAN'S SPLENDID SHARE IN THE WAR.

By Robert Machray.

Japan Declares War on Germany, August 23rd, 1914—Capture of Tsingtau—Japanese Navy Takes Possession of Micronesia—Co-operation of Japanese Navy with British Warships—Baron Ishii on Japanese Co-operation in the War on Land in Europe—Elimination of Germany in the Far East the Primary Japanese Object—Japan a Member of the Entente—German Overtures for a German-Japanese Entente—German Intrigues in the Orient—Work of the Japanese Navy in Protecting British Littorals and Convoying Troops—Restoration of Russian Warships to Russia—Supply of Munitions to Russia—The Effect on the Campaigns Conducted by the Grand Duke Nicholas and General Brussiloff—Russian Imperial Mission to Tokyo—Russo-Japanese Convention of July, 1916—Chagrin in Germany—The Effect of the Convention upon the Anglo-Japanese Alliance—German Intrigues in China—Friction Between China and Japan—Japanese Triumph over German Intrigue—Japan's Financial Position—Japan's Disinterested Financial Assistance to the Cause of the Allies.

ORIENTALS have always been credited with an infinite capacity for silence—which, according to circumstances, might cover a very great deal, or mean no more than that there was nothing worth talking about. In her war with Russia, Japan showed how well she could hold her peace and keep her own counsel, when it seemed good to her to be taciturn; but she generally had excellent reasons for her temporary inarticulateness. For one thing, it made her enemy imagine she was inactive, while all the time she was exceedingly busy.

After her capture, in conjunction with the British under General Barnardiston, of Tsingtau and the district of Kiao-chau, of which that town was the capital, in November, 1914 (see Chapter L.), so little appeared in the Press, or otherwise came to light—at least up to the close of the second year of the war—respecting what Japan was doing towards the prosecution of the whole colossal conflict that, misled by this silence, it was widely supposed that, with the expulsion of the Germans from the territory which they had forced China to "lease" to them, she practically had ceased to take any further important share in the struggle. But this was very far from being the case; for Japan, though she kept quiet about it, continued to contribute most materially to the common cause—not so much by actual fighting as by assisting in the most splendid and whole-hearted manner the other Allies to fight. This she did chiefly in two ways. She helped the Russians in the field in Europe directly by providing them with an abundance of the munitions of war which they lacked, but which were vital to them, and to a very large extent she relieved the British, French, and Russian warships in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and set them free for service elsewhere, while she herself kept watch and ward over these immense water areas. She also did all that was possible to her financially to aid the Entente Powers, and instead of seeking loans from them, took up part of their loans, or assumed obligations which had the same effect.

THREE JAPANESE NOTABILITIES.
Count Okuma (left), Prime Minister, and Baron Kato, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Mr. J. Okuma (standing), the Premier's heir.

Japan declared war on Germany on August 23rd, 1914, and on the following day the Emperor of Japan issued a proclamation to his subjects, in which he defined her attitude towards both Great

Britain and the enemy. He spoke of her desire for peace no country in the world had a greater interest in maintaining tranquillity, especially, of course, in the Far East. He said that Germany was making warlike preparations in Kiao-chau which were a threat to British and other shipping in the Eastern Seas, and he pointed out that the action of Germany had compelled Japan's ally, Great Britain, to commence hostilities. He therefore commanded all his people, high and low, to make every effort, in accordance with international law, to defeat their common enemy, and placing no limit to the part Japan was to play, ordered his Army and Navy to carry on the war with "all their might."

Tsingtau was the striking and almost immediate result. By its capture from Germany a heavy blow was dealt to her prestige in the Far East, which had been very considerable owing to her success in intimidating China into what amounted to the surrender to her of Kiao-chau, and because of her incessant intrigues and the vainglorious self-advertisement of the strength of her military power. But Kiao-chau was not the only, though it was the most important, territory that was wrested from Germany by Japan. Some thirty years before, Germany, casting about all over the world how to make good what she called her "place in the sun," had seized a number of islands in the Western Pacific, to which no other Power had laid claim, and on one of these, named Jaluit, she established a naval base.

Germany in the Western Pacific

These islands lay, roughly speaking, between Japan and Australia, and in the hands of a strong empire, such as Germany, could be made to possess a high strategic significance. As Germany had also occupied the northern portion of New Guinea, as well as the Bismarck Archipelago, farther south, she had substantial interests in this quarter of the globe. The Japanese turned their attention, however, to the islands which have just been referred to. Grouped under the general title of Micronesia, they were known as the Marianne (or Ladrones) Islands, the Marshall Islands, and the Caroline Islands. For the most part they were coral atols, slightly raised above high water, and none of them was large. Of these the most easterly were the Marshalls; there were some twenty-three of them in all, and Jaluit, the best, though not the most populous of them, became the headquarters of the Germans, with an Imperial commissioner in command.

Her surrender of Micronesia

A squadron of the First Fleet of the Japanese Navy, questing in these waters for enemy ships, visited Jaluit on October 6th, 1914, and the Germans gave up the island without resistance. Japanese marines destroyed all the German military establishments and seized their munitions and supplies. About the same date Japan in the Carolines took Yap Island, the local seat of the German Government in that area. Before the end of October, 1914, all Micronesia was in the hands of the Japanese. There was no fighting, as Japan displayed to the discomfited enemy naval strength far more than sufficient to render any real

SECTION OF THE ILTIS FORT, TSINGTAU, AFTER CAPTURE BY THE JAPANESE.

The Iltis Fort was one of the capital defences of Tsingtau on the land side. At dawn on October 31st, 1914, the Japanese began their bombardment with siege-artillery, and on the night of November 6th they carried the position.

THE SHELL-MAKERS OF TOKYO.

To cope with the ever-increasing demand by Russia for shells, as many as forty thousand workers were engaged day and night in the Japanese arsenals at Tokyo and Ostaka.

opposition impossible. Forthwith she set about reorganising the government of the islands, and according to a statement made on July 17th, 1916, in the British Parliament by Lord Robert Cecil, as Foreign Under-Secretary, she was at that time administering the Carolines and all the Marshalls with the exception of Namu.

If her operations in Kiao-chau and in Micronesia exhausted the list of the military achievements of Japan in the conquest of the territory of the enemy, her Navy constantly co-operated with the British warships in Far Eastern seas. When this chapter of THE GREAT WAR was written the vast extent and extraordinary value of that co-operation was but little understood among the people of the Allies. It had not transpired, for instance, how much the Japanese Fleet had done in the hunt for the Emden, or in helping to round up Von Spee's vessels, which had escaped from Tsingtau on the outbreak of the war, and finally were destroyed in the Battle off the Falkland Islands; but it was known that the Japanese Navy had something to do with these events, both of which were notable. In addition to her obligations to Great Britain under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the implementing of which was a matter for arrangement between the two Powers subscribing to the treaty, the supreme consideration of Japan in the war was the extirpation of German influence and the shutting down of German military or commercial activity in Eastern Asia, with the complete cessation of all their disturbing effects. Her idea was the elimination of Germany in the Far East; and regarding the Far East as primarily and chiefly her military sphere, she in the main kept to it, nobly fulfilling her share in the general, world-wide campaign of the Allies against the Central Powers.

Japan's naval co-operation

In the first months of the war the view found expression in England that Japan should be invited to co-operate with the other Allies by despatching an army to Europe, and the figure of half a million men was sometimes mentioned in this connection. At that time Great Britain had hardly begun to raise and equip the mighty armies which later she placed in the field, and there was a holding back on the part of some of her people. Over in Japan this greatly puzzled the Japanese, who could not understand how they should be asked to send soldiers to Europe when there were thousands upon thousands of young men in the United Kingdom who were not in the British Army, and apparently had no intention of joining the Colours. However, in a remarkable interview which Baron Ishii, the Foreign Minister of Japan, gave to the correspondent of a French journal in November, 1915, official Japan said that Japan would send a very strong army to Europe if it seemed to be desirable, but that she had not yet even considered such an eventuality. By using the word "desirable" in this statement, Baron Ishii showed Japan's willingness to assist the Allies with her troops in Europe.

Problem of military aid

Japan was in thorough sympathy and in complete accord with the Entente Powers—nay, she herself was a member of the Entente Group. Besides her Alliance with Great Britain, she had ententes with both France and Russia, though they did not go so far as did the Alliance, which, initiated in 1902 and revised and extended in 1905 and 1911, provided, among other things—such as the independence and territorial integrity of China—that if Great Britain or Japan were involved anywhere in a war, arising from unprovoked attack or aggressive action by any Power or Powers, the other party to the treaty should at once come to the military assistance of its ally. In 1907 Japan formed ententes with Russia and France. All the while a rapprochement was going on between Japan and Russia, and this found expression in an agreement or convention in 1910, which pledged the two Powers to the maintenance of the *status quo* in China, leading the way in 1916 to another agreement, which was tantamount to a formal alliance; but it may be questioned whether anything of the kind would have come about so soon had it not been for the magnificent manner in which Japan assisted her old foe as regards munitions during the war.

Though Japan was thus allied with Great Britain and on the most cordial terms with the other two Entente Powers, it should not be forgotten that she might conceivably not have joined in the war in their favour. She might have declared her neutrality. Indeed, there was a current of political opinion that was not friendly to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, affirming that that treaty circumscribed far too much Japan's action, particularly with respect to China. Moreover, there were some of the Japanese who believed that Germany would emerge victorious from the conflict. But neither of these was the view of Japan as a nation, nor was official Japan in the least responsive to them. On the contrary, Japan never hesitated, but from the outset sided with the Entente.

Had she been content to remain neutral, and given no support to Great Britain, France, and Russia, the position of the Allies would have at once become most grave. The first would have had to keep a fleet at least equal to that of Japan (which at that time totalled upwards of half a million tons) for the protection of India, Australia, and New Zealand, not to mention the coast of Western Canada. This would most seriously have affected the British naval dispositions in the North Sea and in the Atlantic, and have been of the utmost benefit to the German Navy. The second would have been forced to place in Asia several army corps, besides warships, for the defence of her Indo-Chinese possessions. The third must have retained at least a million troops in Siberia, and thereby her armies in Europe would have been that much the weaker. Japan knew all these things very well, as did Germany, but she had made her choice.

Germany had courted her in the past, and German jingoes, like Count Reventlow, had frequently and clamorously asserted that Germany should come to an

Organising victory for the Great Republic: General Joffre at work in his Headquarters.

Boulevardiers of the moment: Jubilant heroes from the trenches on leave in Paris.

Hero-worship in a French newspaper printing works: A soldier-printer visits his old comrades of the machine-room.

"Into the jaws of death": French officer about to convey a message under heavy fire.

understanding with her, and make an entente. But long before the war Japan had made up her mind that her real friend, on every ground, was Great Britain and not Germany, though the latter posed in that rôle. Her eyes were opened to the want of sincerity in the protestations of Germany in 1894, when, after the Treaty of Shimonoseki, by which China had ceded to her Southern Manchuria, including Port Arthur, the German Kaiser induced France and Russia to join him in strong diplomatic and menacing action that resulted in her retroceding to China the Manchurian territory she had won in war. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 was in itself a blow to his ambitions and intrigues, which, however, were again apparent when two years later he urged Russia, whom he desired to keep occupied outside Europe, on the course of policy in the Far East that brought about her unfortunate war with Japan.

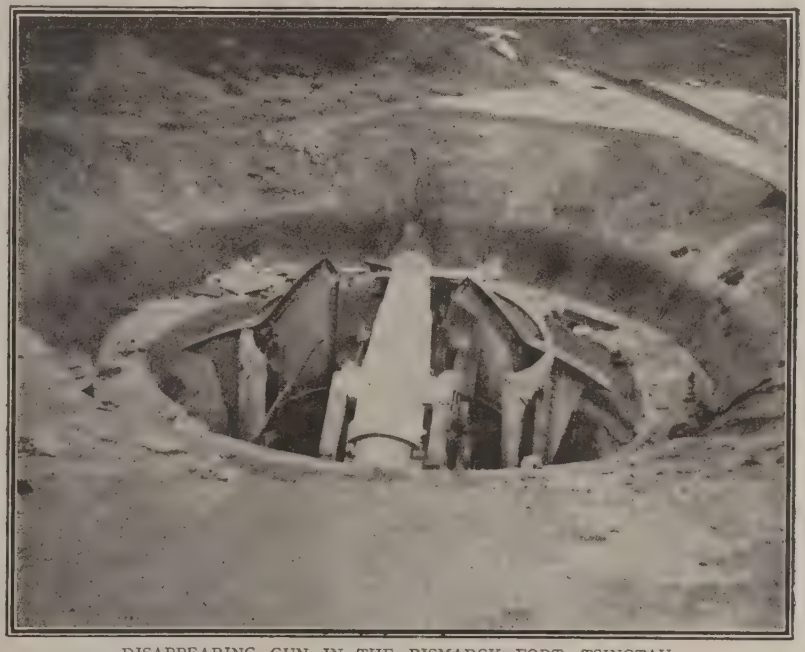
Kaiser's intrigues against Japan

Japan had never forgotten what the Kaiser had done in these matters, and she was well aware that Germany was incessantly intriguing against her in China and, farther afield, in the United States. In 1908 the Kaiser nearly succeeded in placing China in direct and open hostility to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, though that treaty was the best guarantee of the independence of China and the inviolability of her territory. His plan was to form an alliance of China, the United States, and Germany against Great Britain and Japan. It failed, but his machinations and plots continued, and it was largely owing to them that China was a prey to unrest and internal disunion, with something approaching anarchy, during 1915 and 1916.

The struggle between the Entente and the Central Powers was foreseen by the sagacious statesmen of Japan, and they knew perfectly on which side she would stand when it broke out. In their opinion her action was the logical outcome of her policy during the years that had preceded the war, and they never wavered. A rumour was long current that at the start the Kaiser sent a despatch to the Emperor of Japan asking him to throw in his lot with Germany, and promising whatever he wished; but it was false, as was stated on authority later. The Kaiser could not but be aware how vain and fruitless such a request would be, and certainly nothing of the sort reached Japan.

In the eyes of Japan the capture of Kiao-chau, though it was undoubtedly a fine achievement, did not appear a great feat of arms in comparison with the main events and incidents of the war; but that which pleased her about it was that its moral effect in Eastern Asia was very great in the undoing of German influence, to the utmost benefit of the Allies both by land and sea in the Far East. Another important feature of her operations in Kiao-chau was that the Siege of Tsingtau immobilised several of the German gunboats, besides an Austrian cruiser, which otherwise might easily have perpetrated raids and done much mischief to such British centres as Hong Kong and Singapore. The rest of the German Asiatic Fleet, which had got out of Tsingtau, was quite prepared to attack Australia and the islands belonging to the Entente Powers in the southern seas, but both Great Britain and Japan took action, described earlier in others parts of this history (see Chapter XLVI.), which within a few months rid the oceans of this peril.

From the beginning of the war Japan's part in it from the naval point of view was of exceptional importance, and continued to be the same, all the multifarious services rendered by her warships being performed with remarkable energy and the highest efficiency. In the first year of the struggle Japanese vessels protected the coasts of Australia, New Zealand, and British Columbia at a time when German cruisers still roamed the Pacific. The Parliament of British Columbia, indeed, placed on its records a public acknowledgment of the work done by the Japanese Navy in the interests of that province of Canada. After all the German warships had been swept from the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and the enemy merchant marine in these waters had been either captured or bottled up in neutral ports, such as those of the Dutch East Indies, the Navy of



DISAPPEARING GUN IN THE BISMARCK FORT, TSINGTAU.
The formidable Bismarck Mountain position was destroyed at the beginning of November, 1914, by the British pre-Dreadnought H.M.S. Triumph. Her shooting was so good that she put the fort out of action with seven shells.

Japan was never idle, though little was heard of its many activities. It was natural that, with the main concentration of the British Navy in the North Sea, with British patrols all around the shores of the British Isles and out into the Atlantic, and with the French and, later, the Italian Fleets guarding the Mediterranean, the charge confided to Japan should be the Eastern Seas and the great ocean routes from Hong Kong to Vancouver, from Singapore to Suez and Zanzibar, and she remained primarily responsible for them.

Troops from Australia and New Zealand were convoyed to the Red Sea with the assistance of Japanese cruisers, not once but frequently. Now and then a glimpse of what was going on in this way was obtained by the general public, who else knew nothing about it, as when a notice appeared in the Press of a presentation by members of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force of a silver model of a Maori war-canoe to Captain Kato, of the Japanese warship Ibuki, which had been one of the squadron

Japanese cruisers as convoys

FRIENDS AND ALLIES.
The Russian Grand Duke George Mikhailovitch reviewing the Japanese Imperial Guards Division.

protecting the transports bound for Egypt. Part at least of the Russian soldiers, who in 1916 were fighting in the trenches by the side of the French and the British on the western front, were embarked from Dairen, the Japanese port in Manchuria and the terminus of the Japanese railway which connects with Russia's great trans-continental line across Siberia.

A wider and better notion of what the Japanese Navy was doing on the oceans of the East was obtained from a speech made in the Japanese Parliament by Admiral Yashiro, the Minister of Marine. He said that, subsequent to the occupation of Kiao-chau, the strength of the Japanese warships which were constantly employed in co-operating with the British Navy was 225,000 tons, or, expressed in another form, was equal to nearly the total naval strength of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War. In carrying out the task that had been committed to her capable hands of guarding the Indian and Pacific Oceans, Japan used a naval strength double that of the British Eastern and Australian Fleets prior to the war. When the war broke out the Navy of Japan was most formidable, its total strength being about 650,000 tons, and all this was at the disposal of the Allies, if required; Japan put more than one-third of it as one of her contributions to the common cause. This took no account, furthermore, of the activities on the same behalf of her merchant marine.

Japanese goodwill to Russia

There was a report at one time, which was spread by German newspapers, that after the sinking of two of her big passenger liners by enemy submarines in the Mediterranean she stationed cruisers in the Mediterranean, but this statement was incorrect. Though the activities of the Japanese Navy were so incessant and so various, they fortunately did not cost her much in ships, her only losses, and these of comparatively small consideration, being incurred in the Kiao-chau operations. During the Siege of Tsingtau a third-class cruiser, the Takachiho, one destroyer, one torpedo-boat, and three steamers employed as mine-sweepers were destroyed by mines or gun fire.

In March, 1916, Japan performed an act which at once reflected credit upon her, and at the same time showed how utterly former animosities had disappeared. This was the return to Russia of the two battleships Sagami and Tango and the armoured cruiser Soya, vessels which had taken part on the Russian side in the Russo-Japanese War under the names of the Peresviet, Poltava, and Variag. These ships had been sunk by the Japanese during that conflict, but they had been raised by patient Japanese skill, refitted, rearmed, and transformed into fine fighting units. Japan did not hand back these warships to Russia without receiving value for them, but by restoring them she gave Russia a navy in the Pacific, and demonstrated afresh the goodwill she bore to that empire.

JAPANESE AT THE ITALIAN NAVAL SCHOOL, MODENA.

This was a striking instance of her friendship with Russia, yet it almost dropped into insignificance when compared with the vast and continued services which she ungrudgingly rendered to her old antagonist in the making of all kinds of munitions for the Russian armies. Russia, however, was not the only member of the Entente combination to whom she gave arms.

In the early days of the war Japan was not so badly prepared for it as were most of the Allies, and she threw open her very considerable military stores for the common benefit. Thus, a part of Kitchener's new armies was furnished with Japanese rifles, and all the Allies except Italy had certain rifle supplies from Japan, who also provided some guns for the British Navy. But it was on behalf of Russia that she worked wonders in manufacturing munitions, invoking for the prodigious effort all her industrial resources, and keeping at work, day and night, every available mill and factory in the country, besides the Government arsenals.

Japan began to send munitions to Russia from the very outset of the war. As far back as September, 1914, the correspondent of the London "Times" in Petrograd

reported that heavy siege-guns, purchased from Japan on the outbreak of the war, were already in position on the Russian front in Europe. In proportion to the enormous scope and protracted duration of the stupendous conflict which the ambition and arrogance of Germany forced upon the world, Russia was but poorly supplied with munitions. She possessed no such resources, either in her Government works or in her industrial communities, as were at all equal to what she required, but her lack of arms and supplies was not at first evident. It was only when it was known that the retreat from Galicia and Poland of her armies, as brave as any that ever fought on any stricken field, which began in May, 1915, and continued into October of that year, was entirely due to her shortage in shells, rifles, and other munitions that her tragical deficiencies came to be understood. Yet prior to the fall of Warsaw in August, 1915, Japan had sent to Russia, to speak of rifles alone, a number sufficient to arm no fewer than fifty-two divisions, or, put in another way, something like three-quarters of a million of rifles. She had also despatched to Russia a considerable quantity of field-artillery and of heavy guns.

Baron Ishii's revelation

It was after Warsaw had passed into the possession of the enemy that Japan, at the urgent request of the other Allies, so greatly expanded her munitionary capacity, and mobilised all her mills, factories, and plant of all sorts that was of use. In November, 1915, in the course of the interview already quoted, Baron Ishii, after mentioning that two Japanese arsenals were constantly employed in producing to their full power munitions for Russia, stated that of the troops Russia had mobilised or was mobilising at that time only one-third was armed, and that Japan was arming the rest. It seemed a tall order, even for the devotion of the Japanese, but it was filled.

During the summer of 1915 Japan had experienced a political crisis connected with her domestic affairs which left its after effects. The Marquis, then Count, Okuma, one of the most distinguished and far-seeing among her leaders, was forced to resign the Premiership, but the country rallied round him, and he came into power again. Yet, however much her politicians quarrelled among themselves, and feeling ran high in her Parliament, the making of munitions went on just the same. In October of that year the coronation of the Emperor Yoshihito took place with all the time-honoured, beautiful, and stately ceremonial of Japan, but the flow of arms into Russia never stopped for a moment. And all through the winter of 1915–16 and the following spring, munitions in extraordinary plenitude were poured into the ports of Vladivostock and Dairen, and long processions of trains loaded with them were daily to be seen hurrying across the great Siberian plains to the Russian depôts in Europe and the Caucasus.

Magnificent results were almost immediately apparent when in January, 1916, the Grand Duke Nicholas inaugurated his campaign in Armenia and Persia, driving the Turks out of their stronghold of Erzerum in the one region and from their headquarters in Kermanshah in the other. But they were still more strikingly exhibited in the succeeding June of that year when the brilliant Brussiloff, carrying out the plans of Alexeieff and the Russian High Command, began his splendid offensive against the Austro-German armies between the marshes of the Pripet and the Pruth. The speedy and wonderful success of his brave soldiers was prepared chiefly by the guns and shells that had been sent to him in such prodigious quantities for months past by Japan. Nothing on such an overwhelming scale had been expected by the enemy, and his front was broken to pieces. Japan's silence had borne amazing fruit.

In 1915 Japan furnished Russia with munitions to the value of two hundred millions of yen, or in English money rather more than twenty millions sterling, and in the first half of 1916 her production was of even greater value. Besides guns of all calibres, rifles, bayonets, and ammunition, Japan

SONS OF THE TWO ISLAND EMPIRES.

Japanese sailors at gun practice. Above: British sailors landing at Tsingtau after the capitulation. The ships bombarded Tsingtau effectively from the very long range of nine miles.

also sent large quantities of cloth and hundreds of thousands of boots for the Russian soldiers. In 1915 she provided for Russia ten million yards of cloth, eight millions of which were made in Japanese mills, the rest being taken from the Government stores. In many other ways she rendered prompt and efficient aid, and among them was the coining of silver into Russian roubles and smaller pieces in immense numbers.

Not the least item in the account of all that Japan did for Russia was the comparative cheapness of the munitions and other articles which she sold to the latter Power, and this important feature came from the low cost of labour among the Japanese—Russia got the benefit of it to the full. When the manufacturers of the United States supplied the Allies with munitions it was at a much higher figure, because

WESTERN WARFARE IN THE ORIENT.
Portable Japanese trench-mortars, used by our Far Eastern ally in the approach trenches around Tsingtau. The mortars shown in the illustration have their muzzles covered to keep out damp.

THE MORNING TUB—JAPANESE STYLE.
Japanese warrior bathing in the special tub, typical of Far Eastern army equipment—an impression from the Kiao-chau area of hostilities.

everything was much dearer there than in Japan. For example, Japan was able to let Russia have rifles at about seventy shillings each, whereas rifles in America cost something like twice as much. And there was this further difference between the United States and Japan. In the case of the former, private firms and establishments, spurred on principally by the desire for commercial profit, made the munitions; but in the case of the latter, it was the Japanese Government itself—or that Government standing behind and urging on, by giving assistance in cash or with practical advice, the private manufacturers of Japan—that directed, controlled, and ensured the tremendous output that was so necessary for Russia.

Russia, as well she might be, was exceedingly grateful. She showed her keen appreciation of Japan's prodigious efforts on her behalf by an Imperial Mission, headed by the Grand Duke Mikhailovitch, a near relative of the Tsar, to Tokyo, where it arrived in January, 1916, and was enthusiastically welcomed by the Japanese. The visit was naturally an occasion for the display of all the courtesy and fine manners that are immemorial in Japan, and the Russians fully responded. The Emperor was present at a banquet given to the guests, and in toasting Russia, spoke with confidence of her future and that of the Entente Powers. The Grand Duke Mikhailovitch in reply said that Japan's sympathy for Russia, and the immense assistance Japan had given to the Russian armies throughout the war, had created a feeling of unbounded gratitude in his country, and guaranteed a lasting friendship between the two great empires.

But more lay behind this Russian mission than thanks, however sincere and profuse, or an exchange of compliments, however pretty and deserved, as was seen when, in July, 1916, it was announced that a convention had been signed in Petrograd by the two Powers which blended their efforts to secure and preserve enduring peace in the Far East. By this agreement Russia and Japan undertook two things. First, each of the subscribers agreed not to become a party to any arrangement or political combination directed against the other. Secondly, they pledged themselves, in the event of the territorial rights or the special interests in the Far East of either, which were recognised by the other, being threatened, that they would take counsel together with regard to the adoption of measures for safeguarding and defending those rights and interests. It was understood at the time that the two Powers had come to an arrangement respecting various definite matters of importance, and no surprise was excited when the further announcement was made in August that Russia, in recognition of the invaluable help Japan had rendered to her, had consented to make over to Japan that portion of the Chinese Eastern Railway

New Russo-Japanese agreement

which ran from Changchun to Harbin, and also had settled in favour of Japan a question as to the rights of Japanese shipping in the Sungari River, which had been in dispute since the Portsmouth Treaty of 1905.

As affecting the course of the war, the outstanding result of the convention was that it put an effectual stop to Germany's attempts to seduce either Russia or Japan from the number of the Entente Powers or from the Pact of London, by which these Powers covenanted to make peace only by common consent. Germany had offered, not once but several times, a separate peace to both Russia and Japan, and this fresh agreement between these two empires was their crushing reply. Great were the disappointment and chagrin of Germany. In her characteristic way, she tried to sow discord among the Allies by representing that the convention was a blow at Great Britain, and by suggesting that it might be looked on as replacing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance—instead of its being the corollary and complement of that treaty, as in fact it was.

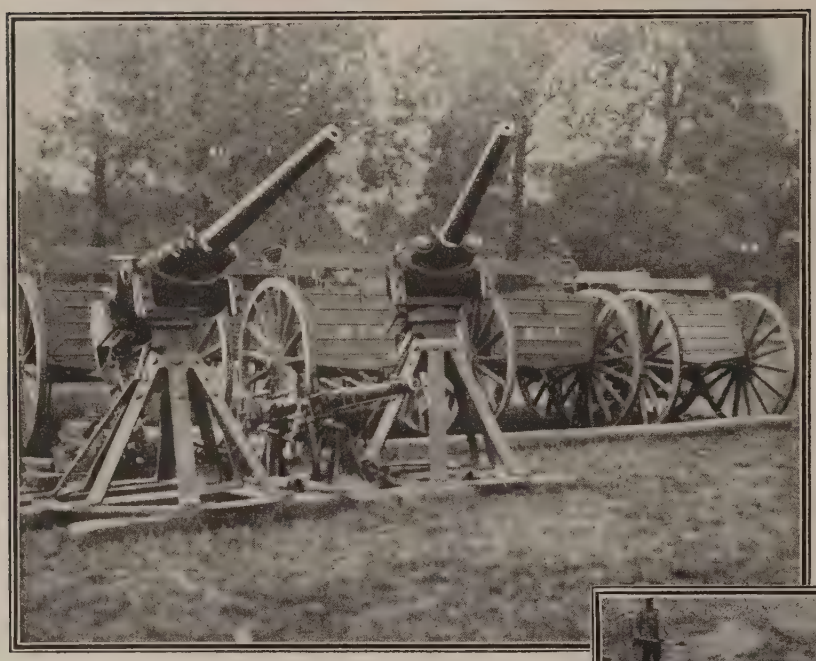
The truth was that the convention had been made with the full knowledge and the complete approval of Great Britain, who had no interest stronger in the Far East than a lasting friendship between Russia and Japan. The terms of the convention, when published, were received with pleasure in the United Kingdom. But in this attitude towards them Germany pretended to see nothing but the "usual British hypocrisy." German comment, as expressed by the "Cologne Gazette," a leading and typical German journal, and in close touch with the Kaiser and the German Government, said that while the convention strengthened to an extraordinary degree the position of Japan in the Far East, and by forestalling Russian opposition made it much easier for her to exploit China, the real sufferer was Great Britain, together with the United States, and that it was absurd for the British people to profess to welcome it, when it was plain that British, like American, influence in China was being steadily reduced more and more by Japan. Yet in reality what the convention brought about was a further cementing of the alliance of Great Britain with both Japan and Russia, all indissolubly united in the one great purpose of overthrowing Germany. That disturber of the world took very good care to say nothing regarding the blow to her hopes which the convention was, nor did she succeed in causing ill-will among the Allies, though she went on, as before, to do her utmost through China.

German efforts to sow discord

Renewed intrigue in China

Under cover of China, who had declared neutrality at the beginning of the war, Germany continued her incessant and unscrupulous campaign of intrigue against the Entente Powers. She bought up and edited Chinese newspapers, which she filled with reports, many of them false, of her victories, and with slanders of the Allies. From her concessions in the bunds of the various treaty ports she conducted a propaganda of lies and distorted statements to impress the Chinese and any other people she could reach. She egged on the Chinese Government, then presided over by Yuan Shi-kai, to oppose the Japanese in particular, and when the latter, after the wresting of Kiao-chau from the Germans, declared that by their conquest of the district they were entitled to fall heir in that area to all the German rights and privileges, including the railway which the Germans had built, she stirred up China to protest and take measures injurious to Japan.

ON WAR SERVICE IN THE FAR EAST: JAPANESE SAILORS CLEANING THE GUNS ON A BATTLESHIP.



JAPAN'S PART ON THE EASTERN FRONT.

When the Germans took possession of Brest Litovsk a number of Japanese cannon used by the Russians were captured. Some of these are seen in this illustration, together with ammunition waggons which, it will be noted, are marked with Japanese characters.

This action of China led to a grave crisis in 1915 in the political relations of the two countries, and for a time it looked as if war were inevitable between them—which was exactly what Germany had been playing for, with a view to the embarrassment of Japan and of the other Allies through Japan, for it was clear that if Japan had to fight China she would not be in a position to do so much munitionary and other work for her friends. The situation was greatly strained for some months, but Japan was firm, and in the end China gave way. As results of the negotiations that then took place Japan secured valuable concessions, such as ninety-nine year leases of the South Manchurian Railway and the Antung-Mukden Railway, to which she already had an excellent title. She also had demanded from China an undertaking that the latter would not cede or lease any portion of her coastline or any of her islands to any Power except Japan, but on China issuing a proclamation that she would not alienate any part of her coastline or any of her islands to any Power whatsoever, Japan was content. The German-fomented agitation had done no good to either Germany or China.

Japanese jingoes, who disliked the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, asserted that China had been let off far too lightly, and hinted that it was because of Great Britain. But the statesmen of Japan replied that they had no wish that Japan should pose as dictator in China, and that her policy remained based, as in the past, on the independence and territorial integrity of China, which was guaranteed by Japan and Great Britain, and virtually by France, Russia, and the United States. The business of Japan, they said, was to help China to get on her feet, and to free her from pressure from outside, but meanwhile Japan could not afford that China should drift into anarchy. China was too near to herself for her to permit a state of chaos in that country, in which she also had large interests.

ENEMY FIND AT GRODNO.

German soldiers unearthing a 28 cm. howitzer of Japanese origin, buried at Grodno before the Russian retreat, August, 1915.

AFTER TEN YEARS.

The complete reconciliation of two honourable foes. Photograph taken by a Russian officer, showing some of the Japanese and Russian soldiers in company.

Japan's financial resources

Japan had to conserve her interests in China and elsewhere, for she was not a rich country in the same sense that Great Britain and France were rich. Her war with Russia had imposed on her a debt of two hundred millions, and the interest on it, together with the upkeep of her national services, had seriously burdened her people, some of whom complained of the necessary taxation, and protested that this or that service might be managed at less cost. It so happened that Japan, when she declared war on Germany, had a surplus in her treasury of ten millions sterling, which had been acquired by the most rigid economies spread over three years, and had involved the retirement of three thousand functionaries. Financially, Japan was not a Great Power, and these ten millions, so hardly come by, were a vast sum to her, but she devoted it to the war, and never asked her wealthy Allies for money. It also was the case that the general position of her trade and commerce was one of depression at that time, but there was a marked improvement, which set in during the

COMMANDER SHIMOMURA.
Lost with the Queen Mary in the Jutland Battle.

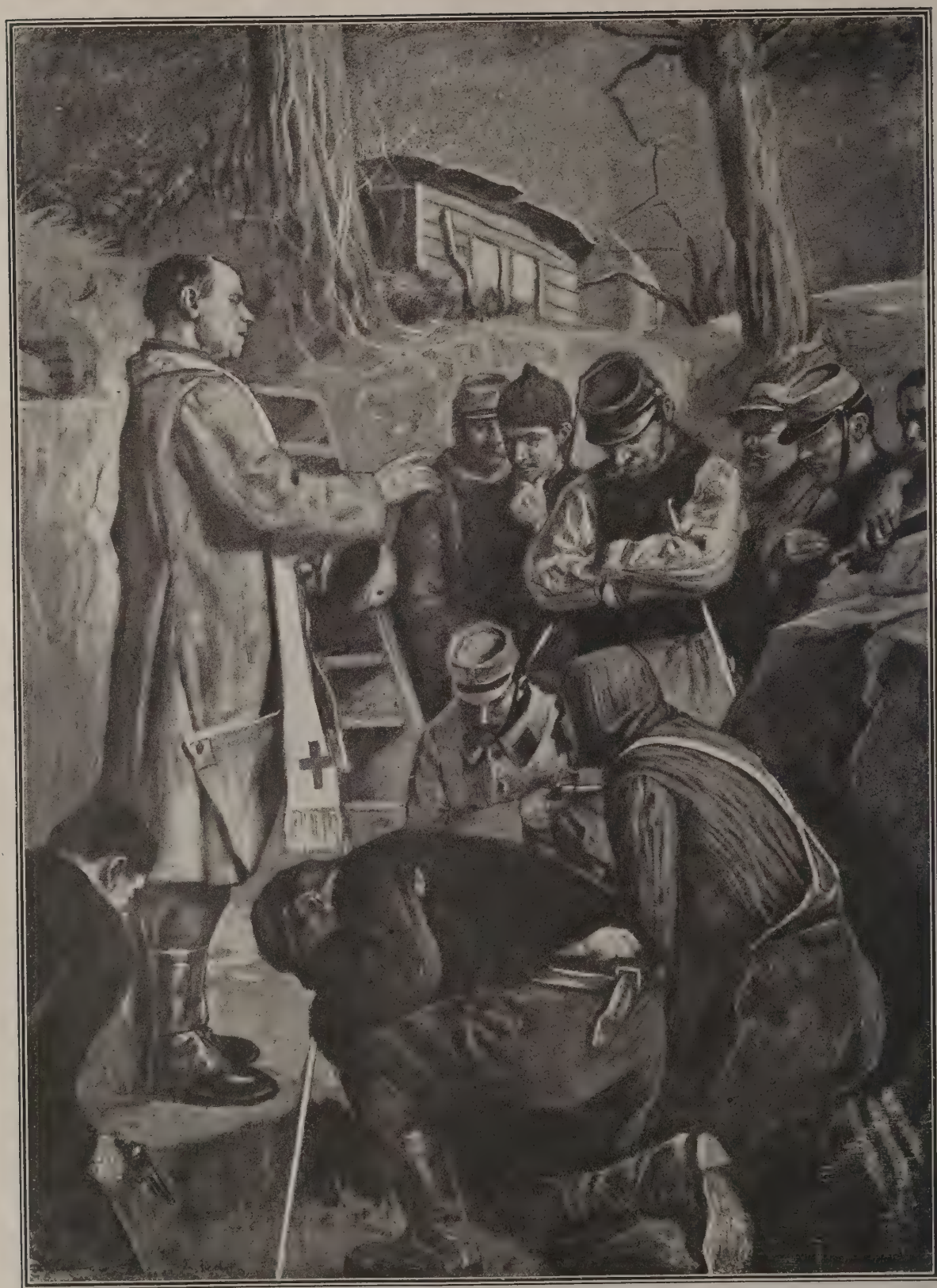
ADMIRAL KATAOKA AND HIS STAFF ABOARD THE FUSÉ.
On the occasion of the Coronation Naval Review at Tokio.

latter half of 1915, owing to the large sums derived from the sale of munitions and from her shipping, though, as in other lands, some industries suffered considerably from the war. The national gold reserve increased rapidly, and thus, instead of it being necessary for her to receive financial help, she was able to give assistance in the financing of her Allies which, taking into account her comparative poverty, was on a considerable scale, and was as much as was within her limited power.

Great Britain experienced a good deal of difficulty in paying in America for the enormous quantities of munitions and supplies which she had bought there, and the rate of exchange fell. Now, Japan had twelve millions in gold deposited in New York, and she transferred the whole sum to Great Britain by taking British Treasury bonds in London against the amount. The financing of Russia was also one of the difficulties of the Allies, and Japanese bankers helped by buying five million pounds' worth of Russian bonds, and by promising to take a similar sum later. Japan also did something for France, for her Budget for 1916 set aside five millions for the redemption of Japanese railway bonds, which had been placed in Paris before the war.

Unlike that of her Allies, the debt of Japan decreased during the war, and by the end of the second year of the struggle her gold reserve had grown to sixty million pounds. Of this immense sum she kept more than one half in London —which was at once an assistance to British finance generally and for the prosecution of the war, and a remarkable proof of the confidence she reposed in Great Britain.

THE MEETING OF "THE TWAIN": WESTERN ROLLING STOCK AND EASTERN BANNERS.
There is a curious blending of East and West in this illustration of Japanese school-children cheering the Mikado's soldiers on their way to Tsingtau. While the flags and some of the costumes are essentially Japanese, the locomotive and sheds are incongruously Western.



FORTIFIED WITH THE BLESSING OF THE CHURCH: ABSOLUTION BEFORE BATTLE.

It was the invariable custom of French Roman Catholic soldiers going into action to present themselves before a priest, and their confession, by ecclesiastical authority, having been taken as heard, receive absolution and the blessing of the Church on the self-sacrificing duty before them.

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PRAYERS BEFORE GOING

CHAPTER CXXXII.

INTO THE TRENCHES.

THE "PADRE" IN THE FIGHTING-LINE.

By F. A. McKenzie.

The Chaplain-General's Department at the War Office—Harmonious Co-operation of the Churches at the Front—The Rev. Lionel Studd—Army Chaplains at Mons—The Rev. O. S. Watkins Accompanies the Retreat to Tournan—Heroic Chaplain Wins the D.S.O.—Work of the Chaplains on Gallipoli—The Rev. J. A. Luxford at Anzac—Burial of the Dead—Death of the Rev. William Grant—Prayers at Walker's Ridge Gully—Armistice Day—The New Zealanders and their Padre—Suvla Bay—Mr. Luxford Loses a Leg—The Dean of Sydney holds Communion Service under Shell Fire—Service in a "Jack Johnson" Shell Hole—Colonel McKenzie, of the Salvation Army, Wins the Military Medal—Twenty Weeks in the Trenches—The Rev. A. G. Parham Wins the Military Cross—Canadian Chaplain Buries Comrades in No Man's Land Single-handed—The Rev. Edward Noel Mellish Wins the V.C.—The Battle of Loos—Chaplains of the Highland Brigade—Service in a Cellar at Ypres—Father William Finn at Seddul-Bahr.

EARLY in the Great War even the newest and youngest British soldier learned to call the chaplains by a special name, padre—father. It was a significant title, sure proof that the chaplains had won the affection and confidence of the men. What the chaplains did, how worthily they carried out their high task, can be judged to some extent from the official honours' lists. One chaplain—a South London curate—won the Victoria Cross, while many were given the Military Cross and other decorations for gallantry in the field. The long list of clergy killed and wounded in the war tells its own tale—the naval chaplains who sank with their ships; the workers with the Army wounded in the trenches of Flanders, torn asunder by shells in the advance on the Somme, or cut down while comforting the dying in the Dardanelles. But the crowning testimony to their work came from the men among whom they laboured. It is not too much to say that thousands of our men had their whole purpose of life turned by the lessons learned from the simple services in the gullies of Gallipoli, in barns and dug-outs in Flanders, or in open-air gatherings, where the ceremonies of faith were ever liable to interruption from chance shell or gas attack.

THE MINISTRY OF KINDNESS.
A British chaplain writing a field postcard for a wounded man whose right arm had been disabled.

The work of the Churches in the British Army is controlled by the Chaplain-General's Department at the War Office. At the beginning of the war one chaplain was allowed to each brigade; but this number was found inadequate, and was later on considerably increased. In addition to the regular chaplain of the brigade—Anglican for English regiments, Presbyterian for Scottish, etc.—other Churches could obtain the right of appointing chaplains under certain conditions. The British chaplains were drawn from the Anglicans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Wesleyans, a Nonconformist Board, and Jews. With the Dominion forces the field of selection was even wider. Thus the Australian Government appointed thirteen Salvation Army officers as military chaplains

[*Russell.*

THE CHAPLAIN-GENERAL TO THE FORCES.
The Rt. Rev. John Taylor Smith, D.D., C.V.O., appointed Chaplain-General in 1901. He accompanied the Ashanti Expedition in 1895, and afterwards was Bishop of Sierra Leone.

The Chaplain-General to the Forces, Bishop Taylor Smith, had, before joining the Services, done distinguished service in West Africa, first as Canon Missioner in Sierra Leone, and subsequently as bishop of that diocese. He acted for a time as chaplain to the Ashanti Expedition, when his work brought him in touch with Prince Henry of Battenberg during his last illness. He brought back Prince Henry's last messages to his wife and to Queen Victoria. He was appointed one of the honorary chaplains to the Queen, and when the bishop retired from his see in Africa, he was appointed to control the religious work of the Army. Next to him were the Rev. Dr. Simms, a Presbyterian minister, principal chaplain on the western front, and Bishop Gwynne of Khartoum, appointed to control the Church of England clergy at the front. Both of these held the rank of major-general in the Army.

Christian Union in the field

At home there was at first some difficulty about selecting the chaplains so as to give proper representation to the different Churches and in adjusting their ranks. At the front there was little or none of this. Every Church worked together in almost complete harmony. Men sank for the time their differences. Catholic helped Congregationalist in works of mercy; Methodist and Jew co-operated; the Presbyterian assisted the Catholic priest in some of his duties, and the priest reciprocated by visiting and taking comforts to the Presbyterian's flock. A religious journal in England became alarmed over this, and complained that the distinct lines of denominational positions were being wiped out by the men in the trenches. One chaplain admitted that this was true. "We have all seen a regiment come out from England, every man decked out like a Christmas-tree, with writing-cases, Thermos flasks, and all kinds of fal-lals pressed on them by friends at home," he said. "Meet that same regiment a week or two after, when it has been in action. All the Christmas decorations have gone. The boys have learned that they have quite enough to carry without them, and have got down to bare essentials. So it is with us chaplains. We find in the stress of war that all we carry are the essentials of our faith."

One of the warmest eulogies of the work of the Y.M.C.A. was passed by the head of the British Jewish Church; and the senior chaplain at the front, a Presbyterian, asked the Bishop of London for his blessing when the bishop was leaving after a service in the fighting-lines.

When war broke out, ministers of every Church volunteered to serve as chaplains. Comparatively few could be accepted. Others determined not to be denied. Scores of Presbyterian ministers enlisted in the ranks or obtained commissions, since there was no other way. One of these resigned his charge to take a commission, because he said that he could not look the lads of his congregation in the face if he did otherwise. He died soon afterwards, leading his men at Loos. Many Church of England curates were anxious to enlist as private soldiers. Here, however, their bishops intervened, and forbade them. It was not the work of a Christian minister, they declared, to fight. He must continue his work at home, or at the most, he must go as an ambulance worker with the Red Cross. Most of the clergy unwillingly submitted; some put on khaki and could be found in the months that followed driving motor-ambulances, organising ambulance squads, or serving in other ways behind the lines.

Ministers in the ranks

[*Elliott & Fry.*

THE RT. REV. MONSIGNOR BICKERSTAFFE DREW.
Began his long service as Army chaplain (R.C.) in 1886. He was twice mentioned in despatches during the Great War.

The Rev. R. J. Campbell told how, on one of his visits to the front, "one West of England vicar introduced himself to me and laughed at my bewilderment when I looked at his grey hairs and then at his private's uniform. 'Oh, yes,' he remarked, 'I am over age right enough, but not for my particular job. I drive an ambulance out here; at home I am a parish priest, but in both places I have the cure of souls.'"

A few Anglican clergymen, who deemed themselves fortunate indeed, enlisted at the very beginning, before the bishops' prohibition was known. One of these, the Rev. Lionel Studd, was the first English clergyman to be killed in the war.

Cricket and cure of souls

The Studds are a famous English family of country gentlemen and cricketers. In the days when Moody and Sankey first visited England, Mr. Studd, the grandfather of Captain Studd, came under their influence. Up to this time he had been distinguished as a leader in every kind of sport; now he won fame of another kind. He joined with Quintin Hogg at the Polytechnic in Regent Street, London, the most successful religious institute for young men in Europe. Mr. Studd's sons followed in his footsteps. The Studd brothers were among the finest cricketers of their day. One of them went as a missionary to China; the other took the leadership of the Polytechnic when Quintin Hogg died. The grandson, young Lionel Studd, maintained the family tradition. He was keen on games; he was an active Territorial, and he was also strongly religious. On Trinity Sunday, 1914, he was ordained as a clergyman by the Bishop of London. That summer he worked as a curate in the parish of Holloway. Then came the call of war. He had not yet resigned his place in his old corps, the 12th Battalion of the London Regiment. For a moment he hesitated as to what was his duty. But not for long. His curacy was given up, and he joined his regiment.

Early in 1915 he and his battalion were in the trenches outside Ypres. Their position was being heavily

BISHOP OF LONDON ABOARD A DREADNOUGHT.
In July, 1916, the Bishop visited every battleship and battle-cruiser.

BISHOP OF LONDON HOLDING A CONFIRMATION SERVICE ON H.M.S. IRON DUKE.
The Bishop pronouncing the blessing at the end of a Confirmation service for officers and men of the Grand Fleet, held July 23rd, 1916, on H.M.S. Iron Duke, when he confirmed two hundred men. In circle: The Bishop walking with Admiral Sir John Jellicoe.

bombarded, and he had some narrow escapes. "The thing that strikes me most is that it seems the most natural thing in the world to be here," he wrote. "It doesn't seem either heroic or terrifying. In fact, we were shelled last night again, and I slept peacefully through the whole shelling. After all, what is there to be afraid of? If one is killed it is merely the beginning of a life far fuller than the present one

On the next day he was again in the trenches, when he was hit on the head by a shrapnel bullet, and died a few hours later. He never recovered consciousness. He had given a fine example of the parson as the fighting man in the trenches. If he was the first English clergyman to die in this way, there were soon many to follow him, and his little grave outside Ypres, with a simple wooden cross over it, recalls a young life well spent and bravely ended.

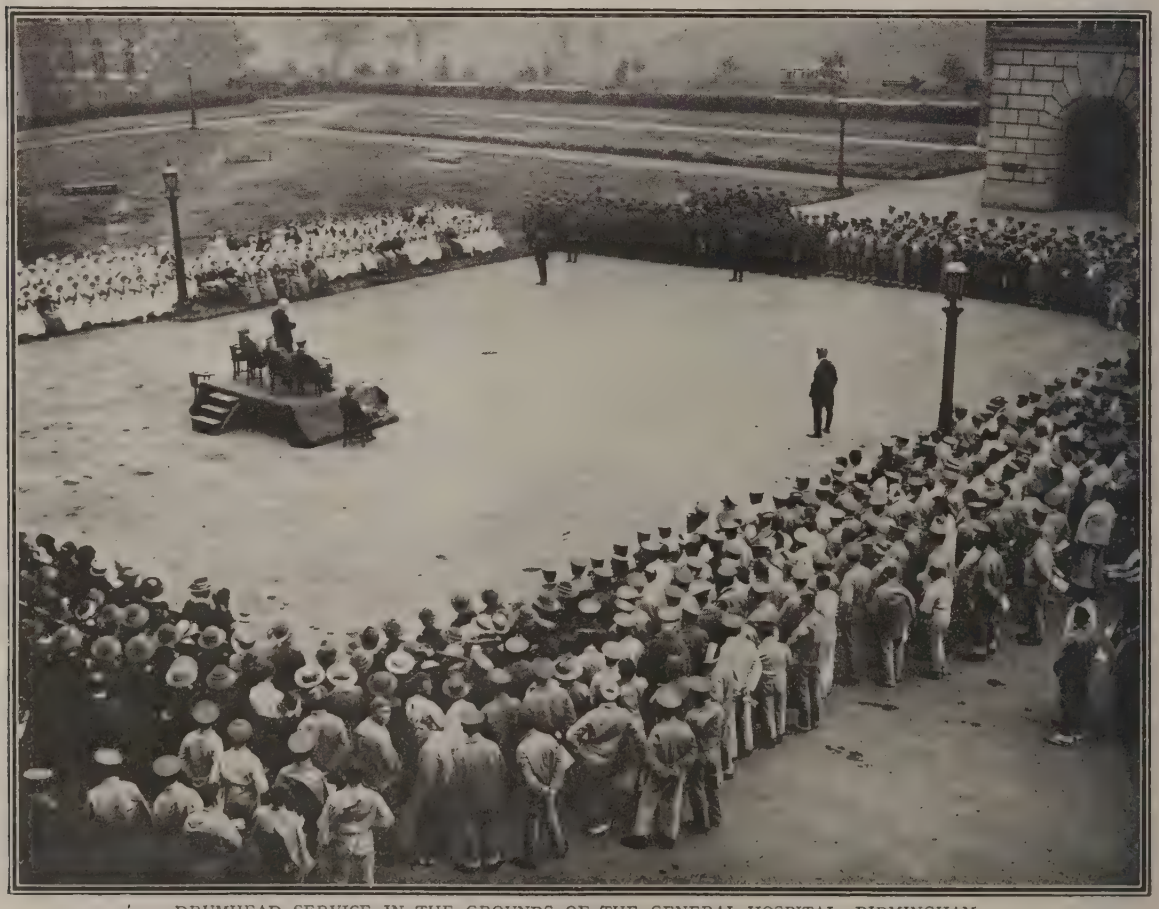
The work of the Army chaplains in the early days around Mons is a romance of itself. One of the most vivid accounts of their experiences was given by the senior Wesleyan chaplain, the Rev. Owen Spencer Watkins.* Mr. Watkins was first attached to the 14th Field Ambulance. He arrived at the front just as the retreat from Mons had begun. The ambulance, after forming a dressing-station, was ordered to retire, with the rest of the army. "In haste the Red Cross flag was hauled down, the waggons packed, and even as we moved out of the yard round the buildings we had occupied as a temporary hospital the shells began falling, and in half an hour the place was a smoking ruin."

Army chaplains at Mons

For three days he retreated with his comrades to Le Cateau, three days in which they had only six hours' sleep and two real meals. During the day the heat was almost tropical; at night it was fiercely cold. Rain came on—freezing rain. Men dozed as they stumbled along; some fell and had to be left where they lay; padre and private were happy when they could pause for a brief spell and rest on a pile of corn sheaves in the open field in the rain and cold. At Le Cateau our army turned on the enemy, and the immortal battle followed. After a time the approaching German batteries made it necessary for the ambulance to move still farther back. To the chaplain was given the work of shepherding the wounded who could walk, and seeing them safe to Busigny railway-station. "I never want such a task again," he wrote. "Up and down that road I galloped, urging one poor fellow to hop faster, expostulating with another who, seated by the road-side, declared he could go no farther, and that to fall into the hands of the Germans would be no worse than the agony he endured as he walked. At last I came across a farmer's cart, and taking the law into my own hands, commandeered it, and made the man come back with me and pick up all who could walk no more. Time and again there would be a burst of shrapnel in the road, but as far as I could see nobody was injured. Just off the road the cavalry were at work, doing their best to guard our flank as we retreated, for now I learned we were in full retreat.

The retreat to Le Cateau

* "With French in France and Flanders." By Owen Spencer Watkins. London: C. H. Kelly, 1915.



DRUMHEAD SERVICE IN THE GROUNDS OF THE GENERAL HOSPITAL, BIRMINGHAM.

Dr. Wakefield, Bishop of Birmingham, visited the front on several occasions and paid high tribute to the devoted work of the Army chaplains. On the second anniversary of the declaration of war he conducted a special drumhead service at the General Hospital, Birmingham.

THREE SONS OF FRANCE BAREHEADED BEFORE A BROKEN ALTAR.

On the outbreak of war a large number of French priests forsook the pulpit for the trenches, and thus were able to administer spiritual consolation to their countrymen. A Red Cross priest is seen praying before the débris of a church that had been shattered by enemy guns.

Amongst the cavalry the casualties were heavy. Such as we could reach we carried with us. At last, to my infinite relief, Busigny was reached, and I was relieved of my charge."

The retreat went on. At Roumont Mr. Watkins found not only the church but also a neighbouring school packed with wounded. "The scene presented was such that I will not harrow your feelings in attempting to describe it. I passed down the lines of broken men, saying such words as God gave to me, but not daring to tell them that we should have to leave them where they were." Still on! The dreadful night that followed left its mark on all who passed through it. Aching in every nerve and in every bone, thirsty beyond words, so long without food that they had forgotten to be hungry, they pressed on. At one point the padre paused and dismounted, feeling that he could go no farther.

In four days he had only had ten hours' sleep and three proper meals. He sat by the roadside holding his horse, and once went off to sleep. He reached soon after sunrise an ambulance-waggon, with a water-cart. The water was wanted for the wounded. Just then a battalion of exhausted infantry came up, saw the cart, and made a dash for it. Thirst had now reached a point where it was torture. Mr. Watkins spoke to the men and explained that there was very little water left in the cart, and that it was wanted for the wounded. "I'm thirsty myself," he said, "and I'm awfully sorry for you chaps, but you see how it is; the wounded must come first." "Quite right, sir," the men replied at once. "Didn't know it was a hospital water-cart." And parched as they were, they moved on.

Wounded men first

The retreat continued until September 6th, when the troops paused at Tournan, south of Paris. Then they turned on the enemy. "At dawn on Sunday, September 6th," wrote the chaplain, simply and nobly, "we turned our faces north once more, and thanked God that we were able to do so. It was another Sunday without public services, but it was rich in private communion on the march, in bivouac, and ambulance-waggon, and as at the close of the day I wrapped myself in my greatcoat to sleep in the long grass by the roadside, I thanked God that He had honoured me by calling me to such high service."

There were many chaplain heroes in the great retreat. Here is the story of another. A party of British wounded were hidden in a cave. Word was brought to a brigade, and a chaplain headed a rescue-party. The party found that the only road which approached the cave was being heavily shelled by the Germans. The chaplain ordered his companions to halt. He was on horseback, they were on foot. "You stay where you are," he said. "I will ride through. Wait ninety minutes, and if I don't return, report to headquarters." He started off before they could stop him, right through the death-laden zone. Time after time it seemed as though a shell had got him. Time after time he escaped as it were by a miracle. Then they lost sight of him.

Heroes of the retreat

The ninety minutes passed, and the padre had not returned. The stretcher-bearers went back and reported. They were ordered to return and wait for half an hour more, and then, if the chaplain had not arrived, to go into the cave. At the end of twenty-five minutes the chaplain appeared riding as coolly as though out for an afternoon trot, taking no notice of the shells whistling all round. He had found that the wounded there had already been attended to by a retreating company. He had remained on to minister to them. The chaplain was given the Distinguished Service Order; the soldiers who had witnessed his bravery declared that he ought to have had the Victoria Cross.

The Gallipoli campaign illustrated another side of the life of the chaplains.

Here was an army called upon to endure the worst that war can give. Day and night, in the trenches or behind the lines, the men were never out of reach of the enemy fire. Weakened by disease, working perpetually at the highest strain, crowded together in a small space for months amid fierce tropical heat, with little shelter and no comfort, they were constantly called upon to undertake the most desperate ventures. How they fought and how they died the world knows.

Attached to this army were a number of chaplains, Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Salvation Army. If ever men were called upon to prove their faith by works, these were. Their parishes were the trenches; their church services had to be held under the shrapnel fire of the enemy; their very Communion gatherings were frequently broken into by enemy snipers or spattered by enemy shells. It was their daily task to be among the reeking dead, to rescue the wounded under fire, to endure to the full the dangers and discomforts of the men. They more than rose to the occasion. Catholic priest and Salvation Army brigadier, Methodist padre and Presbyterian minister alike, showed as splendid examples of supreme courage as any recorded in the history of the Christian Church. The experiences of the Rev. J. A. Luxford, senior chaplain with the New Zealand contingent, were typical. He was at the great landing of the Australian and New Zealand troops at Anzac on the morning of April 25th, 1915, going ashore with a field-ambulance. There was already plenty to do. While the fighting was continuing a little way ahead, men were bringing the wounded in. The doctors had everything ready, and there on the beach, amid the crack of bullets and the din of shell fire, they hastily rendered first-aid. As the Anzacs pressed farther on, they brought their wounded back by every possible means—on donkeys, on the backs of their fellows, on improvised stretchers, bearing the mangled men through the gullies and down the cliffs as best they could. The sea around was literally red with the blood of the wounded men—blood from the bandages, the stretchers, and the dressings rinsed in it.

First-aid on Gallipoli

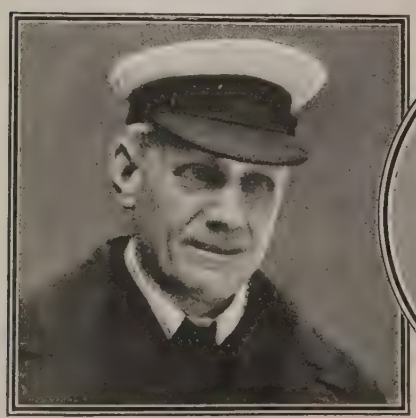
Picture the chaplains busy at first-aid; busy, too, administering the last consolations of their faith to dying men. A few hours later another duty called them. There were many to be buried. Dead bodies cannot be kept for long in this climate. The ministers wanted to give them Christian burial, but how could it be done? Everywhere they were exposed to snipers from the hills around. For a few men to gather together even for a funeral would mean that they would be picked off, one by one, by Turkish riflemen with telescopic sights, concealed in sheltered positions behind.

It was resolved to wait till midnight. Graves were dug, and the little party moved out quietly to perform the last rites. There were two chaplains, a Catholic priest and Mr. Luxford. Bodies were gently lifted in and the service had begun, when suddenly a Turkish machine-gun opened out on the position. There was no time to discuss what should be done. The burial-party took cover. The two clergymen jumped into the grave and, lying low, finished their service while the bullets swept overhead. Some of the soldiers had gone on to the hills that evening and had gathered a number of wild flowers, and when the Turkish machine-gun fire ceased they came back again and scattered flowers over their comrades' graves.

Burial scenes at midnight

It was a grim introduction to a grimmer time. The little foothold won by the Anzacs at tremendous cost consisted in the main of one valley: Shrapnel Gully with lines of posts and ridges on either side of it—Steele Post, Courtney Post, Quinn's Post, Pope's Hill with the direful Deadman's Land around, and Walker's Ridge. The Australians and New Zealanders here were never out of reach of the enemy's fire. In most campaigns the man who leaves the trenches can obtain some rest behind the lines. At Anzac there was no rest. Snipers were a special plague. When the Turks retired they left behind them picked marksmen hidden among trees and behind rocks, covered with branches or bushes or in other ways, so as to be invisible, and provided with a stock of ammunition and some provisions. These marksmen would lie still and wait, and, unseen themselves, would pick out and shoot down man after man. The only way to locate them—save when someone saw the flash or the slight haze from the fire of their rifles—was to note the direction of the bullets and to follow them up, a very difficult work. Death was always in the midst of the Anzacs. It was a pilgrimage of death and pain.

One of the most frequent tasks of the chaplains was to give Christian burial to the bodies of men who were killed. In the European field of war some endeavour was made to keep trace of the graves of the soldiers. In Gallipoli it was practically impossible, save in exceptional cases. The strain was so great, the work so tremendous, and the danger so constant that all that could be done was to try by some means and in some way to inter near where the brave had fallen, and to hold an abbreviated service over the remains of all that could be reached. Hundreds lay beyond the lines, whom even the boldest could not get at



FATHER ANTHONY.
Roman Catholic Naval Chaplain. He was wounded while saving two sailors from a warship during the Battle off Jutland.

THE REV. B. P. PLUMPTRE.
Curate of Bermondsey Old Parish Church. Awarded the Military Cross for gallantry and devotion in the field, July, 1916.

THE REV. J. G. TUCKEY.
Senior Chaplain, Third Army Corps. Served in South African War (despatches). Mentioned in despatches from the western front by Viscount French.

The British and the Turkish lines almost touched one another at some points. There were places where the British held the first part of a trench and the Turks held the end, a barricade separating them. It was here that one chaplain, the Rev. William Grant, a Presbyterian minister from New Zealand, died. He was up in the front trenches, and had reached a barricade across them when he heard moaning on the other side. He looked across the barricade; a wounded Turk was lying there in agony. By some oversight the chaplain had not been warned that the Turkish troops were on the other side. He walked round the barrier, raised the Turk and started tending his wounds. Two Turkish soldiers peeping round the corner saw a man in a British officer's uniform. They did not take time to observe what he was doing, but shot him dead on the spot.

A FESTIVAL ON THE FIELD OF WAR.

A "Slava," or name-fete day, with the 1st Regiment of Serbian Cavalry. A priest is blessing a cake, while the choir sings. Above: French priest officiating at the interment of fallen soldiers. Each grave was marked with the metal tricolour cockade of Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.

Religious services were held wherever possible, now among a company just going out into battle, now under the shelter of a small hill, now with the aeroplanes buzzing aloft and the bombs dropping near by. On one occasion a battalion at Walker's Ridge Gully was going out on a desperate endeavour, and before it started Mr. Luxford came up to it The chaplain suggested that they should have a prayer together. The major in charge eagerly assented. Picture the scene! The men amid the fierce heat wore a very minimum of clothing. They were in their shirt-sleeves. Athletes' "shorts" left their legs bare. As they stood up under the evening sun the chaplain started the hymn, "Abide with me," in which all joined, and then he read from the Prayer Book the beautiful prayer to be used before a fight at sea.

O most powerful and glorious Lord God, the Lord of Hosts, that rulest and commandest all things; Thou sittest on the throne judging right, and therefore we make our address to Thy Divine Majesty in this our necessity, that Thou wouldest take the cause into Thine own hand, and judge between us and our enemies. Stir up Thy strength, O Lord, and come and help us; for Thou givest not alway the battle to the strong, but canst save by many or by few. O let not our sins now cry against us for vengeance; but hear us thy poor servants begging mercy, and imploring Thy help, and that thou wouldest be a defence unto us against the face of the enemy. Make it appear that Thou art our Saviour and Mighty Deliverer, through Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.

Then they sang "Rock of Ages," and moved out to battle, fighting none the worse for their prayer. Out of a thousand men who went out, only one hundred and fifty answered the roll-call a few hours later; most of the remainder lay wounded, dying, or dead on the rocky front. The major was one of those who did not return.

Then came armistice day, a day as dreadful as any. Large numbers of dead were lying between the lines of the Turks and the British. Their bodies in the tropical climate were decomposed, spreading disease around. Both sides agreed on a truce to bury the dead. A line was drawn along the centre. The Turks were not to go beyond this on one side or the British beyond it on the other. The Turks were to hand all the British dead to their comrades and the British to do the same with the Turkish fallen. The British parties came in their shirt-sleeves, stained and wearied with much fighting. The Turks sent their companies up clad in fresh uniforms of clean khaki. The contrast between the two was very striking. The officers on either side talked together. The British had a very genuine respect for the Turks, who they felt fought bravely and fought cleanly, and the Turks reciprocated the feeling. It was soon seen that all hopes of sorting out the dead were impossible. They could not be moved, for often they fell to pieces when touched. Hour after hour during that long day the chaplains, amid the reek of indescribable corruption, performed the last rites over hundreds of graves. At times the decomposition was almost too much to be endured, and then it was the business of the chaplain with a word of encouragement to nerve the burial-parties to go through with their direful task.

A day in Dead Man's Land

One group of three dead figures was found, a major in the centre, a sergeant and a corporal supporting him. It was.

AUSTRIAN SACRILEGE ON THE EAST FRONT.
The Austrians, like the Germans, showed no respect whatever for churches, and adapted them, whenever possible, to military needs; in the case illustrated digging a trench through the building.

easy from the positions to reconstruct what had taken place. The major had fallen, shot in the leg; his sergeant and corporal had picked him up, and were bearing him back through the zone of fire when all three were shot down and died where they lay.

It was one work of the chaplains to take the identification discs from the dead soldiers and to preserve and gather up any little things, like letters or photos, likely to prove of interest to friends. In one man's pay-book, still clutched in his dead hand, they read the beginning of a letter which he had written as he lay dying. It was to his mother. "Dear Mother, I am hard hit. I shall never see you again. God——" And then the letter ceased.

Summer was coming on. The great heat was growing more and more unendurable, yet it had to be endured. The flies were an indescribable plague. Every man—chaplain, officer, private alike—had to do everything he could for the wounded and the sick. Disease, due to the closely packed positions of the men and to the insanitary surroundings, eventually carried off even more than the enemy's bullets and shells. The New Zealanders showed in many a way their appreciation of their padre. He had a dug-out on the hillside. Some of them, passing, noticed it. "That's not far enough in, padre," they said. "A fragment of shell might get you there." And so they set to work and dug it farther in, to be safe from shrapnel bullets. Then, while the padre was away on one of his tasks, they gathered sprigs, branches of trees, and green leaves to make it cool, soft, and attractive. At another time Mr. Luxford was carrying a wounded man on his back from the trenches. "I won't have that!" said one burly soldier, coming up and endeavouring to relieve him of his burden. But the chaplain who would not carry a wounded man on his back, go into the front lines with words of consolation, or advance if needs be with charging men, would have been little use at Gallipoli.

Then came the final crowning experience at Suvla Bay. A great blow was being struck that would, it was hoped, end the campaign and give Britain the Dardanelles. The Anzacs started from Suvla Bay, attacking with the utmost gallantry the Turks on Sari Bair and Chunuk Bair. The ground was one vast labyrinth of trenches, saps, and traverses. Barbed-wire entanglements were erected at every spot, shells were bursting, bombs exploding, and innumerable machine-guns were planted where they would do most damage to the attacking troops. How the Anzacs landed, how they cleared point after point, and then how victory was at the last moment taken from them by the failure of some other groups to advance from Suvla Bay, has already been told in this history. Their failure was one of the most glorious failures this world has known.

Three of the chaplains accompanied the New Zealand troops who took part in the first landing. Others came later. They all endured to the full the danger, the thirst, and the misery from heat and flies, of their comrades. They went out into the gullies, seeking their wounded and helping them when found. Mr. Luxford was one of the three. Hour after hour he kept on.

The Dean of Sydney

After one speciallytrying experience he sat down for a moment on a stone, tired out. As he paused there a Turkish bullet struck his leg severing the femoral artery, deflected, and travelled around the leg, inflicting a terrible wound—a wound which, in spite of every endeavour, made it necessary to amputate the limb.

The Dean of Sydney accompanied the Australian troops to Gallipoli. At the commencement, the soldiers were not quite sure whether they liked the Dean or not. He was a Talbot, a member of one of the great territorial families of England, and possibly they thought him a little stiff. What first won them to him was his absolute coolness during times of peril. For example, on one

occasion he was holding a Communion Service on the side of a hill. For a Communion cloth he had a Red Cross flag. There was nothing else to be had. A little congregation gathered around him. The service had barely begun before the Turks opened out with their heavy guns on that part of the line. Shells were bursting all around. The soldiers, accustomed as they were to shell fire, looked nervously up, and would not altogether have objected to an announcement that the celebration was postponed. The Dean took no notice. He did not show by so much as the flicker of his eyes that he heard or saw the shells or was conscious of the danger. The ceremony proceeded steadily, solemnly, without abbreviation, to its close. And no one was injured.

"There's a man!" said the Australians. When, a little later, the Dean was caught by a bullet as he was carrying up surgical supplies for the wounded at the front and was nearly killed, the men's confidence in him was confirmed. In his dug-out on the torrid hill-sides of Gallipoli he organised his little church. By a hard squeeze half a dozen men could get in his bomb-proof apartment at once. It was vestry, choir room, oratory, and a spot where many an anxious soul found comfort. The soldiers organised a choir for him. They dug a trench near to his abode—"Ambulance Trench," it was called. The choristers even ambitiously trained themselves in the intervals of fighting in anthems and part-singing. When at the end the Dean left them, no one held more firmly the affection and confidence of the men.

Services under shell fire

The Dean's Communion Service under shell fire did not stand alone. The Army chaplain had to hold services wherever he could and however he could. In Flanders the chaplains sometimes gathered the men in shell-holes. "I had a very interesting service with the men of one battery," wrote a chaplain with the North Midland Division. "The only secluded spot we could find was a large 'Jack Johnson' shell-hole. Fourteen of us gathered in it, and we had a good time there, conversing of things concerning the Kingdom. Firing was going on all round us, but it only served to intensify our assurance of the promise, 'I am with you—even to the end.'"

Another noted Gallipoli chaplain of a very different type was Brigadier—afterwards Colonel—McKenzie, of the Salvation Army, who won a high reputation among the Anzacs for absolute fearlessness. On more than one occasion he led the charges of the troops against the Turks, himself unarmed. He declared to the soldiers that he had prayed with them and preached to them, and he would be ashamed not to share their danger with them when they were in a tight corner. His distinguished bravery was recognised by the Government by the bestowal of the Military Medal.

Fearless Salvation Army colonel

McKenzie reached the front with the 1st Brigade of the Australians at the end of the first week of May. At the spot where he landed the Turkish trenches were within fifty yards. There had not been as yet any chaplains there, but there was abundant need for them. The troops had been paying very dearly for their boldness. Attacking the Turks without guns, armed only with rifles and bayonets, and facing a deadly hail of shrapnel and machine-gun fire, they had carried trench after trench, at a cost of over 5,000 casualties.

McKenzie's first work was to conduct the funeral service of the colonel of the 4th Battalion.

BLESSING THE TRICOLOUR: AN ITALIAN SCENE.

Italian priests blessing and kissing the tricolour, held in position by the officer commanding a new regiment to which the flag is being presented. Above: Celebration of Mass for Alpine soldiers at an altar, formed of ice-blocks, three thousand metres above the sea.

[Official photograph.

"THE DEFENDER OF THE FAITH" WITH HIS FAITHFUL SOLDIERS.

King George paid another visit to his soldiers on the western front during August, 1916, and saw every phase of their life. He did not fail to attend Divine service, and this photograph shows his Majesty at church, among his troops.

We found our colonel's body, he said, lying in an exposed position. We buried him at 9 p.m., and had to lie crouching to read the service, the bullets meanwhile whistling over my head by the hundred. I thought I was nearly "outed" on four separate occasions, twice with shells and twice with bullets. The first shell fell three feet behind me, and I threw myself flat on the road. I got covered with oil thrown up by the shell. The second shell fell the next day while I was conducting a funeral service. There were twenty of us, and the shrapnel fell all around and even into the grave, although by a miracle none of us were hit. One bullet grazed the top of my head and the other my right ear.

In ten days he had to read the Burial Service over one hundred and seventy men. Then came armistice day. Even he described it as "the most trying experience I have ever had. Many bodies had been robbed by the Turks and their identification discs taken off, and quite a number had to be buried 'unknown,' or 'unidentified'." Even here his faculty for making friends stood him to good purpose. He established cordial relations even with some of the Turks on that day. One Turkish doctor gave him his visiting-card and told him if ever he was taken a prisoner to show it and he would come to him. He invited him to afternoon tea in Constantinople when he was taken there. The Turks thought they were sure to get him and all the other British troops at Gallipoli. "What a pity," said the Turkish doctor, "that so many fine young men should come from Australia just to be killed!" The thing which the chaplain particularly missed was water—water to drink and water to wash with. He and his comrades dreamed of a bath, and dreamed of the luxury of being able to take their verminous clothes off and change them, as other men dream of great bliss.

Army chaplain and Turk

September found him with the rest of the Australians at Suvla Bay, and here he had some of his hottest experiences. In one of the biggest charges, where he advanced with the troops, his cap-cover was pierced in three places, his hand was hit, and a spent bullet penetrated his right side. But wounds in hand and spent bullet in side did not stop him. He reached the Turkish trenches with the rest of his brigade. Here he found a veritable shambles, with dead Turks piled up in places four and five deep. For twenty-four hours together he searched through these trenches, piled with dead and dying and badly wounded, to find his own Australian comrades. Some of them had lain wounded there amid the terrible heat and torturing thirst for twenty hours and more. Wounded men were weighted down with the bodies of the dead, and from among these tangled masses came the groans and cries of the smothering broken men.

Oxford chaplain's heroism

For forty-eight hours he and his fellow-chaplains worked without any cessation—the most awful forty-eight hours they had ever lived. For five days he kept going with brief snatches of rest. Besides helping with the wounded, he had to conduct Burial Services over hundreds of men during these days, parties of men being buried in great groups While conducting a burial of fifteen, a bullet whizzed by within half an inch of his right ear while he was praying, and killed a man standing by his side.

He had been with his regiment for twenty weeks in the trenches without a break, and the great fight had come immediately on top of that. The regiment itself had been reduced to one hundred and eighty effective men. Even his iron frame almost broke down under the strain, the want of sleep, the want of food—still worse, the want of water and the sight of the agony which he could do so little to alleviate.

Among the chaplains who did noted service at Gallipoli, the Rev. A. G. Parham, precentor of Christ Church, Oxford, received a Military Cross for heroism. He was attached to a brigade that was in the attack at Suvla Bay on August 21st. The shrubs on the Anafarta

Plain caught fire. Helped by his servant, he carried a number of the wounded men to safety. On the following day he obtained a number of volunteers as stretcher-bearers and carried out the wounded from Chocolate Hill. After the battle he remained with the brigade in the trenches for ten weeks under shell fire.

When the rival armies settled down in the autumn of 1914 to the long trench warfare in France and in Flanders there was not for some time much opportunity for chaplains to distinguish themselves by special gallantry. One young clergyman, Mr. Guinness, the first to win a military decoration in the war, gained his reward by courage and initiative under very dangerous circumstances. But the ordinary life of the padres in Flanders during these months was full of danger. They had long lines to serve, and, in the course of duty they were constantly under shell fire.

With the padres in Flanders

They had to make their homes mostly in broken-down houses, probably partly wrecked and torn by enemy fire. The noise of the aeroplanes overhead, the whistle of the approaching enemy shells, the sounds of battle, going on unintermittently, day and night, told of the reality of danger.

One young Canadian clergyman did a deed of courage in the No Man's Land between the British and the German lines which well deserves to be recalled. No Man's Land was blocked with dense masses of tangled, barbed-wire fronting either side. It was swept day and night, particularly at night-time, by the fire of machine-guns and by individual marksmen. Every night British and German scouting parties crept forth from the shelter of their parapets, repairing torn wires, seeking for enemy scouts, or raiding the opposite trenches. Frequently big attempts were made to rush the enemy's front, and although careful preparation before the advance was made many fell. Every effort was made to get the wounded back into shelter again, but it was not always possible to carry out the dead. In many points in this No Man's Land one could see black forms lying amid the wires—the unburied bodies.

Canadian clergyman's courage

A Canadian battalion had fought fiercely over one section and had lost a number of men in No Man's Land. Every attempt to get in their bodies failed. A young chaplain often visited the front lines and often looked at these black figures. Some of them had been his old comrades. There was one group which specially affected him. Little but the skeletons were left now. These at least he determined should not be left to the sport of the winds.

Choosing a specially dark and wet night he crept out from under our own trenches towards the listening-post. Then lying low and going carefully he crawled from shelter. Every now and then the Germans sent up flares into the sky, flares which lit the whole heavens around. As soon as he heard the preliminary hiss of the flare he would drop and lie low, rigidly still. Every now and then there came the crack of a rifle overhead, or the clatter of a machine-gun opened out by the Germans at any point where they thought the British might be.

"A FOREIGN FIELD THAT IS FOR EVER ENGLAND."

One of the most frequent tasks of the chaplains was to give Christian burial to the dead. Sometimes this was done under fire, as at Anzac, where two chaplains actually took cover in the grave, and finished the service while bullets were sweeping overhead.

Crouching, making no sound, he stealthily dug into the damp earth. With infinite pains he scooped out a shallow grave. At any second the enemy might discover him. If they did so, that second would be his last. He knew it, but still he kept on. Then reverently he lifted up the remains of his old friends, placed them in their last resting-place, read the form of Christian burial over them, covered them up, and still in the utmost silence crept back to the shelter of the front-line trenches again.

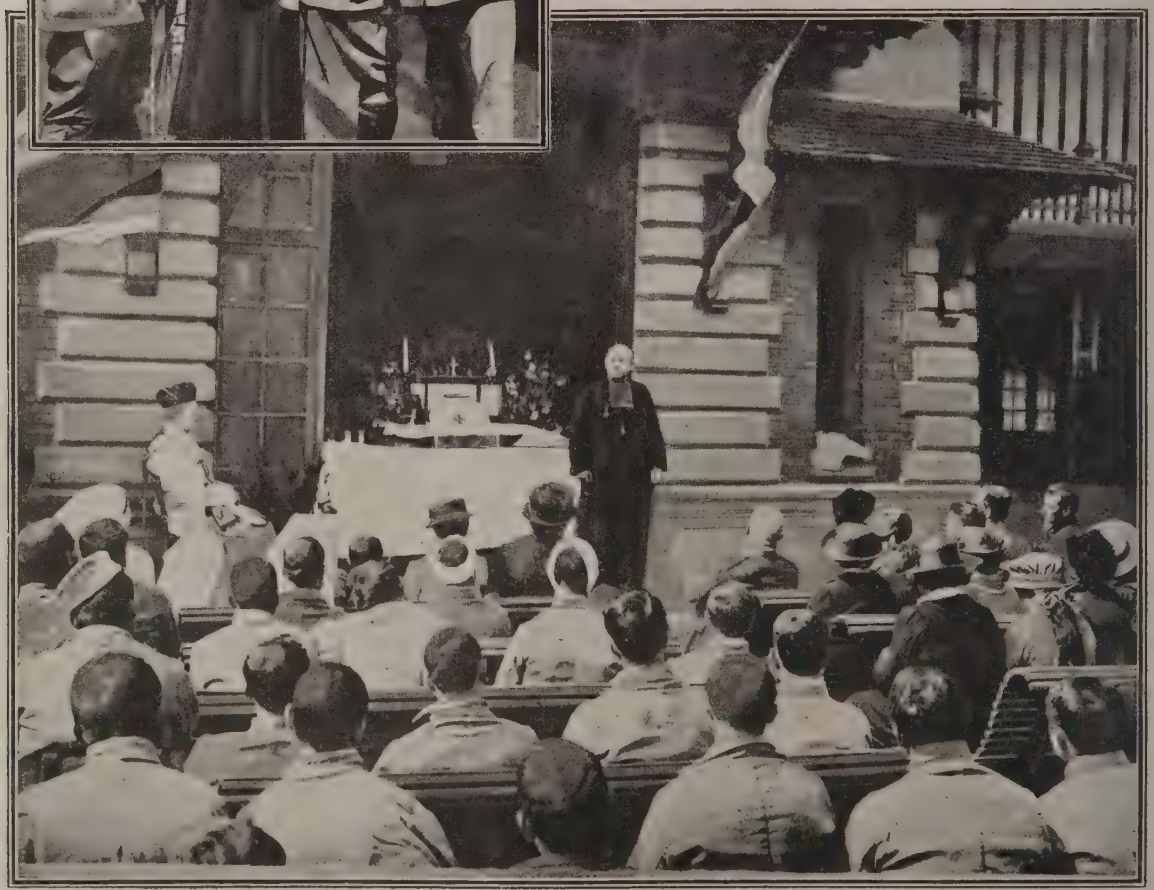
It was on the western front that a clergyman gained the Victoria Cross, the second time since that great Order was instituted that it was bestowed upon an Army chaplain. The Rev. Edward Noel Mellish, curate of St. Paul's, Deptford, had the Cross bestowed upon him on April 20th, 1916, for most conspicuous bravery. The official account thus described his deed:

During heavy fighting on three consecutive days he repeatedly went backwards and forwards, under continuous and heavy shell and machine-gun fire, between our original trenches and those captured from the enemy, in order to tend and rescue wounded men. He brought in ten badly wounded men on the first day from ground swept by machine-gun fire, and three were actually killed while he was dressing their wounds. The battalion to which he was attached was relieved on the second day, but he went back and brought in twelve more wounded men. On the night of the third day he took charge of a party of volunteers and once more returned to the trenches to rescue the remaining wounded. This splendid work was voluntary on his part and outside the scope of his ordinary duties.

Mr. Mellish had already proved his courage. At the time the Boer War broke out he was only seventeen years old. Yet he went out with Baden-Powell's Police and did good work in the later guerilla stages of the war. He then settled at Jagersfontein, where his qualities as a leader of men were noted. He was induced to enter the Church and became a curate at Deptford, where he remained until the call of the war took him away. His old friends at Deptford were the least surprised of any at his decoration. They knew him, and knowing him were prepared to expect the best from him. At the Battle of Loos he was able to help with the wounded under fire.

The Rev. E. N. Mellish, V.C.

This battle gave many of the padres the opportunity to prove their qualities. The Gordon Highlanders, who took a prominent part in this fight, were given the order to charge with the Staffordshires straight at the German lines. As they



AT A HOSPITAL FOR DISTINGUISHED HEROES, ST. CLOUD, NEAR PARIS.

St. Cloud, the picturesque environ of Paris, boasted a war hospital unique among the hundreds throughout the fighting area. Every patient had been wounded in the performance of some noteworthy deed. The hospice, which was primarily for Canadian soldiers, was administered by Dominion officials. Our illustrations show the curé of Troyon, who had won the War Cross, addressing some of the patients and chatting with officers.

PRAYERS NEAR THE SITE OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN.

A chaplain with the force that tried to relieve General Townshend at Kut-el-Amara holding an open-air service in Mesopotamia. The suggestion of the early Paradise given by the sunlit, palm-fringed lawn contrasts with the view of the trench in the foreground.

dashed from their shelter the German artillery opened on them with high explosives and shrapnel, the German machine-guns blazed out, and the German infantry kept up a tremendous fire. The men fell almost in lines, but for every one who fell another dashed up behind, despite the fire. One company and part of another reached the German trenches. Unfortunately for them, the other half of their regiment and the Staffordshire Regiment accompanying them found, when they moved forward, that the heavy British artillery fire had not succeeded in destroying the German barbed-wire entanglements. They cut and hacked and fought to get through, but the thing could not be done.

Endeared to the Highlanders

The soldiers afterwards told how, in these heroic and desperate hours, when their regiment was largely wiped out, the chaplains showed their mettle. One chaplain, famous among the men for his cheerfulness and activity, crept out in the darkness beyond the trenches amid the heaps of dead. He was searching for the body of the colonel of the Staffordshires. Then, despite the fact that the machine-guns were firing constantly over him, he glided from spot to spot, securing identification discs of soldiers who were dead, and seeing if he could do anything to help those in whom a spark of life remained. One Gordon officer writing home at the time told how, "This young chaplain, an Anglican, had endeared himself to these Highlanders, how he crawled out into the danger zone collecting identification discs from the many gallant fellows who had been lying dead there, and how whatever was going on there (and there was usually something), he made a point of going round the firing-trench every day, doing much appreciated work among the men." "The padre," said another in writing of him, "is a jolly good fellow. We have just returned from a three days' trek. I saw no other chaplain marching with our brigade, but this one did the whole march with us; he walked every step of the way, carrying a pack like the rest of us, and also lending a hand with a rifle or two towards the end of the day. And he is entitled to a horse, too. He would not even take a turn on mine, which was otherwise most useful for the cripples."

Four Scottish chaplains attached to the Highland Brigade also had moving experiences. On the night before the attack they held special services both with the Royal Scots and the Gordon Highlanders. That night in their tents the chaplains waited while one by one officers and men came shyly in with letters and keepsakes to be sent home if they themselves fell. A little time later they listened while the colonel of the Gordons, in brief, stirring words, told his men what they had to do, and bade them "remember the name of the regiment." They cheered him to the echo. Then the chaplains waited at the advanced dressing-station—the dressing-station for the wounded immediately behind the front line. It was here the wounded passed through their hands; here the dead that could be recovered were brought in; and here all the

At the dressing-station

agony and torment that followed the great glory of the battle was witnessed. The scene was thus described by one of the chaplains:

All that day I was engaged in burying the dead. Through the following night the wounded came streaming in faster than they could be evacuated. Their condition was pitiable, for a cold, clammy rain had fallen persistently all day. Yet I never heard a murmur. Yes, I heard one. A young Aberdeen student, with a finely-chiselled face, lay on the table while the surgeon tried to give him unavailing relief, and as I held his hand he moaned out his sorrow over the failure of his battalion to hold the trenches they had won. I saw a Scot lying on the ground, plastered from head to foot with mud as with a trowel. I thought I recognised the yellow stripe in the tartan, and stepping gently over an unconscious form between, I touched him and said: "Are you a 1st Gordon, my lad?" His arm was crushed, his leg was twisted, but the white of his eye gleamed through the mud that caked his face as he answered with an unmistakable grin, "A wis this mornin', and A think A'm a half yin yet." And then in a moment he knew me, and reaching out his only hand he gripped me tight, and said, "Oh! minister, it's you. Ye might write to my wife, and dinna frighten her. A'll be a' richt yet." What a superb spirit! A jest for his own misery and the tenderest consideration for those at home. Such are the men who are bearing all for you on those grim fields in Flanders.

A cheerless dawn was breaking as I left that dreadful place. I noticed the stains upon my boots, and thought of Barbour's terrible phrase—"reed wat shod." And I went to meet the Gordons returning. Grim and stern and silent they marched in, but still they held their heads high, as well became the "Gay Gordons." At the head of the column strode a young captain with the purple and white ribbon of the Military Cross gleaming on his breast (a year ago he was a divinity student of the Church of Scotland), and as I listened to him speaking a last word to the men as gently as a mother putting her children to bed, there was revealed to me something more of the nobility of the men with whom I had to do.

Private Ernest King, of the Northumberland Fusiliers, told in a letter home another story of an Army chaplain at Loos. King was a transport driver, and halted close to the range of rifle fire.

While standing there (he writes) I was patted on the shoulder by my chaplain, a big, fine, resolute man. After the exchange of a few words we parted, I to the left, where a heap of dead lay, and he to the right to the trenches. Early next morning we had run short of ammunition, and if it had not been for the tremendous energy put forth by the chaplain more men would have gone under.

Through shot and shell at Loos

With resolute courage he did the work of a dozen men, carrying close on fifty boxes of ammunition, one box in each hand, each box weighing six stone. In journeying to the trenches he had to go through a murderous rifle and shell fire. Then we saw him carrying the wounded and dead as fast as he could, and then burying the dead. For hours he worked at it incessantly, and was still hard at it when I was relieved. Afterwards I learned that he had worked incessantly all through that night, burying the dead and tending the wounded.

I have thought, in looking over the events of that horrible battle, it might have been a whole battalion wiped out had not our chaplain worked so nobly.

Many are the stories the chaplains told of the interesting conditions under which they held their services, sometimes in tunnels, sometimes in dug-outs, sometimes in the open, sometimes amid the tottering walls of broken buildings in ruined cities such as Ypres.

What more impressive setting could there have been for a religious service than amidst the ruins of Ypres? Here was a city in ruins, a city where every house was a wreck, where every wreck bore witness to the prosperity of yesterday and the destruction of to-day. One chaplain, visiting Ypres, found his passage through the streets and through the great squares disturbed by the sustained shell fire of the enemy. A 42 cm. shell — the biggest shell then known — burst so near to him that it cast up the soil two yards from his feet. He joined a company in some cellars, and found they belonged to his old battalion. The dark, smoky cellar rang with song until midnight, when the soldiers moved out to their work. "Next morning," he wrote at the time, "at 11.45 I had one of the finest services of my life with this company in a tunnel-shaped cellar, fifty feet by twenty feet, three lines of men sitting along each side, leaving a narrow aisle down the centre. As deeply reverent as any service ever held in a cathedral it was also hearty, homely, happy. I found it was easy to speak 'home to the heart.' We sang 'Lead, kindly Light,' 'Peace, perfect peace,' 'Through the night of doubt and sorrow,' in that order. Every word of each hymn had in it a living message, and was sung with solemn meaning in the very words:

Amidst the ruins at Ypres

Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale,
Yet will I fear none ill,

when I heard the whistle of a shell behind me. It grew louder and louder, rushing like a railway train overhead, and burst with a crashing roar half a mile away, near where the 4th Gordons were bivouacked. It was an occasional visitor from a naval gun which Tommy had christened with characteristic felicity the 'Ypres Express.' But I remember thinking at the moment that the most gifted organist could not have achieved with all the resources of his art such a solemnising accompaniment as it provided for the words we were singing. But not a man in the ranks before me moved a muscle, and I hope the padre kept his countenance, too."

The Roman Catholic priests earned the confidence and respect of the whole army by their great devotion and self-sacrifice. One in particular must be mentioned, Father William Finn, who met his death at Seddul Bahr, in Gallipoli, in the great landing there. When the ship in which he arrived with the troops approached the shore he was urged not to attempt to land with the men under the shell fire of the enemy. "A priest's place is beside the dying soldier," he replied. As he stepped on to the gangway he received a bullet through the chest. He kept on, notwithstanding, across the lighters, when two more bullets struck him, one in the thigh and another in the leg. To quote the description of a special correspondent who was present: "By the time he reached the beach he was literally riddled with bullets, but in spite of the great pain he must have been suffering he heroically went about his duties, giving consolation to the dying troops. It was while he was in the act of attending to the spiritual requirements of one of his men that the priest's head was shattered by shrapnel."

A SHATTERED SANCTUARY.
Ruins of a church at Fleury, in the Verdun sector. This village was retaken by the French during the third week in August.

Working under war conditions, the list of deaths of chaplains at the front was naturally a long one. In July, 1916, the Bishop of London said that sixteen chaplains had been killed, and that between five hundred and fifty and six hundred of the best of the younger clergy of the Church of England were then serving at the front. This list was soon augmented, one of the later victims being famous as a leader of the Y.M.C.A. movement in England, the Rev. E. J. Kennedy; he endured such hardships during his year as chaplain that a few weeks after he returned home he passed away.

BULLOCK TRANSPORT IN MESOPOTAMIA.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

THE CAMPAIGN IN MESOPOTAMIA TO THE FALL OF KUT.

The Development of Mesopotamia by Railway Originally a British Project—Opening of the Suez Canal Secures Alternative Route to India and Leads to Decline of British Influence in Turkey—Germany Seizes her Opportunity—Gradual Extension of German Influence over Turkey—The Bremen-Berlin-Bosphorus-Bagdad Bahn—All-Important Question of Eastern Terminus on Persian Gulf—Mission of German Consul-General Stemrich to Purchase Site for Station at Koweit—Fidelity of Mobarek, the Koweit Sheikh, to Great Britain—Germany Pulls the Wires Through Constantinople—Successful Counter-moves by Great Britain—Basra, the Port on Shat-el-Arab, Finally Selected as Terminus of the Bagdad Railway—History of the Campaign Continued from General Townshend's Retreat upon Kut-el-Amara after his Brilliant Victory at Ctesiphon—Immediate Investment by the Enemy—Difficulties of River Transport—Exploits of Armed Tugs and Gunboats under Captain Nunn, R.N.—Want of Cohesion between Home and Indian Governments—Unsatisfactory Rumours and Reports as to Conduct of Campaign by Authorities—Admission by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India, that Indian Organisation was at Fault—Heroic Defence of Kut Continued—Brilliant Sorties by Garrison—Gradual Reduction of Rations and Consequent Privations—Strenuous but Unavailing Efforts of the Relieving Force to Break Through Enemy's Lines—Final Surrender of General Townshend from Hunger, after Holding Out for One Hundred and Forty-three Days—World-wide Admiration for his Magnificent Resistance.

BEFORE carrying on the story of the Mesopotamian Campaign from the points previously reached in our history (*vide* Chapters LXVII. and XCIV.), it will be helpful to the complete understanding of the position, as between Germany and Turkey on the one hand and Great Britain on the other, briefly to set out the story of Germany's varied efforts before the war to intrigue her way to "a place in the sun" in the Persian Gulf.

In order fully to appreciate the measure of sanity which seasoned "the Mesopotamian madness," as the campaign in many quarters was regarded, it is necessary to look backward over a considerable number of years. Time was, well within the memory of the middle-aged, when the Euphrates Valley Scheme, as it was originally called, precursor of the Bagdad Railway, loomed large in the purview of current politics. In some shape or other during the latter half of the nineteenth century it was continually coming to the fore, and received serious, if intermittent, attention from more than one British Administration.

The idea of opening up the rich but undeveloped countries constituting Asia Minor, of making Mesopotamia "the granary of the world," and conferring the boon of Western civilisation upon the inhabitants—none of whom had the slightest desire to adopt or capacity to appreciate it—was not made, though it certainly matured, in Germany.

A purely British project in conception, it harked back to the 'fifties, contemporaneous with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, "the Great Elchi" at Constantinople, and the Crimean War—a muddle indeed, beside which the Mesopotamian Campaign shines as a miracle of management. Germany as an empire was neither born nor thought of. Turkey was then the friend, Russia the bugbear, of the moment—and not only the bugbear of the moment but the nightmare of the future; for it was an article of faith with every well-brought-up Briton most fervently to believe that she cherished sinister designs upon India. Any scheme, therefore, of rapid transport from Europe and across Asia which tended to strengthen the British position against Muscovite malevolence was of a nature to attract and rivet popular attention. The Suez Canal scheme was still germinating in the fertile brain of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, and the only route to India lay round the Cape. Obviously then, the projection of a railway from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf possessed an element

ENEMY STEAMER ARRIVES AT KUT-EL-AMARA.
Turkish doctor and officer landing from a Turkish steamer at Kut-el-Amara followed by their veiled wives.

WHENCE OPERATIONS WERE DIRECTED.
Norfolk House, a sort of Eurasian edifice, which served as the British Headquarters at Kut-el-Amara. Note the wireless apparatus which was installed on the roof.

of superlative attraction to the British public. The prospect of obtaining the much-coveted firman lured many a concession-hunter from the Thames to the Bosphorus, where he was fooled to the top of his bent by wily Turkish officials, and afforded ample opportunity of realising with chastened spirit and lightened purse the truth of Solomon's assertion that "hope deferred maketh the heart sick."

The British Embassy restricted or extended its support with the ebb or flow of opinion in Downing Street; but no firman was ever forthcoming, though the money spent and the energy wasted in endeavours to acquire it, would have constructed a considerable portion of the line.

Times changed and policies with them. The opening of the Suez Canal (originally opposed by Great Britain) in 1869, the acquisition by Disraeli of the Khedive's shares—a masterstroke of genius (176,602 for £3,976,582)—in 1875, the lease of Cyprus from Turkey in 1878, and the occupation of Egypt in 1882, had brought about a change in the spirit of the British dream. The new waterway to India, far more effective than any land-laid line, which could never be an "all red" route, was for all time secure.

To these and other causes, not germane to the present issue, the wane of Britain's influence in Turkey was mainly due.

The Kaiser in Constantinople

Her influence, which for generations had been paramount (the Sublime Porte trembled at Lord Stratford's nod), gradually declined. Its final withdrawal was the signal for Germany's advance. One of the first visits paid by the Kaiser in 1889, the year after his accession, was to Constantinople. During his stay were sown the seeds of a most unholy alliance, which increased the sum of human wickedness to a greater extent, and added more to the burden of human suffering, than any collusion between the powers of evil in the annals of recorded time. "Mercy and truth had met together; righteousness and peace had kissed each other." The pact between Kultur and Kismet was destined later on to become complete. Abomination of desolation lay in its train. Amongst its first fruits was the massacre of Armenians on a truly Imperial scale. Its aftermath was the monumental monstrosity of the world-wide war.

The aim of the Kaiser's policy, as soon as he had acquired undivided control of the German ship of State by dismissal of "the Pilot" in 1890, was gradually and insidiously to gain ascendancy over the Sultan, a matter not easy, but most important of attainment.

Abdul Hamid was no fool. Not without reason had he been dubbed the acutest and least scrupulous of living diplomatists in embassy chancelleries. In vulpine qualities he out-Heroded Herod—whom, indeed, he excelled in other respects. To promote and foster a revolutionary spirit amongst his people, to stir up the mud that Germany might fish in troubled waters, were aims no less essential. Control of Turkish trade, and finally of the Turkish Army, were, with equal assiduity, to be angled for. These measures, comprehensive as they were of revolution and deposition, took years to accomplish; but German policy neither faltered nor failed. The Old Turks, the dominant class, dignified, conservative, slow to move, and procrastinating to the crack of doom, did not accord with Teuton ideas or fall into line with Teuton methods of progression. They saw, with uneasiness, the steady growth of German influence, and recalled the story of "Sindbad the Sailor" and the "Old Man of the Sea."

Old Turks and Young Turks

They were mindful, too, of the dictum of Fuad Pasha, one of the few statesmen their country had produced, that in Turco-European relations, "C'est toujours la Turquie qui paie."

They stood, an inert mass, desirous only of being left alone to misgovern as they chose, in the path of the Kaiser's ambition, and had consequently to be negotiated out of the way. So it came to pass, after many days and infinite vicissitudes, that the Young Turks, with all the vices and but few of the virtues of the "old" ones, pursuing a policy shaped and guided by the unseen hand in Berlin, attained the ascendancy and ruled in their stead.

Eventually, throughout the length and breadth of the Sultan's domains, which from the religious aspect stretched as far afield as the British dependency of India—the objective point—German influence reigned supreme. German finance asserted itself on the shores of the Bosphorus and German money flowed freely through all the arteries of Turkish trade. All valuable concessions went to Germany, amongst them, in due course, the right of construction of that hoary-headed yet evergreen project, the railway line to Bagdad. The Turkish Army, second to none in fighting material, was handed over to German instructors to be taught the parade-step and moulded on the German pattern with a thoroughness typically Teutonic.

Meanwhile, Great Britain gave no sign. To all appearances she was an entirely indifferent spectator of the growing German grip upon the throat of Turkey, and Germany laughed aloud.

When railway development was taken in hand, the work proceeded apace and with characteristic energy. German engineers, artisans, and contractors scoured the country, surveying here and levelling there, and boring through the burial-grounds of a civilisation nobler far than their own The trail of the serpent was over it all.

Major-General Charles Vere Ferrers Townshend, C.B., D.S.O., defender of Kut-el-Amara.

Along the strand at Basra: Indian transport in the City of Sindbad.

Roll-call before the advance: Inspection of Indian warriors in Mesopotamia.

Abandoned trenches in an immemorial battlefield: Earthworks along the Tigris.

Economy in metal: Gathering old shell cases at a depot near the river bank.

'Mid sequestered palms and waterways: Indian transport on a Mesopotamian river.

A vital need: Pumping water from the Tigris into portable filters.

By 1899 the project had assumed shape definite enough to warrant allusion by the Kaiser, in terms of alliterative grandiloquence, to the "Bremen-Berlin-Bosphorus-Bagdad Bahn" (railway). A year later it became apparent that the moment was opportune to secure a suitable site for the eastern terminus of the gigantic undertaking. Obviously a trans-continental line of this importance, which lacked an outlet at either extremity to the sea, lacked all; and therefore, with admirable forethought, it had been decided that the Oriental terminus should be situated on the Persian Gulf—for choice, on the shore of a natural harbour deep enough to allow vessels of the largest tonnage, actual or potential, to load and discharge their cargoes at its wharves.

Curiously enough, the Persian Gulf is singularly ill-provided with natural harbours answering to this description, and possesses only one, Koweit, on the north-west coast, within convenient distance of the mouth of the Shat-el-Arab, which conforms to it. Its area—some four hundred square miles—is sufficient in extent to contain the navies of the world. It was an ideal location for the terminus of the great railway. Upon Koweit, in consequence, the choice of the German Government naturally fell. Selection of any other place would have been short-sighted and foolish, not at all in accordance with procedure in Berlin.

BRITISH SOLDIERS RESTING IN THE OLD TRENCHES AT ABU ROMAN, MESOPOTAMIA.

Herr Stemrich's mission

To Herr Stemrich, German Consul-General at Constantinople, was entrusted the task of purchasing the requisite amount of ground—four hundred acres, or thereabouts, in extent—for the site of the terminus. During his voyage from the Bosphorus the distinguished delegate enjoyed plenty of opportunities for reflection on the far-flung and ubiquitous nature of the British possessions. He possibly caught a glimpse of Cyprus in the offing. He certainly steamed through the Suez Canal, in which the British holding was no less than forty-four per cent. of the entire capital. He noticed that the island of Perim commands the entrance to the Red Sea, and that Aden, some miles farther east on the opposite coast, occupies a position of vantage. He must have passed various men-of-war of different shapes and sizes on his way up the Persian Gulf, for the illicit gun-running trade kept them constantly on the qui vive. It certainly did not escape his notice, while he scanned the horizon in vain for a sign of the Imperial flag, that they were all flying the White Ensign.

But the mission which had been confided to him was fraught with possibilities of a nature to induce stupendous change. The moment Germany acquired a vested interest on the Persian Gulf its days as a "British lake" would most assuredly be numbered. Indeed, a beginning had already been made. Some time previously (in 1897) a German Vice-Consul had been appointed at Bushire to promote and safeguard the interests of precisely six German subjects. The Hamburg-Amerika line, in consideration of a Government subsidy, had established a service between its home port and Aden, Muscat, and the Gulf. The first steamer, on its initial voyage, had called at all the ports it could possibly enter, while its band, grouped on the bridge, played "Deutschland über alles," and, as an afterthought, "God save the King." Truly an excellent start.

It was, therefore, with sentiments akin to elation, possibly enhanced by the fact that Great Britain had her hands full at the time of the South African War and might therefore be left conveniently out of account, that the Consul-General and his suite arrived at Koweit. He lost no time in opening up negotiations with Mobarek, the native and principal sheikh, who exercised more or less despotic sway over the 200,000 members of the Uttub tribe, mostly shipbuilders by trade, in which they had attained no slight degree of proficiency. He explained, quite possibly in Mobarek's own language, that he had come all the way from Constantinople, on behalf of the All-Highest the German Emperor, to purchase some four hundred acres of land abutting on the harbour, which had already been selected, and asked Mobarek to name his price. Mobarek, with befitting humility, expressed himself as only too willing to comply with the august wishes of the All-Highest the German Emperor, and admitted that the question of price could easily be arranged but for the intervention of a slight and, as he feared, an insuperable difficulty. Of what nature? he was haughtily asked. The representative of the All-Highest the German Emperor had arrived just a little too late. How too late? Only the year previously Mobarek had entered into a convention, signed, sealed, and delivered, whereby he was precluded from selling even a square inch of ground in the territory of Koweit without the consent of the other contracting party. And who might the other contracting party be? His Excellency the Viceroy of India. And what was the consideration received? The protection of the British Empire.

Fidelity of Mobarek

That heartfelt prayer, the German soul's sincere desire, "Gott strafe England!" had not yet found its way into public utterance, but it requires no great stretch of the imagination to conceive of the fervour with which Consul-General Stemrich gave vent to its nineteenth-century equivalent. Germany ceased to laugh.

The inference, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther," was perfectly plain. Great Britain, despite preoccupation of a somewhat pressing nature in South Africa, notwith-

THE CENTRE OF INTEREST IN MESOPOTAMIA.
Kut-el-Amara as seen from the roof of the British Hospital. For one hundred and forty-three days General Townshend's resistance to starvation held the admiration of the world.

standing her seeming indifference to German expansion in Asia Minor, had neither slumbered nor slept. She had, on the contrary, kept very wide awake. She had been fully cognisant of and alive to the all-important issues at stake. She had stolen a march on the All-Highest. In a word, she had quietly locked the door of the projected terminus and put the key in her pocket. Threats and cajoleries, blandishments and bribes, were of no avail. Mobarek had not been brought up in an atmosphere of Kultur nor trained to regard treaties as binding only to the extent which suited his personal convenience. Versed probably in no philosophy save the precepts of the Koran, he yet entertained the clearest possible notions on the sanctity of contract. He had given his word, and that ended the matter.

The mission of Consul-General Stemrich thus resulted in a fiasco of the very first order. His report to the Embassy in Constantinople, no doubt, made interesting reading. What to do now? Clearly to induce the Sultan to exercise his right of sovereignty over Koweit and make things as unpleasant as possible for Great Britain through the medium of Mobarek. This was accordingly done, and in the following year, after numerous pourparlers, during which Mobarek, in his endeavours on the one hand to smooth the ruffled feathers of Ottoman dignity and on the other to maintain the advantage of British protection, frequently found himself "between the devil and the deep sea," the Sultan, prompted from Berlin, took a hand in the game and played what looked like a winning card. The sudden appearance of an Ottoman transport crowded with troops in the harbour of Koweit boded ill for Mobarek.

Fortunately, and by the happiest coincidence, one of those White Ensigned gunboats which the Consul-General had had occasion to note on his trip from Constantinople "happened" to be in port at the time. Its captain intimated politely but firmly to the Turkish commander that it would be to the latter's advantage, and prevent all sorts of unpleasant complications, were he to forgo his intention of landing troops and immediately to leave Koweit. The Turkish commander, whose instructions did not cover any contingency such as that which had unfortunately arisen, there and then, with commendable discretion, weighed anchor almost as soon as he had cast it, and steamed away, leaving the score distinctly in favour of the White Ensign. The Sultan's lead had been roughed in the first round.

Turkish commander's discretion

A few months later the Porte made another move, this time of a less bellicose nature, and sent a special representative to treat with Mobarek and bring him to terms. The emissary of the Sultan was given courteously to understand, on behalf of the senior British naval officer on the station (a sub-lieutenant would have served), that he could attain no useful object by making any prolonged stay at Koweit. He speedily came to the same conclusion—indeed, there was none other to arrive at—and his sojourn consequently rivalled in brevity and result that of the Ottoman transport.

Abdul Hamid, never at a loss for an expedient, then turned his attention inland, and instructed one of his Arabian henchmen, Ibn Rachid, with a horde of native swashbucklers, to attack Mobarek from the desert. When Ibn Rachid arrived on the scene the first sight which met his view was that of an array of funnels which sprang from the decks of three cruisers in the harbour, whose guns gave him furiously to think. They also were flying the White Ensign. As no mention had been made of the possibility of an encounter with the British Navy in the programme which Ibn Rachid had engaged to carry out, he wisely emulated the example of the Ottoman commander, beat an instant retreat, and headed full gallop for Central Arabia.

The Sultan, urgently pressed by Berlin, replied to this, the third, "retort courteous" which had been addressed to him in his endeavours to assert his sovereignty over

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN MESOPOTAMIA AND HIS STAFF.
Lieut.-General Sir Percy Lake, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., and his Staff at General Headquarters, Basra. Sir Percy Lake (the fourth figure from the right in the centre row) succeeded Sir John Nixon in the Mesopotamian Command in January, 1916.

Mobarek, by occupying the Bubian Islands, situated to the north of Koweit. Great Britain took no exception to this move beyond affirming that the position as regarded Mobarek remained unchanged, and that he still enjoyed her protection.

Prince von Bülow, the then German Chancellor, had been at some pains meanwhile publicly to declare, "We never for a moment entertained the absurd idea of seeking to acquire a port on the Persian Gulf." Herr von Schoen, his subordinate, was equally emphatic. "The German Government is absolutely opposed to the acquisition of a port in this inland sea." Those grapes were very sour.

Frustrated in their endeavours to secure a foothold for their terminus on deep water, the Germans cast about for another site. Obviously the line could not stop at Bagdad. With equal futility might the Canadian Pacific Railway come to an end at Kamloops, or the Paris, Lyons and Mediterranean Railway at Tarascon. Basra, a well-sheltered port, forty-five miles up the Shat-el-Arab, was the next alternative which suggested itself. The bar at the entrance offered a serious but not insurmountable objection. It could be overcome by dredging, and, as things were, vessels drawing sixteen to seventeen feet of water passed over it easily. Basra, moreover, lay within undisputed Turkish territory, where the question of British protection, with concomitant and disconcerting British cruisers, could by no possibility be raised.

The final decision was, however, not yet. Protracted diplomatic negotiations ensued arising out of Turkey's desire to increase her customs dues. Great Britain demurred. In 1913 Hakki Pasha was sent to London on behalf of the Porte with the object of getting her objection removed; but so long as the Ottoman Government continued its policy of undermining and counteracting British influence in the Persian Gulf, Downing Street remained adamantine. It was, moreover, an open secret that the additional custom-house receipts were to be applied to the construction of the Bagdad line and its extension to the shores of the Gulf. Unless British interests in these waters were protected by treaty there could be no approval by Downing Street of the proposed increase in the Turkish dues.

Anglo-Ottoman agreement

Finally it was agreed that the Sultan should exercise sovereign rights over Koweit, subject to full recognition of British protection to Mobarek; Turkey abandoned the Bahrein (pearl fishery) Islands to Great Britain and accorded her the sole rights of buoying, lighting, and policing the whole of the Persian Gulf, which, as a matter of fact, she had long exercised.

Basra was thus promoted to the dignity of the terminus of the Bagdad Railway, but no extension beyond that point was to be undertaken without the consent of Great Britain. The latter claimed no participation in the construction of the line from Bagdad to Basra, but two British delegates were to have a seat on the board of administration of this section. On these terms the desired increase of four per cent. in the Turkish custom-house dues was agreed to.

The outbreak of war brought the Anglo-Ottoman agreement to an end. It also freed Mobarek from Turkish sovereignty, but left him undisturbed in the protection of Great Britain. In March, 1915, the Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge, traversing the territory won from the Turks, personally conferred upon him the Grand Cross of the Indian Empire in recognition of his loyalty to the Crown. It certainly merited the distinction. Nothing but a scrap of paper bearing the seal of an untutored Mohammedan sheikh stood in the way of the accomplishment of German designs (Prince von Bülow's disclaimer notwithstanding) upon a port on the Persian Gulf. The bond held.

Owing to a variety of causes, some due to climatic conditions and therefore unavoidable, others of a nature

THE COMMANDER OF THE TIGRIS CORPS.

Lieut.-General Sir George Frederick Gorringe, K.C.B., and his Staff at Field Headquarters in Mesopotamia. Sir George Gorringe (the second figure on the left in the front row) in April, 1916, succeeded General Aylmer in command of the Tigris Corps that attempted to relieve Kut-el-Amara.

within the scope of human intelligence to foresee and consequently to counteract, the Mesopotamian expedition was extremely badly executed. It served, while bringing into the boldest possible relief the gallantry of men and officers in the field, as a monument to the inefficiency, short-sightedness, and lack of co-ordination on the part of supreme authorities. A long series of blunders, alike difficult to understand or excuse, culminated through want of support in the surrender of a larger garrison of troops under the British flag than had so far found record in the history of the Empire.

Townshend's retirement to Kut

We may now resume the thread of our history of the Mesopotamian Campaign at the point where it was dropped at the close of Chapter XCIV.

By December 7th, 1915, just a week after the victor of Ctesiphon, when almost within sight of Bagdad, had been compelled by lack of reinforcements to fall back upon Kut, where it had been decided that his retirement should end, the investment of his position was complete. The Turks, their line of communications fully open behind them, had hurried heavy bodies of troops down the river and completely surrounded the place. Then began one of the most heroic, gallant, and long-drawn-out defences ever set down to the credit of British arms.

During the fateful seven days which had wrought such a momentous change in General Townshend's fortunes, he had taken every conceivable precaution to minimise its effects. Defences had been improved. All shipping, with sick and wounded, together with the 1,350 prisoners captured at Ctesiphon, was despatched to Basra. The only vessel retained was the armed tug Sumana, which had rendered invaluable service during the retreat to Kut, and she was reserved for use as a ferry.

The heterogeneous river fleet commanded by Captain Nunn, D.S.O., often under fire from both banks of the river, afforded inestimable assistance in protecting the steamers and barges and refloating them when they took the ground, a matter of frequent occurrence. The shifting shoals and shallows of the treacherous Tigris served the enemy well. The Shaitan had stranded on the evening of November 28th, and defied all efforts of the Firefly and Shushan to get her off, though they were fortunately successful in salving all her guns and stores. The hull, however, had eventually to be left.

On the morning of December 1st the Firefly, in company with the Comet, after making good practice with lyddite on the occasion of the Turkish attack at Umm-el-Jubail, received a shot in her boiler which completely disabled her. Her consort the Comet (Captain Nunn) immediately took her in tow; but luck was against them. As they were turning down stream in the narrow river both vessels grounded. The strength of the current, combined with the dead weight of the Firefly, which was pressing against her, forced the Comet more and more deeply into the bank. Finding that his own position was hopeless until assistance arrived, Captain Nunn devoted all his energies to getting the Firefly clear, and finally succeeded in sending her careering down stream in the forlorn hope that she would escape disaster.

ENERGY IN THE SULTRY EAST.
Making a new pier at Basra. British engineers pile-driving in the Tigris.

The Sumana speedily came to the Comet's assistance, but all efforts to dislodge her proved unsuccessful. Meanwhile the enemy's fire had increased greatly in intensity. Several field-guns had been brought up within short range and directed upon the devoted ships. They were, moreover, the target for the Turkish infantry, which poured volley after volley into them and the

"H.M.S. BELLUM" ON THE TIGRIS.
Cheery Britons learning to master the native craft known as the "bellum." The nearest of the R.A.M.C. vessels by the shore was named after Florence Nightingale.

Firefly (which had speedily taken ground again) at a distance of fifty yards. Very soon it became evident that the Firefly and the Comet would have to be abandoned, for each was badly damaged and in flames. Under an inferno of shot, shell, and rifle fire, the operation of rendering the guns useless and transferring the crews and stores to the Sumana, which seemed to bear a charmed life, was coolly and successfully accomplished.

On the same day, December 1st, a fine feat of endurance was performed by the mixed brigade commanded by Major-General Sir Charles Mellis, V.C., consisting of the 30th Infantry and 1/5th Hants (Howitzer) Battery R.F.A., and the 16th Cavalry Brigade. It had been sent on, after taking part in

DAYYIR, IN SOUTHERN PERSIA.
Dayyir, in the Persian Gulf, used by British ships as a port of refuge during winter storms.

WIRELESS STATION: JASK, IN THE GULF OF OMAN.
Jask stands on the Cape of that name, jutting out into the Gulf of Oman. An important wireless station is established there on a site in a British concession.

the engagement at Umm-el-Jubail, to deal with hostile mounted troops which were interfering with the passage of steamers at Chubibat, some twenty-five miles below Kut. It became necessary to recall them, the increasing strength of the enemy rendering General Townshend anxious to concentrate his forces. So the mixed brigade retraced its steps, having marched eighty miles in three days, during one of which they had been engaged in fighting, without the loss of a single prisoner. To cover over twenty-six miles in a day over Mesopotamian tracks for three days, and arrive at the end of it, as Sir John Nixon, the then commander-in-chief, says in his report, with their valour and discipline in no way diminished, is no mean testimony to grit and physical fitness.

On the day previous to the completion of the investment (December 6th), the cavalry brigade, with the exception of one squadron retained at Kut, and a convoy of transport animals was marched to Imam Ali Gherbi, some fifty miles down the river, there to be reinforced by infantry and guns from Basra. They fought a rearguard action all the way, but fortunately with few casualties. Behind this detachment a force under Lieut.-General Aylmer, V.C., was collected with the object of relieving Kut as soon as concentration had been completed.

At Kut the Tigris takes one of its innumerable bends in the shape of the letter U. Upon the peninsula thus formed, of about a mile in width and less than three-quarters of a mile in depth, General Townshend occupied an entrenched position, the village—it scarcely deserves the designation of a town—lying at the most southerly end. He also held the liquorice factory situated on the right bank, which he fortified and garrisoned with two battalions. To the east lay a bridge of boats covered by a bridge-head detachment on the right bank. The besieged were well supplied with stores and ammunition.

Hopes of prompt relief

General Townshend had confidence in himself and his troops, and looked forward to being promptly relieved. He therefore returned a determined refusal to Nuredin Pasha's summons to surrender. So certain was the Turkish commander that the besieged force must as speedily give in that he transmitted this summons, after a heavy bombardment, on the day immediately following the investment—December 8th. On the 9th he delivered a fierce attack upon the bridge-head in sufficient force to oblige the defenders, who of necessity were compelled to husband their resources, to retire. On the following night, December 9-10th, the bridge itself was destroyed by a party gallantly

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The Great War

THEATRE OF THE OPERATIONS BETWEEN BASRA AND CTESIPHON, UP TO THE SURRENDER OF KUT-EL-AMARA.

Map of Mesopotamia, showing the area covered by the British forces up to the date of the fall of Kut-el-Amara, April 29th, 1916. The enlarged inset shows the position of the British and Turkish armies on the day when starvation compelled General Townshend to surrender. The relief force was then within eleven miles of Kut-el-Amara, but was held up before the impregnable Turkish position at Sanna-i-Yat.

led by Lieutenant A. B. Matthews, R.E., and Lieutenant R. T. Sweet, of the Gurkha Rifles.

During the next three days a continuous bombardment ensued, and a series of attacks were delivered, all of which were successfully repulsed, particularly on December 12th, when the enemy's casualties in two days amounted to a thousand men. So far the casualties of the besieged force had only amounted to four hundred and seventy.

Of the difficulties in the path of the relieving force the chief was the question of transport on the Tigris. The carrying capacity of the river, notwithstanding the ever-increasing number of craft of all descriptions and sizes which crowded it, was still insufficient to the exigencies of the campaign. As far as Kurna, where the Euphrates joins it and they together flow seaward under the name of the Shat-el-Arab, the Tigris is navigable for ocean-going steamers of moderate draught; but once above it, troubles not only begin but multiply. A draught of anything over five feet means certain and constant grounding, a source of interminable delay, and progress except in the flood season is a matter of impossibility at night. To tie up alongside the dreary stretch of mudbank as soon as it is dark and wait patiently for the dawn is the only course open.

The transports upon which the carriage of stores depended were mostly paddle-steamers drawing between four and five feet of water with a capacity of about five hundred tons. Each of them towed a couple of lighters, and together they moved no faster than the army which it was their business to keep supplied with the necessaries of life, to say nothing of the innumerable other things constantly required by troops on the march. To every brigade was allotted a parent ship which met its wants, and was in turn supplied by attendant mahailas, craft peculiar to the river, and presenting with their high-sloping masts, lateen sails, pointed bows, and lofty stern an exceedingly picturesque appearance. They again were fed by bellums, also indigenous, long, narrow boats shaped like canoes propelled by pole or paddle, the caiques or gondolas of the Tigris, and capable of anything, except upsetting, when managed by their owners. They were frequently used with great effect for the transport of troops over the reedy marshes contiguous to the river and occasionally were even armour-plated.

Difficulties of river transport

The call made upon the Indian authorities for vessels of any description suitable to the navigation of the Mesopotamian waterways resulted in a collection of the most heterogeneous craft ever brought together. One in particular, named the Aerial, is worthy of description. Her hull hailed from Brahmaputra, she was fitted with an air propeller, a fifty horse-power Diesel engine, and heralded her movements with a din like unto that of a general bombardment. She once plied as a shikar boat in Assam, where the Government's necessity proved her owner's opportunity, so she changed hands, and found her way to the Tigris under her own steam, a feat of navigation far excelling that of the famous Deutschland. She did great service during the advance upon Ctesiphon, was "stormed at with shot and shell" on more than one occasion, had many hairbreadth escapes, and was finally promoted to the position of an official ferry plying every hour between the field ambulance and the hospital camp "somewhere in Mesopotamia."

Anything that will float can be turned to account on the spur of necessity by the officers of the Royal Navy or Indian Marine. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should have enlisted the services of the gufar, which

GALLANT DORSETS MAKE HISTORY AT KUT-EL-AMARA.

One of the splendid charges in the history of the Mesopotamia Campaign was that of the 2nd Dorsets at Kut-el-Amara on September 28th, 1915. Their task was the difficult one of storming the redoubts on the extreme left of the Turkish position, and before coming to the enemy's trenches the 2nd Dorsets had to hack their way through a forest of unbroken wire.

lays claim, not without justification, to be considered the oldest craft in the world. The gufar is built on precisely the same principle as the Welsh coracle, but is completely circular in shape. An enormous basket covered with skins, or plastered with pitch, answering neither to the impulse of sail nor the control of rudder, it is cast upon the waters at any point between Tekrit and Amara—where it immediately assumes a dual motion analogous to that of the earth—and finds itself after many days. Urged downward at varying degrees of speed by the current, it spins its way to its destination carrying a cargo according to its capacity and a complement of two men. Sometimes a donkey is thrown in as ballast. On arrival, the cargo is disposed of, and the crew wend their way homeward either afoot or on donkey back. Unless, indeed, it be skin-covered, in which case the hide may possibly serve the captain and crew with a shelter by night, the gufar itself is not worth transporting. One skin will outlast several generations, and time is of no value in the eyes of the Mesopotamian. He has practised this form of transit from the beginning of the ages.

The oldest craft in the world

Gufars went spinning down stream from Nineveh to Babylon in the days of Herodotus, and will in all probability so continue to spin until they have been swamped for ever by the remorseless and ever-rising tide of Western civilisation, together with other quaint relics of an interesting past. That their owners, of their own free choice, will elect to abandon them in favour of an up-to-date motor-boat making thirty knots is a contingency so improbable that it need not be taken into account. They regard all such modern inventions in the light of Sheitanlik (wiles of the devil), most religiously to be eschewed, as fraught with danger to peace of mind in this world and chance of salvation in the next.

Results of divided control

It became apparent at an early stage in the Mesopotamian Campaign, that the relations between the Home and Indian Governments were not tuned to the same note of mutual understanding and co-ordination which—none too soon—had been struck with such admirable precision in the concert of the Allies. The inevitable result—discord in lieu of harmony—ensued. It is a far cry from Delhi to London, however rapid and easy telegraphic communication between them. Two heads on occasion may be considerably worse than one. As regards the medical service, the lack of co-operation between the two centres of authority was particularly and painfully noticeable. Statements were freely made and passed without contradiction that the whole organisation of the medical department was deficient; that field hospitals were too few in number, while those which did exist were inadequately equipped and completely undermanned; that both doctors and nurses when most needed were rarely to be found, for the simple reason that

ARAB COOLIES UNLOADING A BARGE UNDER DIRECTION OF BRITISH OFFICERS.
Arab coolies naturally furnished much of the labour involved in bringing the British forces to the scene of operations in Mesopotamia. They are good-tempered men, but naturally indolent, and required careful and tactful supervision by British officers to keep them to their work.

A MESOPOTAMIAN BY-WAY.
A striking contrast between east and west in the Tigris Valley.

IN THE FOREFRONT OF DANGER.
A machine-gun outpost in direct touch with the enemy on the south (left) bank of the Tigris.

they did not exist in sufficient numbers to be able to meet the calls made upon them from all points of the compass and at once.

Demand considerably exceeded supply. At Ctesiphon the available medical staff could give adequate attention and assistance to five hundred men. Nine times that number, 4,500, urgently clamoured for both. Appalling accounts came to hand of the condition of the wounded, owing solely to lack of medical and nursing aid. Case after case was reported of officers and men, under the most trying climatic conditions, whether of heat or of cold, being left for days with no attention to their injuries beyond that of the first dressing in the field, sometimes barely that; thrown into the same barges as stores, munitions, and horses; as many as six hundred under the charge of a single doctor and one orderly. That these two did their duty nobly went without saying, but what were they among so many? Time and again the Tigris tugs, their decks thickly packed with sick and wounded, hurried down stream to the base unprovided with any means of protection for the men against the bitter cold of a winter's night. The same stricture was applied to the ocean-going steamers which transported the wounded from Basra to Bombay, where they arrived in a pitiable condition. Injuries originally slight in nature had been rendered gangrenous by exposure in torrents of rain or mud-sodden trenches and camps. Precious lives were lost or permanently impaired by neglect, which in turn was engendered by faulty organisation.

Appalling lot of the wounded

The enormous demands made upon the R.A.M.C. from the various centres of war in France, Egypt, and the Dardanelles, which in every instance had been responded to in a manner beyond all praise, had depleted the ranks of available medical officers, and the Indian medical service, all-sufficient in time of peace, proved inadequate, as regards numbers, to the strain put upon it in time of war.

The same spirit of lamentable parsimony and optimism, which characterised the conduct of operations at the outbreak of the Boer War, seemed to colour the counsels of the Indian Government. It learnt nothing and it forgot nothing. It made the fatal mistake of underestimating the powers of resistance of the enemy. The relief of Kut was regarded in the light of a walk-over, and, from the nature of the medical arrangements made, it almost looked as if the wounded were expected conveniently to limit their numbers and requirements to the capacity of the existing medical staff. The usual penalty was paid, and, as usual, by the innocent for the guilty.

Indian Government's mistake

An officer writing home said:

What a number of reasons will be given for our failure! Weather has been against us several times, but our worst enemy has been the utter gross slackness, stinginess, and lack of foresight of the Government at home and in India. The latter still firmly believes that we are scrapping with a few wild savages instead of with a fine lot of very brave Turks who probably have not their equals as trench fighters.

Candid opinions such as these, which appeared in the newspapers from time to time from those in a position to form them, did not make pleasant reading or encourage feelings of public confidence. Complaints, however, were not restricted to the insufficiency of medical officers, nurses, and supplies. They applied in ever-increasing volume to the deficiency of munitions, bombs and hand-grenades in particular, which played so prominent a part in the war, and whereof the troops in Mesopotamia stood badly in need. When they did arrive, at irregular intervals, their quality left much, if not everything, to be desired, and reflected seriously upon the source of their manufacture.

Public confidence shaken

About other matters of grave import, uneasiness was felt and questions were asked to which a satisfactory reply never seemed to be forthcoming. How came it, for instance, that there was such a deplorable shortage of transport on the Mesopotamian rivers? Flat-bottomed boats of the particular nature required were not difficult to build, and took no great length of time in construction. Had the dockyards at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and other Indian ports been utilised for this purpose? Had no attempt been made to turn to account the railway material, left by the Germans at or near Basra for the construction of the Bagdad line, while the Turks were laying down their rails below Ctesiphon at the rate of a mile a day? Was there no telephonic communication at the engagement of Sheikh-Saad between the Headquarters Staff and officers commanding in the field?

NATIVE PRESERVERS OF THE PEACE AT BASRA.
The Commissioner of Police, Basra, inspecting some of his men. The story of its native police work in every corner of the world is one of the romances of the British Empire.

Had the signalling apparatus been despatched in as many as eleven separate steamers, reaching their destination on as many different occasions? Was there a dearth of supplies where they were most needed, and a surfeit where least required? In a word, had the organisation of the Indian Government completely broken down?

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, whose announcement on the subject in the House of Commons was eagerly looked for, had but cold comfort to give. Speaking on March 22nd, 1916, he gave it as his opinion, after paying a deservedly fitting tribute to the valour of the troops engaged, that there had been a lamentable breakdown on the part of the Indian organisation, its only excuse being the extraordinary difficulties attending the conduct of the campaign. He believed that there had always existed an abundance of medical supplies at Basra, but a grave and, as he thought, an inexcusable want of them higher up, due mainly, he did not doubt, to the Gordian knot presented by the problem of river transport.

Boats had to be of exceedingly shallow draught, and were not easy to obtain in anything like sufficient numbers. Many had been requisitioned from as great a distance as Egypt, but were lost en route by perils of the sea. General Bingley and Sir William Vincent, distinguished soldier and civil servant respectively, had been sent by the Government of India to investigate matters on the spot, and report upon medical arrangements in connection with the campaign. The advance on Bagdad, Mr. Chamberlain informed the House, had been agreed to by the Home and Indian military authorities, and in addition had met with the approval of the officer commanding in Mesopotamia. He begged members to keep an open mind upon the subject until such time as the report he alluded to had been received and the information before the House was more reliable and exhaustive than that which it then possessed.

The hope previously entertained that the officer commanding had exceeded his instructions (in view of the difficulty of believing that they could have emanated from concerted authority) was thus rudely shattered by the Secretary of State, and the opinion, openly expressed in the House, that an advance upon Bagdad with a handful of twelve or fourteen thousand men savoured of insanity, was fully shared outside. There was nothing for it in the circumstances, however, but to make fresh demand upon the national stock of patience and still further to "wait and see," though the public was getting well-nigh sick unto death of the threadbare policy of shutting the stable door after the steed had been stolen.

To return to the beleaguered garrison at Kut. On December 14th, 1915, the two battalions occupying the liquorice factory rushed the enemy's trenches, which were only two hundred and fifty yards away. Three days later a sally resulted in the bayoneting of thirty Turks, the British loss being only one man slightly wounded. As Christmas approached, the fury of the enemy's attacks increased. He had received a formidable addition to his strength by the arrival of the 52nd Division, which had won its laurels in the Caucasus. Christmas Day saw the besieged hard pressed indeed. The garrison of the fort was unable to withstand the furious attack, which was delivered in vastly superior numbers, and had to evacuate its position; but not for long, as a determined counter-attack, in which the enemy was repulsed, enabled the British to regain the lost ground.

An unforgettable Christmas Day

Fighting of a desperate nature went on during the whole of Christmas Day, and was continued far into the small hours of the following day. Shortly before midnight

Men of our splendid Indian Army in readiness to leave a Mesopotamian base. Left: Indian ambulance awaiting the signal to fetch in the wounded.

British and Indian soldiers getting a gun over a ridge, preparatory to shelling the enemy positions. An incident in the Mesopotamian field which the camera has succeeded in describing with unusual force and reality.

SAHIB AND INDIAN TOILING TOGETHER FOR THE WELFARE OF THE EMPIRE.

SAVING THE STORES.
Troops removing baggage to higher ground, out of reach of the rising Tigris.

a fierce onslaught was made on the northern bastion and a temporary footing secured. Forced to retire with heavy losses, the enemy came on again and again, striving to rush the breaches which had been made in the walls, and hurling bombs innumerable. To no purpose. To their indomitable courage was opposed valour greater still, and as the day broke they withdrew. That Christmas Day was likely to linger long in the memory of the garrison of Kut. On the 24th and 25th the British had lost over three hundred of their already depleted numbers. On the other hand, the enemy's losses were sufficiently heavy to warrant his asking on December 29th for an armistice to enable him to bury his dead and remove his wounded, who lay in heaps in front of the fort. Of course, the request was accorded. During the first month of the siege the British casualties were 1,840; the Turkish could not well have been less than 4,000.

General Starvation called to help

Finding it impossible to take the position by assault, except at a sacrifice of life which he was not prepared to make, Nuredin Pasha changed his tactics, and prepared to reduce it by starvation, keeping up a bombardment of an intermittent nature, principally at night, with his heavy guns.

The grim spectre of hunger had not yet made an actual appearance, but its shadow was gradually creeping over the devoted defenders of Kut. Hopes of speedy relief still ran high within its walls, and of rations, if on a reduced scale, there were yet enough to go round. There were always the horses. Fortunately, on January 24th, a large quantity of privately stored grain was discovered. The find proved of incalculable value. To reduce it to flour was now the difficulty. Grinding operations for so large a force were beyond the capacity of the solitary mill. The problem was solved by the simple expedient of calling down a rain of millstones from the sky. Friendly aeroplanes dropped them into soft places of special selection.

Oil stored in the naval barges supplied the deficiency of fuel, which by this time was running short. General Townshend, with admirable forethought, had planted vegetable seeds three days previously (January 26th), anticipating that he would shortly have to cope with the scourge of scurvy. So, indeed, it proved; and by the first week in February, by which time the stores of green food, rice, and sugar had run dry, and the milk at the hospital was reduced to a supply for ten days, the garrison was forced to add the bane of this disease to the sum of its sufferings.

IN AN INTERVAL BETWEEN THE FIGHTING.
Some of the smart and soldierly men of our army in Mesopotamia. The flat ground was a heavy handicap in the advance, as it presented no barrier to the spreading floods.

The British troops were then receiving a twelve-ounce loaf of mixed wheat and barley flour, one pound of meat, a few dates and groceries per diem. The rations for the Indians were a pound of flour, half the usual allowance of tea, turmeric chillies and ginger, and a handful of dates. On this small scale the groceries were eked out until March 5th. From that time onward, as the prospect of relief grew less, the rations were gradually and systematically reduced, General Townshend and his Staff sharing every privation with the men.

On April 8th there was no further possibility of running the mill, which had to stop work owing to lack of fuel, though fortunately there was a stock of flour in hand to last another week, when the rations had to be cut down to a quarter of a pound per man per day, British and Indian alike.

Many, and amongst them several successful, attempts at escape were made by Arab inhabitants after food became scarce. One man, a particularly strong swimmer, aided by inflated bladders, was reported to have made the journey down stream to the British camp at Kurna.

Another—sole survivor of a party of eighteen—arrived, wounded in the leg, on a raft. These men brought first-hand news of the condition of the besieged, all of whom, they said, were in cheerful spirits, fully confident that relief would yet reach them. Their respect for General Townshend, who seems to have been endowed with the same capacity for arousing and maintaining enthusiasm in his men as the hero of Khartoum, amounted to veneration.

Capture of the Julnar

On April 24th a final attempt was made to get supplies through, and the Julnar, laden with stores of every sort and kind, left Basra, bent on running the blockade. Her mission, however, had been an open secret for three weeks before she started, and the Turks, through Arab sources, knew as much about her every movement as the British authorities. She, consequently, fell an easy prey into the enemy's hands, actually within sight of Kut. To render the process as dangerous as possible by shell fire was their only consolation, but it was not of a satisfying nature.

Attempts to replenish the failing supplies of the garrison by aeroplane had been frequently made, but, except in a few cases—the millstone episode amongst them—had proved unsuccessful. The Turks boldly claimed that the superiority of their battle-planes enabled them "to shoot down the old British machines one after the other."

The efforts made by the relieving force were alike indicative of the gallantry of the officers and men composing it and of the insufficiency of the means supplied for the accomplishment of their task. Despite temporary and, on occasion, brilliant success, it speedily became evident to those who followed their movements that nothing but a large and immediate accession to their numbers and armament could enable them to overcome the resistance which the enemy was capable of offering.

The odds, almost invariably, were against them at the rate of five to one, and that the Turks were foemen worthy of their steel on even terms had been already demonstrated at Gallipoli. No fewer than a dozen different attempts to break through were made over a period of four months, practically the whole duration of the siege. On January 7th the Turks were attacked and forced to retreat from their position at Sheikh-Saad, situated due east of Kut on the south bank of the river, some fifty miles down stream. This success enabled an advance to be made a fortnight later on the still stronger enemy's entrenchments at Umm-el-Henna, twenty-seven miles higher up the river. This venture, unfortunately, did not meet with success, the enemy being in too great strength; and until March 6th no further attempt was made.

General Gorringe's appointment

On that date an attack was directed against Es Sinn, still higher up stream, almost within sight of Kut, but here also the enemy was in considerably superior force, and it was found impossible to dislodge him. Three weeks elapsed, during which the command devolved upon General Gorringe, in place of General Aylmer. He moved against the formidable position of Umm-el-Henna on the north bank of the river, where the British had failed to gain a footing in January. The only line of progress open to him was by frontal attack, as, indeed, had been the case

FLOODED AREA IN A PALM GROVE ON THE TIGRIS BANK.

Floods seriously impeded the operations of the British force in Mesopotamia, and added incalculably to the misery of the campaign. The beauty of this scene cannot blind one to the discomfort that must have attended encampment at such a spot.

BACK TO THEIR OWN PEOPLE.
Hospital ship drawing in to Felahieh. After Kut-el-Amara surrendered, the Turks allowed the sick and wounded to be sent to the British lines.

in all prior advances. Outflanking operations, owing to the condition of the country on both sides of the river, were impracticable. He had to move along the strip of high ground contiguous to its banks. The marshes, flooded to the full, extended far on each side. Beyond the marshes lay the desert, firm enough for transport or foothold, but waterless save for a few isolated wells totally inadequate to the necessities of troops and known only to the Arabs. Good progress had been made during a week's fighting by the 13th Division, which had so conspicuously distinguished itself at the Dardanelles and lost 6,000 officers and men out of a total strength of 10,500, thereby disproving the German axiom that no unit could survive the loss of twenty-five per cent. of its strength. The men of the 13th had supported a drain of more than twice that amount, yet showed no sign of reduced vigour. Though in seven days the distance which separated them from Kut had only been reduced by eight miles, they had fought for and carried every inch of the way.

Progress of the 13th Division

Trenches had been pushed forward by means of saps to within one hundred yards of the enemy's position at Umm-el-Henna, where he was strongly entrenched in places as deeply as nine feet. At 5 a.m. on the last day of March, the leading battalions of the 13th Division rushed the first and second trenches in quick succession under the support of concentrated artillery and machine-gun fire. Another hour saw them in possession of the third line, and by 7 a.m., after two hours' furious fighting, during

A LESSON IN SEA-POWER TO FRIENDLY NATIVES ALONG THE TIGRIS.
Retainers of the Sheikh of Mahommerah about to inspect H.M.S. Espiegle. This armed sloop, together with the Odin, covered the disembarkation of the original Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force at Fao. Above: Enemy patrol-boat sunk by the Espiegle. The craft was eventually salved.

A NEW RECRUIT TO THE A.S.C.
Landing a large motor-lorry from a river barge, somewhere on the Tigris bank. On the right of the illustration another automobile can be discerned under the awning.

which they drove everything before them, they occupied the fourth and fifth line. Information was then received by scouting aeroplanes that the enemy was strongly reinforcing his positions both at Felahieh and Sanna-i-Yat, three and a half and seven miles away up the river. As the approach lay over very open ground farther advance was deferred until nightfall. At 8 p.m., after a well-earned rest, the forward movement was continued on the left (north) bank, and the Felahieh position was successfully carried in the darkness. The 3rd Division in the meanwhile, under General Keary, had pushed on upon the other bank and had met with equal success in capturing the enemy's trenches opposite Felahieh, and consolidated the position, despite a strong counter-attack.

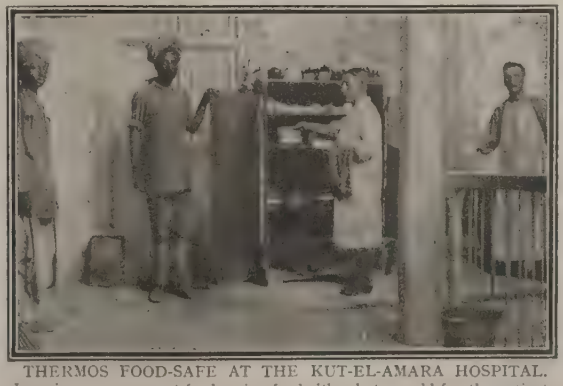
General Keary's advance

On April 9th General Gorringe pressed on to Sanna-i-Yat, but here he found the enemy entrenched in such strength that he had to fall back. General Keary, on the right bank, met with less resistance, and he was able to press onwards until, by April 17th, he had reached a point within eleven miles of Kut. On that and the following day the Turks delivered furious counter-attacks which, at a computed cost of 3,000 casualties, forced the British to retire. A bombardment of Sanna-i-Yat was followed by a fresh assault on the 23rd, but again the position proved impregnable, and once more the British had to fall back.

So in storm and rain and flood, with ever-decreasing forces opposed to ever-increasing numbers, the relief force found itself within eleven miles of Kut, whence the beleaguered British, now in the last extremity of hunger, could see the flashes of its guns.

On April 29th the limit of endurance was reached and the doom of Kut sealed. An ominous message from General Townshend, received by wireless at half-past eleven

BACKING A MOTOR-LORRY FROM A BARGE.
Another impression of a powerful motor-lorry backing from a supply barge. One of the chief difficulties of the Mesopotamian Campaign arose from the lack of transport.



THERMOS FOOD-SAFE AT THE KUT-EL-AMARA HOSPITAL.
Ingenious arrangement for keeping food either hot or cold for the patients.

PRISON COMPOUND ON THE ROAD TO KUT.
Prisoners of war taken by the force that tried to relieve Kut-el-Amara under guard in their wire-fenced compound.

on the morning of that day at the British Headquarters, stated that he had surrendered.

I have destroyed my guns and most of my ammunition is being destroyed. Officers have gone to Khalil Pasha, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, who is at Madug, to say that I am ready to surrender. I must have some food here and cannot hold out any longer. Khalil has been told to-day, and a deputation of officers has gone in a launch to bring food from the Julnar, the ship sent by the relief force on the night of April 24th to carry supplies to the garrison of Kut.

Shortly afterwards came another message:

I have hoisted the white flag over Kut Fort and town, and the guards will be taken over by a Turkish regiment which is approaching. I shall shortly destroy wireless. The troops go at 2 p.m. to camp at Shamran.

The news, to a great extent discounted by the tenor of the messages from General Townshend intimating that the end was in sight, was received throughout the Empire with profound sorrow. In Great Britain regret was tempered with indignation, for a strong and justifiable feeling existed that the reverse need never have been sustained. Allied and neutral countries were unstinted in their sympathy and admiration. In hostile camps the announcement was hailed with expressions of extravagant delight. Berlin, in delirium of joy, claimed the credit for General von der Goltz and the scientific training which the Turkish Army had received at his hands. Of the fact that never before had so large a British force as 9,000 men capitulated to an enemy the most was naturally made.

Khalil Pasha received the envoys of General Townshend, for whom he expressed unbounded admiration, with the proverbial courtesy of his race. He was specially desirous that the garrison, after all the privations it had undergone, should be generously provisioned, and regretted that his own stores were not sufficiently plentiful to enable him to furnish what was requisite. As soon, however, as the iron pressure of the blockade had been removed, supplies poured into Kut from British sources.

General Townshend, who was permitted to retain his sword, was shortly afterwards sent to Constantinople, where quarters were assigned him at Prinkipo, the principal amongst a group of islands in the Gulf of Ismidt. He carried with him into his enforced retirement the sympathy, respect, and admiration of his countrymen. For nearly five months he and the troops he so ably commanded had acquitted themselves under conditions of the utmost difficulty and of a nature to test character, whether in bravery or endurance, to the core.

An immortal story

The story of Kut and its gallant resistance will never die. It may well inspire the pen of a great poet in the future, even as the defence of Lucknow impelled that of Tennyson in the past. Lucknow held out for eighty-seven days, Kut-el-Amara for one hundred and forty-three. To the survivors of the historic siege in Oude, after all their sufferings—

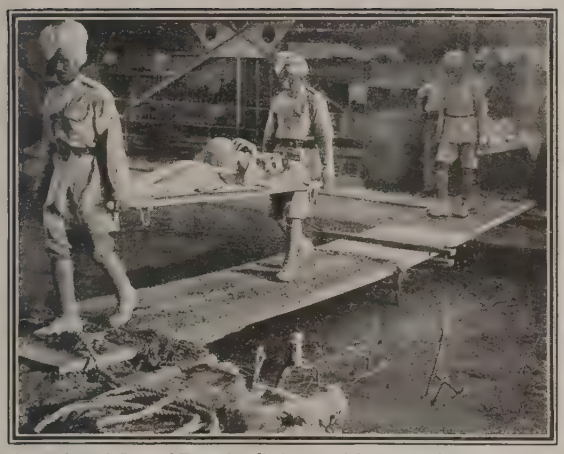
> Heat like the mouth of a hell or deluge of cataract skies,
> Stench of old offal decaying and infinite torment of flies—

came final relief at the hands of Outram and Havelock, and, as a fitting climax, the supreme consolation that

> Ever upon the topmost roof our banner of England blew.

No such happy issue out of all their afflictions was in store for the heroes of Kut. For them, despite privations even greater, though endured with the same magnificent fortitude for nearly half as long again, was reserved the crowning humiliation of being forced by hunger alone to lower the flag.

MAHAILAS: TYPES OF ANCIENT RIVER CRAFT ON THE TIGRIS NEAR SHEIKH-SAAD.



A member of General Townshend's immortal band. A sick hero of Kut returning to the British lines and on his way to hospital.

Indians who fought at Ctesiphon and Kut leaving the hospital ship wounded, emaciated from lack of food, and needing assistance over the gangway.

Conveying a wounded soldier to the ambulance. After the fall of Kut-el-Amara the Turkish commander, behaving with a chivalry seldom displayed by his German ally, allowed sick and wounded Britons and Indians to be sent down the river to the British lines.

Thoroughly worn out with their ordeal, a batch of Indian soldiers, carrying a few personal effects, landing from a hospital ship.

Less than a week after leaving Kut. Convalescent British soldiers eating bread-and-jam outside a hospital at Basra.

THOSE WHO CAME BACK FROM KUT: SICK AND WOUNDED SENT DOWN THE TIGRIS BY A CHIVALROUS FOE.

ITALIAN HEAVY ARTILLERY TRANSPORT.

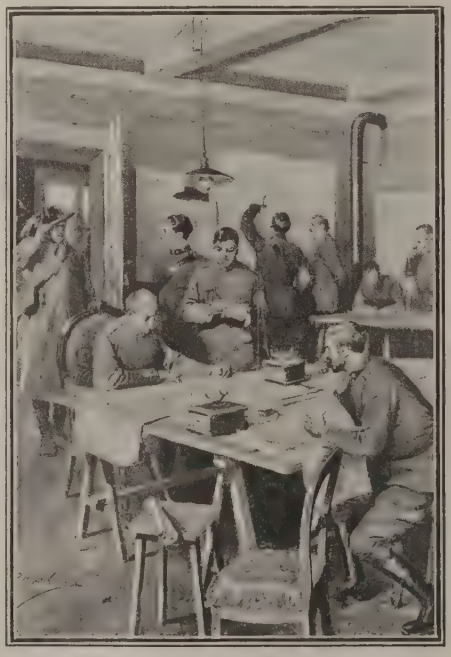
CHAPTER CXXXIV.

IN THE TRENTINO: AUSTRIAN ADVANCE AND ITALIAN COUNTER-OFFENSIVE.

By Dr. James Murphy.

Austrian Preparation for the Great Trentino Offensive—Constitution and Grouping of the Austrian Forces—Geographical Character of the Austro-Italian Battleground—General Plan of the Offensive Prepared before the War by General Konrad von Hötzendorf—Political and Tactical Mistakes in the Plan—Slav Refugees Herald the Attack—Bombardment of the Whole Line from Rovereto to Val Sugana, May 15th, 1916—The Battle for Cima Maggio—The Adige and Terragnolo Sector and the Battle of the Buole Pass—The Armentera to Val Sugana Sector and the Fight for Ospedaletto—The Terragnolo and the Astico Sector and the Fight for Borcola and Asiero—The Asiago Plateau Sector and the Struggle in Sette Comuni—The Battle of Novegno, June 5th to 24th—Austrian Retreat begins June 25th—Review of the Strategical Situation since May 15th—Organisation and Disposition of the Italian Defensive Forces—General Pecori-Giraldi—General Cadorna Begins the Counter-Offensive—The "Austrian Drive" Ends in the "Trentino Races" and an Austrian Debacle.

WHEN, in May, 1916, Italy was preparing to celebrate the first anniversary of her entry into the European conflict, in circumstances set out in Chapter CXIX., Austria launched a colossal offensive in the Trentino. Equalling, if not in many respects outstripping, the magnitude of the German preparations for the attack on Verdun, the Trentino offensive was the most formidable undertaking that had yet been organised by the Austro-Hungarian Staff. It was the long-delayed counter-attack against the positions which Italy had conquered from Austria during the first weeks of the campaign; but it was more than a counter-attack. The purpose of the expedition had been preached and advertised throughout the Dual Monarchy. It was a sort of sacred crusade for the just punishment of a "faithless" ally. No Austrian harboured the thought that the expedition could fail. And certainly the time, pains, and material which had been expended in organising it warranted strong faith in its success.



PREPARING FOR ALL CONTINGENCIES.
Headquarters Staff on one of the Italian fronts in consultation before an expected Austrian attack.

With characteristic Teutonic thoroughness, the Austrian Staff devoted several months to the preparation of its great *coup de main*. The fundamental idea of its plan was to amass large bodies of well-trained troops close to the line of attack, so that no time should be lost in bringing up reserves. Eighteen divisions of infantry, selected from the best troops on the Balkan and Galician fronts, were transferred to the Trentino, grouped and distributed so as to form three armies, two of which were intended for the front line, while the third was to be held in reserve. The supreme command was entrusted to Archduke Karl Franz Joseph, with General Konrad von Hötzendorf, Chief of the General Staff, acting as assistant. The respective armies were placed under the immediate control of three famous generals—Dankl, who had command in Galicia during the early part of the war; Kövess, who had been victorious in the second invasion of Serbia; and Borövic, who had so stoutly defended Gorizia against the Italians in 1915. The number of men enrolled in the three armies

amounted to over 400,000. They were supplied with stores of food, clothing, tenting and barrack material, hospital provisions, etc., sufficient to last them six months.

The method followed out in the constitution and grouping of the forces is extremely interesting. An Austrian division normally consists of four regiments, each regiment being made up of four battalions of a thousand men apiece. But for the purposes of the Trentino campaign the number of regiments in a division was raised to six. Two of these constituted what might be called a movable depot. As units they were not meant for the fighting-line, but were to fill the breaches occurring in the front-line regiments during the course of the struggle. By this system each division was enabled to make up its losses automatically, so that it could keep a steady pressure on the foe.

Plans of the Austrian advance

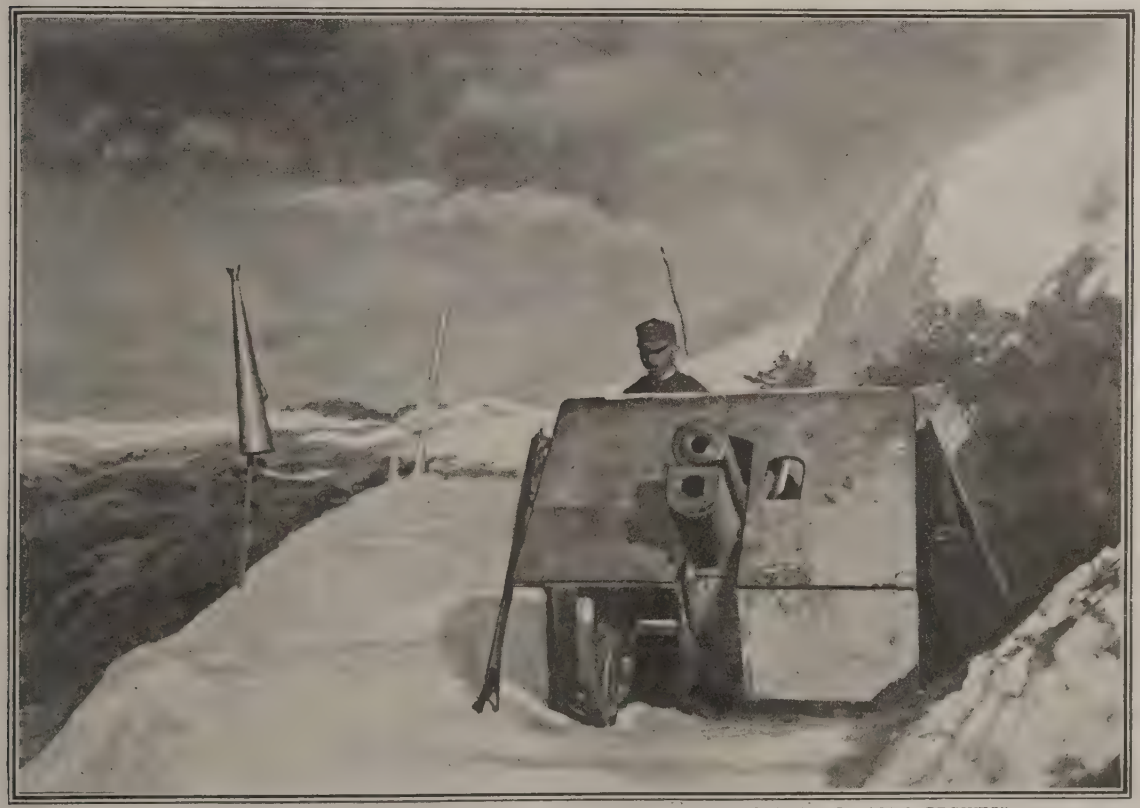
The enormous amount of artillery placed at the disposal of the different divisions and army corps affords another striking example of Austro-German faith in weight of metal. The allotment of machine-guns accredited to each battalion was raised from the normal number of eight to the extraordinary number of thirty-two—or, in other words, seven hundred and sixty-eight machine-guns to a division. In addition to this several regiments were supplied with a number of small mountain guns (42 mm.) drawn by dogs, which had been trained to follow the troops into the most advanced positions.

The artillery of medium calibre was supplemented in similar proportion. At the beginning of the war each Austro-Hungarian division possessed six batteries of "seventy-fives" (3 in.), each battery containing six pieces. Two batteries of a heavier type (4 in.), each battery also containing six pieces, completed the divisional equipment. In the Trentino six additional batteries of heavy field-guns containing six guns apiece, were allotted to each division. The normal equipment in medium artillery of an Austrian army corps amounts to eight 6 in. guns, arranged in two batteries of four guns each. For the attack in the Trentino the number of 6 in. guns was raised from eight to twenty-four; and an additional allotment of thirty-six field-guns, of a calibre a few degrees larger than the "seventy-fives," was given to each army corps.

Totalling up the number, and leaving out of count the supply of machine-guns, we find that each division possessed eighty-four pieces of light and medium artillery. Taking account of the additional artillery at the disposal of an army corps, we find that each army corps, when composed of two divisions, was supplied with two hundred and twenty-eight pieces; and when composed of three divisions, the number was increased to three hundred and twelve. Over and above all this was the great supply of heavy guns and the enormous stores of ammunition placed at the disposal of the expedition. The formidable train of siege-artillery consisted of forty 12 in. howitzers of the Skoda type, four 380's, and four 420's (15 in. and 16·53 in. respectively).

I have dealt with these figures somewhat in detail, because not only are they an index of the immense importance attached to the Trentino exploit by the Austrian Staff, but they also throw an instructive light on the state of affairs in other war theatres. Having succeeded in obtaining an accurate estimate of the enemy's strength on the Trentino frontier, the Italian Staff was in a position to afford information which turned out to be of immense service to the allied cause. The purpose of the Central Empires was laid bare. In the hope of anticipating the

The enemy's objective



THE SENTINEL OF THE PASS: AN EMBATTLED HEIGHT THAT FELL TO ITALIAN PROWESS.
One of the Austrian heavy guns in position on a snow-capped peak. Before the war the Austrians held all the geographical advantages in a mountain campaign, but General Cadorna's strategy and troops were not to be denied.

ROCKET APPARATUS AT A SIGNALLING POST.
Rocket apparatus to light up enemy positions and detect any advance attempted under cover of darkness was in constant use on all fronts.

combined offensive of the Allies by crippling the Italian Army for the time being—and this became a pressing necessity now that the same plan had miscarried at Verdun—Austria threw every ounce of her strength against her former ally. In desperate straits because no help could be afforded her by Germany, she had seriously weakened her eastern front in order to strengthen her Trentino phalanx.

Now was the time for Russia to strike. The first blows revealed Austria's weakness. It is interesting to note that though General Brussiloff captured 366,000 prisoners between June 4th and August 12th, the number of guns captured amounted only to four hundred and fifty-one. If we reckon exclusively on a basis afforded by that number, we shall find that no more than twenty guns were allowed to each Austrian division in the east. But the artillery equipment on the Russian front must be estimated on a wider basis—namely, on a basis which takes into consideration not only the number of prisoners captured, but also the losses in killed and wounded. Thus considered, the disproportion between the supply of men and guns becomes still more striking. Evidently Austria had staked her Imperial fortunes on the success of the Trentino offensive. The desperate throw was destined to result, both directly and indirectly, in the most tragic episode that had yet darkened the tragic history of the Hapsburg Monarchy.

Austria's desperate throw

Before coming to the story of when and how the attack was launched, it is necessary to call special attention to the geographical character of the Austro-Italian battle-ground. A knowledge of its peculiar configuration is indispensable, if one would follow intelligently the fortunes of the campaign. Here the rules which govern the struggle are almost entirely different from those which are applicable on the plains of France and Flanders.

Comparisons and analogies are misleading, because what seems essential to warfare in an open and undulating country is only of secondary importance in mountain battles. For the mountain and valley take active part in the struggle. Therefore, the strength of many positions depends not on the number of men who hold them, or the guns that guard them, but primarily on the advantages afforded by the terrain. Consequently, the importance of battles must not be judged by the numbers employed. It often happens that vital points are held by small forces,

CHEERFUL AND SMART ALTHOUGH ONLY JUST OUT OF THE TRENCHES.
Italians coming out of the trenches. The men of General Cadorna's armies, like the French and British, were supplied with steel helmets as protection from head wounds. In circle: One of the famous Bersaglieri scrutinising a position which his transport had to pass.

SUMMER QUARTERS OF THE ITALIAN SECOND LINE.
Campaigning among the Italian mountains had its attractive aspect in the summer. These were the quarters of the troops of the second line.

and it has happened more than once that the fortunes of some of the most decisive battles in the Italian campaign—Pal Piccolo, for instance—have been in the hands of a few thousand troops.

The worth of a victory, then, being relative to the damage inflicted upon the enemy, must be estimated in relation to the strategic value of the terrain from which he has been dislodged. For instance, if he be forced to withdraw from a point where a few hundred men have held some thousands at bay, he will now have to employ thousands instead of hundreds, whereas his conqueror can dispense with numbers correspondingly large. Of course, all these truths are applicable to every form of warfare, but they play a specially dominant part in the Austro-Italian war.

This becomes very clear in the case of the Trentino campaign. The ordinary map is of very little use in following the movements and manœuvres which take place in so complex and varied a territory. One must make a mental sketch of a contour map in which serrated peaks and towering blocks of mountain stand in irregular and intricate formation, as huge sentries watching over innumerable valleys and passes. Pushing southwards from the main ridge of the Alps, the Trentino forms a colossal triangular bastion. It is a wedge-shaped block of mountains, the narrow point of the wedge penetrating far into the great expanse of Italian lowlands which lie between the Alps and the Appenines. From time immemorial this has been the starting-point of countless attacks against Italy. The triangle is cleft through its centre by the Valley of the Upper Adige, along which runs the southern portion of the Brenner Pass. For our present purpose we shall have to extend the political confines of the Trentino and speak of it in terms of the whole of Southern Tyrol, from the saddle of the mountain range to the Lombardian Venetian plains.

Configuration of the Trentino

The Swiss frontier cuts into the western side of the triangle at a point about one-third of its length from its

WIRE INSTEAD OF CONVOLVULUS AND VINE.
Miles of wire ran like insidious bindweed creeping round the stakes that were thick upon the hillsides.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS BENEATH THE CHESTNUT-TREES
Italian General Headquarters, pleasantly situated under chestnut-trees: no more pretentious than the bungalows allotted to the rank and file.

TO GORIZIA: THE PENULTIMATE STAGE.
Communication trench on Monte Podgora, the hill from which the Italians debouched to ford the Isonzo and carry Gorizia by storm.

base on the north. Farther south the Toscolano Valley leads into Lombardy at a point which seriously threatens the main railroad from Milan to Verona. Moving northwards along the eastern side of the triangle, the first valley of importance is Vallarsa, the opening of which is controlled by Monte Pasubio, 7,325 feet high. Farther north is the Valley of the Astico, with the Cima di Campolongo and Monte Verena at its mouth. And still farther north the important Valley of the Brenta leads into the Italian plain, dominated on its southern side by the towering heights of the Cima Dodici. In this sector, between Vallarsa and the Brenta, the great attack was launched.

The district is made up of innumerable valleys and passes amid serrated mountains. Mule-paths wind in and out on the shoulders of the hills, and carriage roads follow the serpentine courses of the mountain torrents. Towards Trent these valleys converge, so that it stands to them in the relation of a hub to the spokes of a wheel. It was possible to amass immense quantities of war material here, because even if the Italians were successful in stemming the onrush of the Austrian tide, there would be no need of a serious retreat on Austria's part, the mountains acting as fortress walls for the protection of men and material within. The most the Italians could hope to do would be to compel the enemy to withdraw within the outer defences of his fortress.

Where the attack was launched

From the Austrian positions on the protruding bastions of South-Eastern Tyrol to Vicenza is a distance of some thirty miles. Vicenza stands in the centre of that neck of lowland which extends from the mountains to the Venetian shore and through which the Italian railroads pass on their way to the north-eastern arm of the Venetian Plain. If the Austrians should succeed in breaking through they would completely cut off from its base of supplies the great Italian army operating in the Dolomites, in Carnia Cadore, and on the Isonzo front. If the purpose were, but partially carried out it might eventually succeed in forcing General Cadorna to employ the main body of his army for the defence of the Italian plains, and thus abandon the idea of an offensive on the Isonzo.

The general plan of the offensive was not due to any decision arrived at in Austro-German war councils during the course of hostilities. Before the outbreak of war it had already been prepared, under the influence and direction of General Konrad von Hötzendorf and the late Archduke Franz Ferdinand, as part of the war treacherously premeditated against Italy. A series of fortifications were built at Folgaria and Lavarone, dominating the Upper Valleys of the Astico, Assa, and Brenta. The whole territory between Vallarsa and Val Sugana was organised and militarised, with no other purpose than that of making it the starting-point of a gigantic offensive against Italy at one of the most vulnerable points of her frontier.

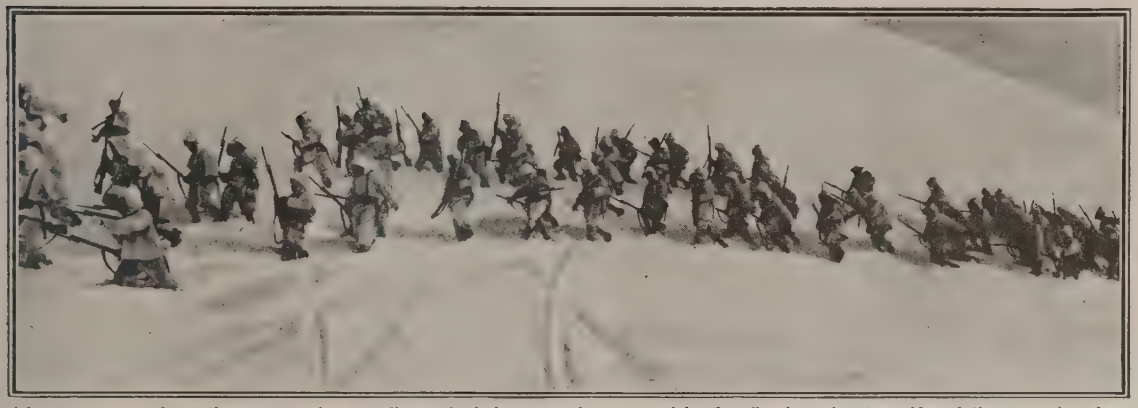
A pre-war project

In the immediate planning of the attack it is not difficult to follow the mental workings of the Austro-German Staff. Verdun would forestall the allied offensive in the west, the Trentino would cripple Italy, and the victorious armies of the Central Empires would be free to attend to Russia before the armies of the Tsar would be ready to move. But also from the more restricted viewpoint of her Italian campaign there were pressing reasons why Austria should undertake a strong offensive against her southern enemy. The Austrian position in the Trentino was one which insistently called for betterment. Cadorna's troops were pressing closely on the great fortress city. Rovereto was already under the control of their guns. Should they push their successes farther Austria would lose her only chance of organising a serious offensive against Italy. The Trentino position was the most vulnerable point of the Italian line. Here the Austrian position was specially favourable to the launching of an attack. If the advantage were not now taken, the Dual Monarchy would be compelled to confine itself to a defensive war on the Italian front.

Military critics have written at length about the great blunder made by Konrad von Hötzendorf. He could not have hoped, it is pointed out, to lead a triumphant army into Venezia, for he must have known that Cadorna could mobilise upwards of a million men against the Austrian attack. That criticism is sound, so far as it goes; but it should be remembered that Konrad's purpose would have been successfully carried out if he could dislocate the existing disposition of the Italian forces, and compel General Cadorna to keep a large army on guard in the Trentino sector. This would relieve the pressure on the Isonzo, and paralyse, at least for the present, any Italian attempt at a grand offensive.

Konrad's blunder was of another and more elementary nature. He did not prepare for eventualities. Underestimating Italy's military resourcefulness and misinterpreting the political situation, Konrad's Staff staked everything on the success of the Trentino adventure. Furthermore, the tactical mistake was plain even to the man in the street. General Cadorna's army was operating within an arc, which formed well-nigh three-fourths of a complete circle. In order to counteract an Italian push on its south-eastern end, Austria opened an offensive against the extreme south-west. The movement of Italian troops took place along internal lines, or cords, whereas the Austrians were compelled to mobilise along the circumference. Besides, Austria had difficult mountain roads to traverse, and only one railroad, whereas Italy had the plains and a network of railroads. And, further, the Italians in the neighbourhood of Monte Croce began to control the railroad through the Puster Valley, with the result that Austria could not withdraw troops or material from the Trentino front unless by moving northwards into the Valley of the

In complete contrast to the attractive aspect of the campaign among the mountains in summer-time, these photographs show its forbidding and formidable aspect during winter. The men are seen advancing at a height of 3,000 metres.



Advances were made at the expense of extraordinary physical energy, the men trudging heavily along the steep sides of the mountains often more than knee-deep in snow, hooded like monks for protection against the biting winds.

Fatigue-parties, laden with fuel for fires and timber for making barricades for their positions, toiled painfully up the heights, zigzagging upwards in Indian file where the acclivity was too sheer to be compassed direct.

NATURAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN UPON THE SNOW-COVERED ALPS.

Inn, and thence by a most roundabout and tortuous route, in her effort to reach the Isonzo. Should the Trentino offensive be held up, it was clear that in the race for the Isonzo Italy must be days ahead of her enemy. The alert Latin mind would never allow such an opportunity to go by the board. And this explains the sudden and triumphant character of the subsequent Italian move.

These preliminaries are indispensable to a clear understanding of the military situation. It is true that the Russian offensive helped Italy; but it is more true that Italy mainly owed the success of her defence and attack to the close co-operation of all the Allies, as well as to the military genius of her commanders and the valour of her troops.

A rather dramatic incident heralded the attack. In the early hours of Sunday morning, May 14th, 1916, the Italian sentries on duty in the advance positions overlooking Val Terragnolo noticed three strange forms moving along the mountain side. Towards the Italian barbed-wire defences they came, pausing and peering round at every step. Through the half-opaque atmosphere they seemed like wanderers lost on the mountains. The sentries challenged. Immediately six arms were lifted upwards in sign of surrender. And yet it was not the sign of surrender, but that of pleading for deliverance. It was an impressive and solemn gesture, like that of a Mohammedan who turns his face to Mecca and raises his hands in prayer to Allah. They were Slavs who had escaped from their Austrian taskmasters and sought deliverance at the hands of the Italians.

A dramatic incident

"The attack against the Italians is arranged for to-morrow," they said. "It will commence with a bombardment lasting from dawn till evening. At six o'clock in the evening the infantry will attack."

The information proved to be entirely exact. On the Monday morning, as the sun's rays were tipping the Dolomite peaks and the lower hills lay hidden in the darkness of night, one 15 in. naval gun opened fire on the little village of Asiago at a range of ten miles. Following one another at intervals of twenty minutes, five massive shells fell in the narrow streets, excavating immense craters, smashing the windows of the dwelling-houses, and creating general consternation amongst the inhabitants. It was the signal for the general outburst. Along the whole line, from Rovereto to Val Sugana, the Italian positions were smothered by an avalanche of fire and flame. On a front of some twenty-five miles two thousand guns were in action. Austrian aeroplanes hovered overhead, directing the fire of the artillery by means of wireless appliances installed in the machines. Many of the shells burst above the clouds, creating opaque masses of flame, as if some Olympic artillery had begun to thunder from heaven itself. Down the mountain sides came the rain of splintered shells. It was the most awe-inspiring spectacle that had yet been witnessed in the Great War.

During the bombardment Italian officers succeeded in locating many of the heavier Austrian batteries. By a careful examination of the shells it was ascertained that one of the mammoth 420's (16·53 in.) had been installed on Monte Costa Alta, in the Asiago sector, another on the high table-land at Folgaria, and a third at Rovereto. Following out this method of location it was possible to find the key to the grouping system adopted by the enemy. Owing to the difficulty of quickly transferring heavy batteries over any considerable distance in this intricate and difficult region, there was little likelihood that any surprise manœuvres would be attempted by the enemy. Consequently, the Italians were enabled to form a rather safe opinion as to the points where the series of infantry attacks were likely to be made. The conduct of the Italian war being essentially a question of strategy, it constantly called for the exercise of that intuitive faculty which enables a military commander to read the mind of his enemy and arrange his plans accordingly. That power of psychological insight is a gift which is almost omnipresent in the Latin mind but lacking in the Teuton. In the military sphere Italian commanders seem to have displayed it in its highest degree. Cæsar had it. So had Napoleon. Throughout the course of the present war it has been strikingly displayed by General Cadorna and his Staff.

GENERAL COUNT GUGLIELMO PECORI-GIRALDI.

General Pecori-Giraldi, then in command of a division on the Carso, displayed such military genius by his capture of Sei Busi, July 25th, 1915, that on August 10th he was given command of an army corps, and on May 10th, 1916, was promoted to the command of the First Army on the Trentino front.

Towards the evening of May 15th the infantry attack was launched. At all the points along the whole line, from the Adige to Val Sugana, the offensive was simultaneous. Against the Italian position on Zugna Torta, which stands between the Valleys of the Adige and Vallarsa overlooking Rovereto, a tremendous assault was made. There the Italians were not well established, because for a whole twelvemonth their trenches had been under fire from the Rovereto forts. Still they boldly held their ground, forcing back avalanche after avalanche of the oncoming foe. Five times the Austrians charged up the mountain; five times they were hurled back, their ranks depleted by the fire of the machine-guns. Hundreds of their dead lay torn and massacred amid the barbed-wire entanglements, and hundreds more rolled down into the Adige. Still they came on, reinforced at each charge, until the Italians were forced to abandon the hill, their trenches having been utterly ruined by the terrific bombardment.

The assault on Zugna Torta

Up the Valley of the Terragnolo—a tributary of the Adige, joining the Vallarsa north of Zugna Torta—another avalanche poured. There the positions were rather thinly held by the Alpini, and it was evident that only a short stand could be made. But the longer the Austrians were held at bay the more time would be gained for the bringing up of the reinforcements. Having delivered several counter-attacks with the bayonet, the Alpini retired to the defensive line, Milegna-Soglio d'Aspio, which runs from Val Terragnolo to Val Astico, a few miles westward of the old frontier line. This line follows the watershed, resting on a series of mountain rests, which vary from 5,000 to 6,000 feet in height. Several streams have their sources here, one set running westwards to join the Adige and another flowing eastwards towards the Adriatic.

Discovered! Barbed-wire cutters taking cover.

Italians consolidating a captured trench.

Mat screens for exposed roads: A device employed by the Italians advancing upon Gorizia.

In July, 1916, the Italians recaptured Arsiero in the Trentino, fording the Posina at Ponte Rolto with superb intrepidity.

Italian troops crossing the Isonzo under a hail of shrapnel during the storming of Gorizia, August 9th, 1916.

Cavalry pursuit of Austrians in the Sette Comuni.

"Carry the position": Italians salute their dying colonel's order.

In the intricate network of valleys, peaks, and passes, sometimes enveloped in heavy storm-clouds, or high in the luminous air amid glittering ice and snow, the struggle assumed an almost supernatural character. Though not strongly reinforced, the Alpini held the vantage points and were well supplied with machine-guns. The slaughter of the Austrians was appalling, yet they still came on. Owing to the system of attaching supplementary regiments to each division, which had been employed by the Austrians, the line was being constantly reinforced automatically. The clouds blanketed many of the positions, so that much of the firing on the part of the artillery was wild and blind. This was specially detrimental to the advancing troops the nearer they got to the Italian trenches. Several combatants have given their impression of the struggle as one of the most cruel and awe-inspiring that the mind can conceive.

An awe-inspiring struggle

Meanwhile, on the extreme left of the advance, another army moved down the Brenta Valley. The left wing of this army attacked Monte Colo, on the northern bank, while the right pressed on towards the high tableland of Asiago, attempting to encircle Monte Verena and enter the Valley of the Assa. Clad in white shirts, the moving troops seemed part of the snow-covered mountain. They crept along silently, without a whisper of command being spoken. Along the shoulder of Monte Vezzena on the north and across the Valley of the Torra on the south they came, scaling the mountain to a height of some 5,000 feet, where the Italian outpost was entrenched. Not a sound from the sentries. Closer and closer the Austrians drew. But the whisper of the Italian sentries had passed along the telephone wire. When the Austrians were within close range the machine-guns opened fire. The enemy replied with a volley of hand-grenades. Again and again he was driven back, but he returned persistently to the attack, each time in undiminished strength. Five attacks had been repulsed, and now came the dawn. Viewing the masses of their dead which lay on the mountain, the Austrians lost heart and returned to their trenches on Busa di Verle and Palauro.

On the northern bank of the Brenta a like struggle went on. Again and again the phantom-like army attacked Monte Colo and Sant' Anna, but the Alpini drove back each assault. When the first streaks of dawn appeared no appreciable advance had been made, and the Austrians withdrew to their original lines.

Pivoting their phalanx on Monte Armentera and Cima Panarotta they moved forward once again, under cover of their artillery. But the Alpini jumped from the trenches, scaled the peaks and crags, bayoneted the enemy, and drove him back to his cover. The struggle was waged above the clouds amid peaks that glittered like polished silver in the morning sun, while the valleys still lay in darkness. The Austrian attempt was suspended for the moment, and this sector of the front remained comparatively quiet during the 16th, 17th, and 18th.

The Austrian plan was now plainly revealed. It became evident that the attack in the Upper Brenta Valley was of a preparatory character, and that the enemy intended opening three roads farther south—namely, along the Valleys of the Astico, Posina, and Assa. The southward advance along the Valley of the Adige was rather of a defensive nature. The capture of Monte Zugna Torta and Monte Coni Zugna would relieve the Italian pressure on Rovereto, and thus obviate the danger of an attempt at an encircling movement by General Cadorna's troops.

Along the centre of the new line taken up by the Italians, the struggle grew more intense and concentrated, the objective of the enemy being the high tableland between the Astico and the Assa, known as the Sette Comuni. This mass of territory projects as a sort of bastion into the Venetian Plain and completely dominates the mouth of the Astico. In order to move along the Posina and reach

LIEUT.-GENERAL EMILIO BERTOTTI.
Commanding the Italian army at Valona, a port of great strategical importance with the finest harbour on the Albanian coast.

Arsiero, where the Valley of the Posina joins that of the Astico, it was necessary to secure control of Cima Maggio, the key of the Borcola Pass in the Upper Valley of the Posina. Here an epic struggle took place. During a three days' combat the mountain changed hands several times.

For two days the heavy artillery kept up an incessant bombardment. At intervals the whole mountain seemed aflame, a mammoth tongue of fire cast up from the mouth of a volcano. Trenches were utterly destroyed, steel and concrete parapets shattered, the pathways and aerial railroad pillars reduced to a mass of debris. The Alpini abandoned their position, which was immediately seized by the Austrian troops. When the Austrians were grouped and massed on their new ground the Alpini returned to the fray. This time it would have been suicidal for the enemy to use his artillery; and his soldiers were no match for the Alpini with the bayonet. Once more Cima Maggio was in Italian hands.

Again the Austrian artillery thundered. The mountain was now torn and gored, as if devastating lava had deluged its sides. The intense heat melted the snows, so much so that survivors say they found the water boiling and steaming in some of the gorges. Once again the Alpini retired and the Austrians reoccupied the shell-riven crest. But the thought of Cima Maggio in the enemy's hands was too sad a one for the mind of the Alpine soldier. He returned to the combat and drove out his conquerer at the point of the bayonet. During this last struggle another company of Alpini succeeded in scaling Height 1869, which also controls the Borcola Pass; so that though the possession of Cima Maggio eventually rested with the Austrians, it was robbed of its strategic effectiveness.

Fire that melted the snows

GUNNERS PASSING DOWN A VILLAGE STREET.
Officers and men were as interested in the photographer as the pretty girl under the artistic iron balcony was interested in them.

COVERED TRENCHES VERY NEAR THE ENEMY.
An Italian trench on the Lower Isonzo well screened and stoutly protected from an enemy position dangerously close at hand.

North of Cima Maggio, on the heights of Monte Coston and Monte Costa d'Agra, a similar battle was fought. On the 18th the positions finally fell into the enemy's hands ; and then it was no longer possible to hold Monte Coston d'Arsiero, which had been one of the pivotal points in the first line of the Italian defence. The Italian centre was now withdrawing to its main line of defence.

In order to follow clearly the further developments of the struggle, it is important to remember that the line of battle was not continuous. It divided itself into four distinct sectors which were not in actual touch with each other, though they were the scenes of concerted operations. The first sector extended from the Adige to the Terragnolo, the second from the Terragnolo to the interwoven series of valleys which form the sources of the Astico, the third along the high tableland of Asiago, the fourth from Armentera to Monte Colo, on the banks of the Brenta in Val Sugana. The different sectors have their different battle-histories. We shall consider them separately.

The movement in the Adige Valley brought about the fall of Zugna Torta ; but the Austrians were unable to press farther south, owing to the Italian resistance on Monte Coni Zugna. Realising the extreme importance of preventing the Austrians from moving down the Adige Valley or up the Vallarsa, Cadorna ordered Monte Coni Zugna to be held at all costs. On the northern bank of the Vallarsa is Monte Pasubio, which towers to a height of 7,325 feet, and dominates the valley. Directly westward of Monte Pasubio, on the opposite bank, the Pass of Buole leads into the Valley of the Adige, south of Monte Coni Zugna. If Monte Pasubio could be taken the Pass of Buole would fall into the hands of the Austrians and Monte Coni Zugna would be turned. An enormous number of heavy guns were brought into action against Monte Pasubio, and a bombardment kept up without a moment's breathing space, day and night, for three weeks. From May 26th to June 1st violent infantry attacks were delivered against the Italian positions, but they were only successful in driving the Alpini to the higher crests of the hill. From there all efforts failed to dislodge them. Deeming it possible, however, to gain possession of the pass, even

How Monte Pasubio was held

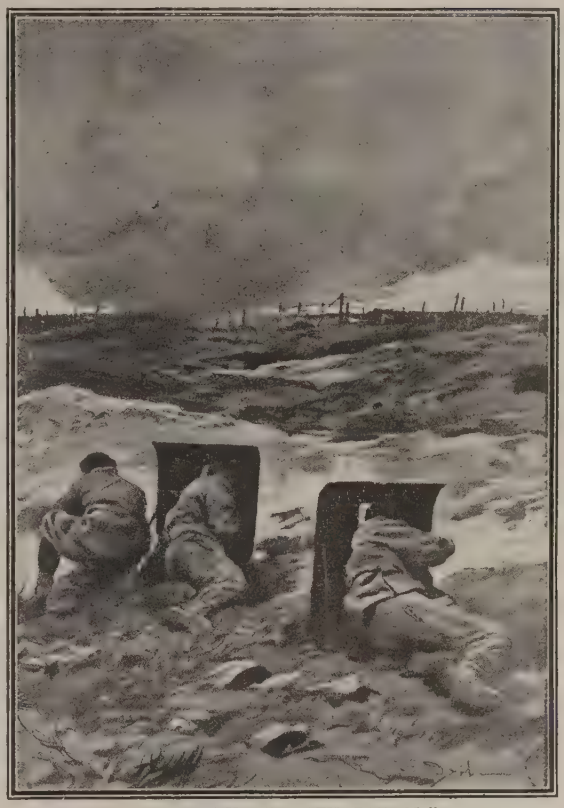
though the high crests of Monte Pasubio still remained in Italian hands, the Austrians decided to make a blind drive and break through by sheer force of numbers.

As a saddle on Monte Coni Zugna rests the Buole Pass. In order to understand the importance of its position, imagine the mountain cast in the mould of a gigantic horse. His head faces north-west, towering high in proud defiance. His brow is Monte Coni Zugna, gaunt and bare to the north but sloping and wooded along its southern declivity. At his shoulder stands Monte Salvata. He has a pair of outstanding hips—Monte Mezzana on the left and Parmessan on the right. Standing between two valleys, the Adige on the left and Vallarsa on the right, you must vault over his saddle if you would pass from one valley to the other. His saddle is the Pass of Buole.

Monte Coni Zugna

In the hope of attracting the main strength of the Italian resistance towards Monte Coni Zugna, the Austrians attacked the central Italian positions on the high mountain. Then, by a quick manœuvre, they sent forward large detachments to push up through Vallarsa and thence over the pass, thus encircling Monte Coni Zugna. The first stages of the manœuvre were carried out successfully. Mounting the hillside, towards the saddle, the Austrian troops covered the first few hundred yards of the ascent without let or hindrance on the part of the defenders. Faster and denser they came, now full of the spirit of victory and confident that their plan would be successful. But the Latins were on the alert. When the enemy was about halfway up the ascent the defenders opened fire. A hail of machine-gun and rifle bullets poured into the breasts of the attackers. Immediately they wavered, but the shrill whistles of the officers in the rear warned them that death awaited them

PROBING THE SECRETS OF THE HILLS.
Powerful "75" searchlight brought up among the mountains by the Italians to discover any enemy movement during the night



OUT ON THE "DEATH PATROL."
"Death Patrol" was the name given by the Italians to the men who went out at night to cut passages through the enemy wire.

if they dared to return. Once more they attempted the ascent, only to realise the utter impossibility of moving forward in the face of the Italian fire.

But the Austrians had sworn that they would retake Ala on the anniversary of its fall into Italian hands (May 27th, 1915). An airman had already flown over the town, dropping missives which announced the benevolent intention of Francis Joseph's troops, and also plainly hinted that a dose of frightfulness might be expected if Ala would not willingly surrender herself to the embraces of her former master. One of the missives ran thus: "We shall take Ala on the anniversary of her fall; but if within two days she does not become thoroughly Austrian we shall bombard the city."

"Konrad's sausage-machine"

The anniversary was now at hand. But the Pass of Buole still barred the way to Ala. "Hack through at all cost" was the order given. Believing that if dense masses were rolled upwards towards the breach all could not be destroyed, and that some at least would succeed in getting through, the Austrians advanced in massed formation, taking advantage of the cover given them by the wooded glens. They brought a supply of small machine-guns which could be manipulated by one man. Having arrived near the crest of the mountain, where the woods cease and the rugged steeps stand out bare and gaunt, the troops began to pour into the pass. The Italian machine-guns mowed them down. Those that escaped were massacred in the bayonet charge of the Alpini. Still they came, so quickly and regularly that it seemed as if they were being poured forth from the mouth of some monster machine. "Konrad's sausage-machine is at work," said the Italian soldiers to one another. Platoon after platoon

WITH THE ITALIAN GENERALISSIMO.
General Cadorna, eager and well satisfied, watching an artillery duel and pointing out details to his keenly interested Staff.

forced its way into the pass, but the Italians mowed them down as fast as they appeared. The anniversary was over, and the road to Ala still barred.

For four days more the battle raged. Austrian artillery swept the whole sphere, reducing to a mass of atoms the beautiful little hamlets that overlook the Adige. Each day operations culminated with an assault against the defenders of the pass, but the Italians would not yield an inch. Blasting quarries into the side of the mountain they tore loose the jagged crags and hurled them downwards on the oncoming foe. Through all its tragedy and grim horror the battle assumed a character that was heroic and sublime. It had something of primeval barbarism in it, recalling the time when the Cymbri of old attempted to pass through on this same spot; and in the evening, when rocks were no longer available, their women threw the children against the faces of the Roman defenders.

On May 31st the final assault was made. A whole division was hurled to the charge. Having clothed themselves in the uniform of Italian soldiers, several detachments of Austrians rushed from the edges of the woods, crying out: "Don't fire! We are Italians!" But the "melon heads" belied the disguise. Shouting their false chorus, they were mowed down mercilessly by the machine-guns on the crest. Throughout the whole day the slaughter in the pass continued. At last the division rolled backwards, leaving 7,000 of its dead on the battle-ground. Thus ended the Battle of the Buole Pass, and with it the Austrian hope of breaking through to Ala. A conservative estimate of the losses suffered by Konrad's troops in this sector alone places the number at 40,000. A rather pathetic phase was revealed when the prisoners began to tell of their experiences. For days their food had been failing, as the guns on Monte Coni Zugna had interfered with the transport of supplies from Trent. The soldiers were hungry and parched with drought. But their officers had kept urging them on, saying: "Break through—break through! There is plenty of food in Italy."

The left wing of the advance met with a similar fate. At first the onrush was successful, and succeeded in driving the Italians from their advanced positions in Val Sugana. The principal line of the Italian defence in this sector extended from Ospedaletto, on the northern bank of the Brenta, along the western crests of the Cimon Rava group. On the southern bank of the river it rested on Monte Civaron (3,600 feet), the Cima Undici (7,300 feet), and the Cima Dodici (7,660 feet). But the advanced line was about seven miles westward, running from Monte Colo on the north of the river to the eastern crests of Armentera, on the southern bank. For two days this line withstood the Austrian advance; but during the 17th and 18th it was forced to withdraw. The Austrians occupied Borgo on May 19th. They crossed the Brenta and drove the Italians from Armentera on the 21st. Crossing the Moggio on the 22nd, they occupied Monte Civaron, and on the 25th the Cime Undici and Dodici fell into their hands. Thus they opened the road to Asiago. But this movement brought the extreme left of the advance into the territory of the centre. Instead of moving directly down the Brenta it struck against the

Road to Asiago opened

MOUNTAIN GROTTOS TURNED INTO FORTRESSES.
Almost every crevice where protection could be found was seized upon by the Austrians, built up with concrete, and turned into a fortified grotto. Before the outbreak of war the whole territory between Vallarsa and Val Sugana was organised and militarised, with a view to making it the starting-point of a gigantic offensive against Italy at a vulnerable point of her frontier.

AUSTRIAN TROOPS AMID THE MELTING SNOW.
With the beginning of the melting of the snow, great holes were perforated through the tracks, and miniature avalanches made the Italian counter-offensive all the more noteworthy.

Italian position on Ospedaletto and was "cannoned" towards the centre. On the 27th a frontal attack was launched against Ospedaletto, but it was utterly unsuccessful, and cost the Austrians dearly. From this date onwards no farther advance was effected in Val Sugana. Here the Italians stood deeply in Austrian territory. They held their principal positions through the whole encounter, and succeeded in carrying out Cadorna's plan of holding the wings at any cost. The advances which would now take place in the centre must necessarily be robbed of their ultimate effectiveness.

In the sector between the Astico and the Terragnolo the southern half of the Austrian central column was engaged. Having succeeded in driving the Italians from their advanced positions to the first line of defence, the Milegna-Soglio d'Aspio position, they followed up their advantage by bringing into play an enormous mass of artillery. A violent artillery attack was made against the positions on Monte Pasubio (7,325 feet), the southern peak of the Pasubian range. This chain of mountains runs from the Vallarsa to the Astico. In the centre stands Cima Maggio (6,150 feet), outside the Italian frontier, and thence in a north-eastern direction runs the line Maggio-Toraro-Spitz. Between Cima Maggio and Monte Pasubio is a depression known as the Borcola Pass, leading from the head of the Terragnolo Valley to that of the Posina Valley. Borcola is thus a key position. The Terragnolo flows westwards into the Adige and the Posina flows south-eastwardly into the Astico. By coming up the Terragnolo and crossing through the Borcola Pass into the Posina Valley the way to Arsiero is opened, and thence the great channel to Vicenza. The Italians held their ground on Monte Pasubio, but were forced to give up the Coston dei Laghi (Hill 1,859) and retire to the Toraro-

Austrians occupy Arsiers

SETTING OFF ON THE TRAIL.
Column of Italian infantry with pack-horses going up to the front, the long line curiously suggestive of Indians on the trail.

Campomolon position. Firmly hinged to Monte Pasubio, as to the pillar of a gigantic gate, the line swung still farther backwards, until it finally ran from north to south on the range of mountains which form the southern ramparts of the Posina, its extreme right now resting on Monte Novegno. Here they made a desperate resistance from May 31st to June 15th, beating back attack after attack and inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. In the retreat to Monte Novegno Arsiero was evacuated, and occupied by the Austrians on June 1st.

Meanwhile the northern half of the Austrian centre was moving forward on the Asiago Plateau, sometimes called the Sette Comuni position. From May 15th to 21st the Alpini withstood the onslaught of the enemy, and on the 21st were forced to retire to the Verena-

VEDETTE POSITION ON THE CARSO.
A picturesque vedette position in the area of the fiercest fighting on the Carso, and the entrance to an Italian trench.

Campolongo line. But the territory here was of the most difficult character, constantly under fire from the enemy's great forts and affording very few facilities for the bringing up of reinforcements. The Italians farther retired to the Valleys of Galmarara and Assa, eventually evacuating Asiago, which was occupied by the Austrians on June 1st. The Austrian centre was now well into Italian territory.

After evacuating Asiago and Arsiero the Italian centre fell back on its last line of mountain defence, which ran along the Sette Comuni Plateau from the southern banks of the Posina to the Brenta. During the retreat Italian rearguards kept the enemy constantly engaged in the Upper Astico and Assa Valleys, with a view to hindering and delaying his advance as much as possible. In the meantime the centre of the defensive line was being strongly reinforced, especially in the Astico Valley. For it was now a certainty that the Austrian centre would concentrate its full energy on an attempt to break through here.

Defence of the Astico Valley

From the Plateau of Arsiero to the Venetian Plain there is only one outlet. It is the Valley of the Astico. South of Arsiero, where the Posina joins the Astico, the valley becomes deep and narrow, winding in and out among soaring cliffs which sometimes reach a height of 7,000 feet. Here are the last defences which guard the entrance into Venezia. Having reached the Arsiero Plateau it is as if one stood upon the ramparts of a great mountain castle. Looking out over the plain beneath you see the church-spires of Vicenza and discern with the aid of glasses the long, serpentine trains entering and leaving its great railroad junction. The European War would assume a new aspect if the Austrians could reach that railroad centre. And now it seemed so near.

The battle-line of the Italian centre formed two sides of a right-angled triangle. Originally it was straight as a taut string, bound firmly to Monte Pasubio on the south and Ospedaletto on the north. During the offensive the centre of the line had been pushed in a south-westwardly direction, while the ends remained firm. Immediately within the angle thus created stood Arsiero. The left wing ran almost directly westwards, from Monte Novegno to Monte Pasubio, the right from Monte Novegno along the Canaglia Valley and the Sette Comuni Plateau to Ospedaletto. If the Austrians could burst through at the vertex of the triangle, the Astico Valley and the road to Vicenza would be open to them.

Attack on Monte Novegno

Being now the most important pivotal point in the defence, Monte Novegno became the immediate objective of the Austrian attack. It is the strategic key to the whole series of military positions here. A continuous row of hills runs from the plain to Monte Pasubio, forming a sort of turreted fortress wall. Monte Novegno is the great bastion on the eastern end, Monte Pasubio on the west. The intervening hills are Cogolo, Alba, and Forni Alti. North of this chain is the Astico and south of it is the Leogra Valley, joining one another at Schio, whence a short railroad runs to Vicenza. Should Monte Novegno fall, the secondary hills must needs follow the same fate.

An immediate attack was the main hope of the Austrian cause. Every moment's delay meant the heaping up of new obstacles; for the Italian railroads were busy day and night bringing masses of troops and material to the defence.

On the afternoon of June 5th the battle commenced. From the roof-tops of their homes the inhabitants of

MOVING THE GUNS ALONG A MOUNTAIN SIDE.
The task of moving artillery about the mountainous terrain of the Trentino was so difficult that, had it not been accomplished, it might have been thought impossible.

STRENUOUS TEAM WORK FOR MEN AND HORSES.
Another impression of the extraordinary labour that fell to the lot of the Italian field-artillery in moving its guns about the mountainous area of operations.

Vicenza could see the Austrian shells breaking over the hill-crests. At least twenty heavy howitzers had been brought into play against the Italian positions, together with upwards of a thousand guns of medium and smaller calibres. For four hours the bombardment continued, completely demolishing the parapets of the trenches and the barbed-wire entanglements. During the bombardment Italian airmen hovered over the enemy's lines and discerned countless trains of ammunition-waggons bringing food to the guns, while the massing and grouping of infantry went on on a colossal scale. Austria was concentrating all her might against the gate which barred the way into the Astico Valley.

The battle-cry, "Avanti, Savoia!"

At seven in the evening the artillery fire abated and the enemy moved to the attack. Everything was silent for a while. The infantry swarmed around the mountain range, making a simultaneous attack from different points. The wooded slopes of Monte Novegno and Monte Cengio offered them excellent cover. Suddenly the Italian artillery rang out at short range, plunging a hail of shell into the woods. But the Austrian supply of human material seemed as illimitable as its ammunition. They came on in massed formation, crying out to one another through the darkness. The enfilading fire from the Italian guns was unable to keep them at bay. They reached the trenches, struggled through the battered terrain, and it seemed for a moment

HEAVY FIELD-ARTILLERY IN POSITION.
One of the 149 mm. (6 in.) howitzers of the heavy artillery of the Italian field army ready for action.

as if they would hold their ground on Monte Novegno. But suddenly the cavities of the mountain are bellowing forth loud cries: "*Avanti, Savoia! Avanti, Savoia!*" as the Alpini fall upon their foe.

Before morning dawned the Austrians had been driven back into the woods, and again the artillery preparation began. Eighteen days the struggle lasted, sometimes waged with sustained fury, at other times weak and spasmodic. But the Italians did not cede a yard of ground. Many of the prisoners taken told harrowing tales of the sufferings they had endured. The supply of water had run short, the food was scanty and bad. The supply of ammunition was inexhaustible; but an army cannot live on ammunition

THE DUKE OF AOSTA.
The Duke of Aosta, cousin of King Victor Emmanuel III., commanded the Third Army, which captured Gorizia, August 9th, 1916.

alone. It needs bread and water, especially water. On the arid heights of Asiago, beneath a blazing tropical sun, Austria's army was without water. Worse than all, the troops had been drugged with lavish doses of alcohol and ether, the German professorial substitute for wholesome food and manly courage.

Giving details of the condition of things which prevailed behind the Austrian lines, the prisoners explained that they had been led to believe that the right wing of the army of invasion was already in Verona. In order to uphold its honour and earn the supply of medals promised by his Kingly and Imperial Majesty Francis Joseph, the central army must push on to Venice before the regiments of the right wing would have the chance to enter. One poor delirious fellow, as he was being tended by Italian surgeons, asked: "How many hospitals are here? Isn't this a small hospital for a great city like Venice?" They had been told that Venice was just beyond the crest of the mountain. "When you enter Venice we shall make peace," said the officers. Naturally, the prospect of a speedy return to their homes, a square meal, and a jug of beer or fresh water from the spring had an inspiriting effect on the minds of simple peasant soldiers.

Tide of Austrian invasion turned

On the morning of June 24th Italian airmen reported that the enemy was in flight. The battle of the forty days was over. Austria's army of invasion had turned homewards. The Italian counter-offensive had already begun.

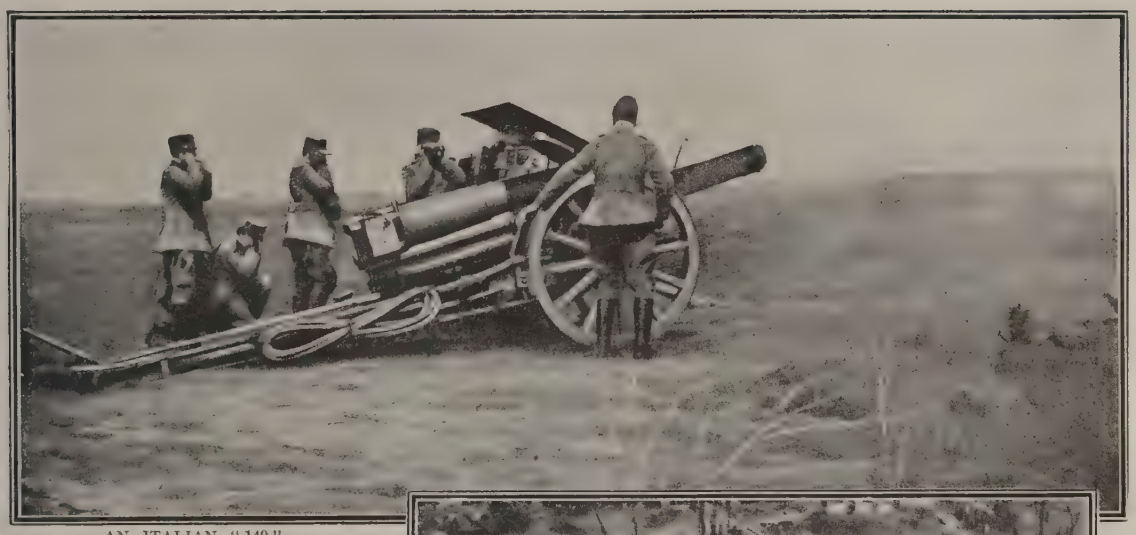
Here it may be well to consider a few of the main features of the strategic situation which had come into prominence since May 15th. During the Austrian advance in the Trentino, it was commonly believed, especially by outsiders, that the invaders were having the best of the battle, and that the Italians were suffering an unexpected set-back. To the general public, whose eyes had been so long riveted on the Franco-British and German fronts, a retreat of a few miles was a matter of the first importance. It was natural, therefore, to look upon the retreat of the Alpini, over a distance of seven or eight miles during the first days of the onslaught, as a rather serious reverse for General Cadorna's troops. Serious, in many senses, it certainly was; for it is always a serious matter to be forced into abandoning positions which have been won at great cost. But the span of the retreat was no index of its importance, for in mountain warfare distances cannot be measured in miles, and it threw no light either on the weakness or strength of the Italian defence.

These facts become quite clear when one remembers that the Italian line on the mountains is a line that has been established by an invading army. The advance-guard always occupies positions which are not meant as points d'appui, but are held simply with a view to keeping the opposite armies in touch. In the case of a serious attack it is the duty of the advance-guards to play the part of covering troops, and delay the progress of the enemy. That is what happened in the case of the Tridentine offensive. Retreats on the mountain being from one strategic line of hills to another, once the outposts began to retire they could not come to a halt before reaching the next strategic line.

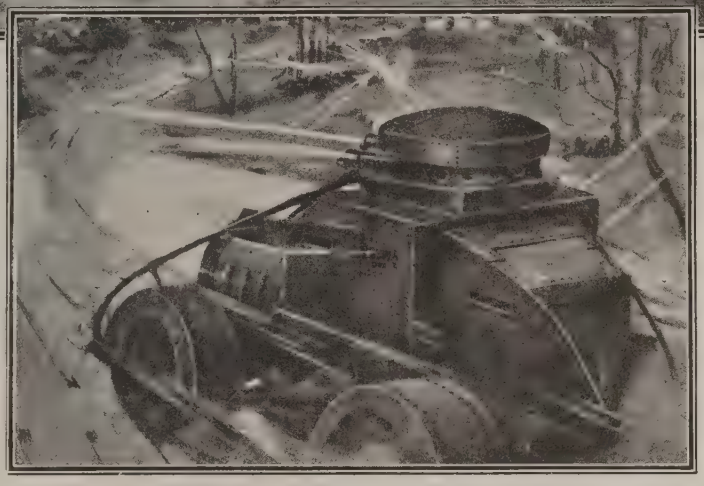
The strategic situation

In the farther withdrawal of his troops General Cadorna was bowing to the necessity imposed upon him by circumstances, while at the same time preparing for his counter-offensive. Between the Terragnolo and Val Sugana the mountain region which forms the watershed of numerous streams, and is torn and twisted in most fantastic

IN MEMORY OF THE BRAVE DEAD.
Gabriele d'Annunzio, national poet of Italy, reciting his three "Hymns for the Dead" to the troops at Aquileia at a memorial service for the dead.



AN ITALIAN "149."
Italian 6 in. howitzer at the moment of discharge.



A FLYING FORTRESS ON THE ITALIAN FRONT.
An Italian armoured car with quick-firing guns in action during the struggle for Gorizia. (Drawn by a soldier, Plinio Codognato.)

fashion, forms very difficult terrain. The advantage of position lay entirely with the Austrians. They were provided with the great series of forts, Lavarone and Folgaria, which had been erected in time of peace, and they were convenient to their base of supplies. It was impossible for Cadorna to think of holding them at bay from the outset. He could not stop the initial stages of their advance but he could force it in a direction which would enable him to deal with it later on.

The Italian commander ordered that the wings were to be held at all cost. "Remember that here you defend the soil of your Fatherland. These positions must be held to the last," was the majestic message he sent to his troops. And they obeyed him. Every attempt on the part of the Austrians to break into Val Sugana, on their left, and the Adige Valley, on their right, met with utter failure. Cadorna was preparing for his favourite strategy of piercing the wings so as to compel a retirement in the centre. For those who were familiar with the tactics of the Italian chief it was possible to foretell, with a fair degree of confidence, that the decisive blow against the Austrians would be delivered from the two pillars where they had been held stationary since the start.

It would not have been wise or possible to attempt to withstand their advance in the centre. In rapidly pushing forward they were coming into territory where the manœuvring of large bodies of troops is a matter of utmost difficulty. For that reason the Italians had never held the positions between the Terragnolo and the Brenta with large forces. The ground is barren and waterless, and almost entirely without roads. By withdrawing towards the edge of the plateau they were coming nearer to their bases of supply, and approaching the verge of a territory which is well watered and well supplied with facilities for transport. Of course it is also true that, being unable to detach from other parts of their front an amount of artillery equal to that which the Austrians were employing, the overwhelming mass of material against them made a retirement an absolute necessity for the Italians.

General Pecori-Giraldi

It is interesting to study the methods adopted in organising and disposing the defensive forces. Every phase of the gathering storm in the Trentino was well known to the Italian Staff. A few days before its outbreak General Pecori-Giraldi was given control of the forces operating in the Trentino sector. He was the right man in the right place. At the beginning of the war Pecori-Giraldi was simply a divisional general, directing a small body of troops in the Carso region; but he displayed such quick initiative, sureness of insight, and thoroughness of execution that he was made general of an army corps a few weeks after the outbreak of war. Like his chief, he had had his political enemies. Five years before they succeeded in enforcing his retirement from the Army, the judgment of the State Council against him being that he did not have the ability to command a division either in peace or in war. But Cadorna, who had no illusions about the military genius of politicians, placed Pecori-Giraldi in the foremost rank of military commanders. On May 10th he was made general of the Italian army operating in the Trentino. Events proved the wisdom of the choice.

A few days after General Pecori-Giraldi had taken up his new duties all the roads in Italy led to the Trentino. A pressure was put upon the railroads such as they had never borne before, exceeding by one-third their scheduled capacity. Over half a million men were almost instantly mobilised, with their full equipment in artillery, food supplies, ammunition, mining and railway-building appliances, Red Cross stores, etc., besides a complement of 75,000 horses, mules, and oxen, and 15,000 waggons of

TRENTINO
TRENT
ROVERETO
RIVA
ARCO
BORGO
PERGINE
LEVICO
CALDONAZZO
LAVARONE
LUSERNA
FOLGARIA
ASIAGO
ROANA
GALLIO
CISMON
FELTRE
FONZASO
ARSIE
STRIGNO
LAMON
LAVIS
PALU
CIVEZZANO
VEZZANO
MATTARELLO
BESENELLO
MORI
BORCOLA P.
ARSIERO
PIAZZA
SACCO
MARCO
LIZZANA
CHIESA
ALA
FUGAZZE P.
SCHIO
RECOARO
VALDAGNO
SANTORSO
VALLI DEI SIGNORI
TRAPPOLA P.
PERI
BORGHETTO
L. GARDA
Valle del Lago
Val Lagarina
Terragnolo V.
Val d'Assa
Val Sugana
Val Posina
Mti Lessini
R. Adige
R. Brenta
R. Astico
M. Baldo
M. Maggiore
M. Pasubio
M. Cimone
M. Verena
M. Lefre
M. Ortigara
M. Grappa
M. Tomatico
M. Rameza
M. Pavione
M. Coppolo
M. Agaro
M. Solubio
M. Laiten
M. Civeron
M. Armentera
M. Magari
M. Costa Alta
M. Mosciagh
M. Erio
M. Costa d'Agra
M. Costa d'Arsiero
M. Coston dei Laghi
M. Majo
M. Forni Alti
M. Alba
M. Cogolo
M. Novegno
M. Castelberto
M. Baffelan
M. Vignolo
M. Altissimo
M. Corni Zugna
M. Colsanto
M. Cengio
M. Torraro
M. Campomolon
M. Pria Fora
M. Velo
M. Stivo
M. Creino
M. Biaveno
M. Cornetto
M. Palon
M. Paganella
C. di Vallon
C. di Gess
C. Scalette
C. Undici
C. Dodici
C. Portule
C. Manderiolo
C. Maggio
C. Posta
Cima Undici
Cima Dodici
Cima Portule
Cima Manderiolo
Cima Maggio
Cima Posta
Cima Tre Sassi
Cima Tofane
Cima Cristallo
Cima Piccolo
Cima Popena
Cima Cadin
Cima Vallandro
Cima Undici
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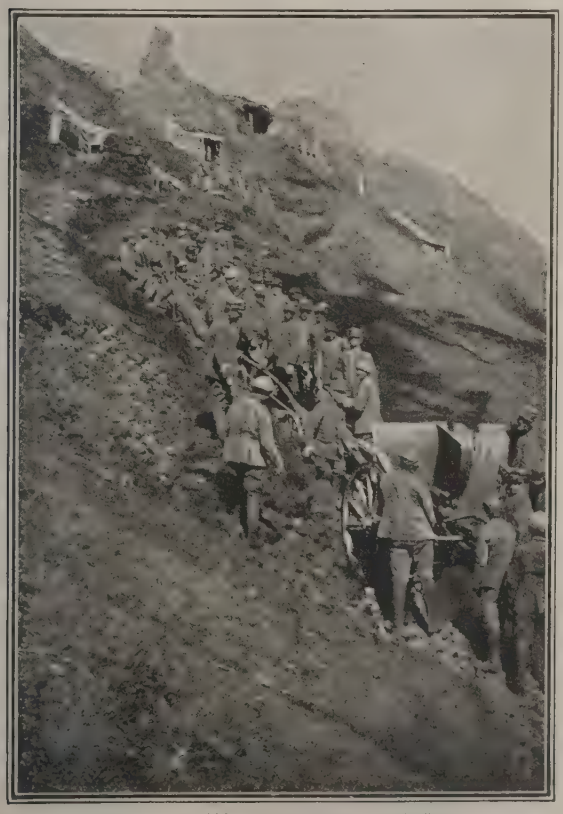
Cima Manderiolo
Cima Maggio
Cima Posta
Cima Tre Sassi
Cima Tofane
Cima Cristallo
Cima Piccolo
Cima Popena
Cima Cadin
Cima Vallandro

every description. One of the outstanding features of this improvised mobilisation was the enormous number of motor-cars employed. Each car averaged about one hundred and thirty miles per day, and the whole motor-transport service accounted for the mobilisation of 100,000 men. Perhaps that does not look a very large number on paper, accustomed as we now are to thinking in millions, but when one bears in mind the conditions under which the transport was effected, the achievement is remarkable. Most of it had to take place under cover of the night, over roads which were no better than mule-paths, crossing bridges and viaducts which were being constantly destroyed by the enemy's fire and constantly rebuilt by Italian engineers. Many of the drivers did not leave their cars for six days and six nights, getting food as best they could, and snatching a few moments of sleep between the fitful pauses in their work. But Italians have a gift of taking such burdens as a matter of course; for they have an intense sense of solidarity, working with an enthusiastic self-sacrifice when some general cause inspires them. Those of us who experienced the difficulties of civilian travel in Germany during the weeks of mobilisation were astonished to find that during this crisis in Italy passenger traffic followed its normal course, except for the short period of two or three days.

PREPARING A WARM RECEPTION.
Anti-aircraft gun being put hurriedly into position by Italian troops to repel attack by an Austrian airman of whose approach warning had been given.



WHERE ONLY MAN-POWER AVAILED.
Frequently on the Carso only man-power could be used to bring the heavy artillery into position.

Everything in readiness, his armies disposed, their ammunition and food supplies measured, grouped, and allotted, General Cadorna ordered the counter-offensive on June 2nd. One section of the new army moved up Val Sugana, while another advanced through the Adige Valley. Much preparatory labour had to be expended in making the terrain suitable for the transport of troops and supplies. The engineers laid a system of aqueducts which brought fresh water to the arid heights from the pumping-stations in the plains beneath. With drill and dynamite they excavated new roads for the motor-waggons and guns, and erected aerial railways for the bringing up of ammunition.

On June 11th the new army was in touch with the enemy; but as yet the troops were unused to the mountain, and a few days more were spent in reconnoitring and light skirmishing. On the 17th Malga Fossetta was attacked and won. Monte Magari and the Cima d'Isidore followed immediately. On the 24th they had conquered the Cima Manderiolo and were at the head of the Campo Mulo Valley. Meanwhile, the extreme Italian left had driven back the Austrians from the farther side of Monte Coni Zugna. They had swept through the Buole Pass, taking Parmessan and laying siege to the Austrian positions on the northern slopes of Monte Pasubio. The Italian pincers was bending inwards the Austrian wings. On the 24th the Austrian generals learned of the Italian preparations for the conquest of the Cima Dodici. But one road of retreat lay open, the Valley of the Assa. A few days more and the great army of invasion would have been entrapped. Realising how critical their position was, the Austrian generals ordered an immediate retirement. On the 25th they were in full retreat.

The invaders in full retreat

In the event of the Austrians breaking through the Italian defence and entering the Venetian Plain, General Cadorna had a second army in readiness to receive them. To this force was attached all his available cavalry, who could be employed to immense advantage in the open country. The sudden Austrian retreat would have left the cavalry without any immediate prospect of a fight had it not been for the extraordinary order given, that they were to chase the

enemy through the mountains. This was work very much to its heart's liking, for the Italian cavalry is justly proud of its prowess in negotiating difficult territory. There was a ring of exultation in the address which the divisional commander delivered to his troops:

"Fellow-soldiers, to you and your companions falls an honour which will be received with choruses of joy. The Austrian invaders would descend upon our plains. They would bask in the sunshine of this glorious land which is as a benediction before our eyes. On our country, our homes, and our maidens they looked with greedy eyes. But now they are in flight. So swift is their course that our infantry finds the pace too fast. You are called upon to lead the hunt. You will scale the mountains on horseback. To-morrow the whole of Italy, and the world at large, will marvel at this strange feat you are about to perform. They will say it is a fantastic dream, but you will show them that it is a reality. *Allora, avanti, la Cavalleria!*"

Before the onrush of the cavalry and Bersaglieri cyclists the enemy retired hastily. His great concern was for the salvation of the guns which had been brought into position after so much labour and sacrifice. On the Asiago Plateau the situation was critical, and no time could be lost; but once within cover of the Lavarone and Folgaria forts it was possible to offer resistance to the pursuing foe. Therefore, though the first stages of the retreat seemed to verify the prophecies of the Italian wags, who had already named it "the Trentino Races," it must be admitted in justice to the Austrians that they were very well commanded and that they fought stubbornly as they retired. Realising the danger of being outflanked, large bodies of men and artillery were sent to defend the Adige and Val Sugana positions. The Italians were already on Monte Zugna Torta, and were pushing down the Vallarsa towards Rovereto. In order to counteract this pressure and offset a danger which might soon become imminent for Trent, it was absolutely necessary for the Austrians to take up once more the positions which they had held before the advance. During the first few days of the pursuit the Italians recaptured most of the towns which they had lost. By the end of July the Austrians were well back within their old quarters, retaining, however, a few of the outstanding positions which they had conquered during the advance. Manifestly, a full pursuit on the part of the Italians was out of the question. The Trentino zone does not afford possibilities for the manipulation of large armies; so the rest of the fighting was left to the Alpini. In the skirmishes carried out from day to day they would eventually win back all the territory they had lost. Anyhow, as matters stood, the enemy had suffered a serious disaster. He had come into Tyrol with bands playing and banners flying. It was the first time in the Austro-Italian war that the Royal standards had been borne at the head of the troops. So confident were the Austrians of victory that they gave to their first attacks the character of a triumphal procession. But when their standards trailed in retreat and the roll-call of their heroes was ordered, it was found that of the 400,000 who had gone forth only 240,000 returned.

Austrians' stubborn retirement

Serious disaster for the foe

Meanwhile, Cadorna's artillery was shelling the railroad which runs through the Puster Valley, making it impossible for the Austrians to withdraw from the Trentino by the ordinary route. The Italian commander was now in the enviable position of having more troops at his disposal than he needed for present emergencies. Had the Austrians delayed a day or two longer in the Asiago Plateau they would almost certainly have fallen a prey to the Italian strategy. A stand of another two days would have made it extremely difficult for them to withdraw in time to save the wings, one of the greatest *coups de main* would have been effected, and Cadorna raised to the dignity of a super-hero.

But a good sportsman does not quarrel with his luck. If not Trent to-day, then let it be Gorizia to-morrow. His army was ready to march to the Isonzo. In the next chapter of THE GREAT WAR we shall deal with the Isonzo victory.

GLIMPSES OF THE PAGEANT OF WAR IN RURAL ITALY.
Field-artillery marching through a village. Each Italian army corps had six batteries of six guns besides heavy batteries.

DESTROYED ISONZO BRIDGE

CHAPTER CXXXV.

REBUILT BY THE ITALIANS.

ITALY TRIUMPHANT ON THE ISONZO.

By Dr. James Murphy.

Fundamental Purpose of Austria's Trentino Offensive (the Removal of Italian Pressure on Gorizia) Defeated by General Cadorna's Superior Strategy—Main Characteristics of the Terrain of Operations around Gorizia—Strategic Value of the Mountain Positions along the Isonzo Valley—Gorizia the Key to Trieste—Formation and Characteristics of the Carso—Italians Attack the Austrian Southern Defences on the Doberdo Plateau, August 4th, 1916—Italians Carry Monte Sabotino, August 7th—Bitter Struggle for Monte Podgora—Capture of the Austrian Positions on Monte San Michele and the Carso Ridge—Italians Cross the Isonzo and Enter Gorizia, August 8th—Gorizia Occupied and the Italian Flag Hoisted on the Castle, August 9th—Scene of Desolation in the Town—Gorizia "Renews her Baptismal Vows," August 13th—The History of Gorizia, a Vital Strategic Spot where the Frontiers of Three Races Meet—Possession of the Isonzo Line Essential to the Defence of Italy—The Conquest of the Carso—Italian Expeditionary Force Joins the Allies at Salonika, August 11th, 1916—Political and Military Reasons why Italy did not Intervene in Macedonia Earlier—Italy Repudiates the Commercial Treaty with Germany—Italy Declares War on Germany as from August 28th, 1916.

AS we have attempted to show in the preceding chapter, the fundamental purpose of Austria's Trentino offensive was to dislocate the existing disposition of General Cadorna's troops and force him to make redistribution. If that purpose could have been carried into effect, it would have wrecked the Italian project of a gigantic offensive on the Isonzo. All the drum-beating and banner-waving which announced throughout the Dual Monarchy the starting of the "Strafe Expedition," and all the high-flown talk in the German newspapers about the "Los von Italien," must be relegated to the region of advertisement.

It is impossible to believe that in the minds of General Konrad von Hötzendorf and his Staff the inspiring motive of the undertaking was not of a genuine military character. They must have been aware of the Russian preparations, for in modern warfare movements of such enormous proportions cannot go on in secret; but Austria could not prepare to withstand the Russian attack while the Italian menace on the Isonzo remained active and pressing.

LEADERS WATCHING TIDE OF BATTLE.
Two Italian generals at an observation-post following operations north-west of Gorizia.

Now, the south-western sectors of the Italian line had been lightly held since the beginning of the war, while the bulk of the Army was concentrated on the Isonzo. Therefore, if the impression could be created in the minds of Victor Emmanuel's Staff that the Trentino salient was a serious and constant menace on their flank, the military centre of gravity must necessarily be moved to a point nearer the geographical centre of the line. This would relieve the pressure on Gorizia and give Austria a freer hand to attend to the Russian danger. From that point of view it was calculated that even though the army of invasion failed to reach the Venetian Plain, its mission would still have been successful. Expounded from the professional pulpit, the wisdom of the plan was indeed incontrovertible.

But in the game of war precalculations often go by the board. Cadorna did not play the hand which was called for by the Austrian lead. In reorganising his forces to meet the Trentino attack he was careful not to weaken his front where he had intended it to remain strong. Not only that, but the sudden mobilisation of fresh forces which the crisis

TRANSPORT TROUBLES.
Accidents to the artillery transport were inevitable in the Gorizia sector, where it was easy for tractors to get overturned.

necessitated admirably suited his plans. Though his projected advance had been delayed some five or six weeks, he had a surplus army now on his hands which he could transfer to the Isonzo almost immediately. Thus he would considerably increase the striking power of his offensive.

That is the outstanding fact which throws light on the Gorizia victory. There are no grounds for believing that Austrian troops were withdrawn from the Isonzo to withstand the Russian attack. What happened was something quite different. Believing that their Trentino exploit had achieved its main purpose, and that the Italian military machine would need a serious overhauling before it could be again set in motion, the Austrians began to send their effectives to Russia, and neglected to make special preparations for the coming storm at Gorizia. The Italian commander seized his opportunity. He knew that the forces with which he now had to reckon were those that still remained in Trentino, and he knew that in the race for the Isonzo he could easily outstrip them. To make assurance doubly sure, by taking good care that they should be seriously handicapped, he ordered his long-distance guns to pound the railroad in the Puster Valley at Toblach, Innchen, and Sillian, thus blocking the ordinary route from Tyrol to Austria.

Knowledge of enemy movements

To prevent the transport of troops from Salzburg, Villach, and Klagenfurt, the junction at Tarvis was vigorously bombarded. Tarvis is a vital joint in the railroad system which connects the Drave Valley with that of the Save, whence the Isonzo Valley is supplied. Imagine a gigantic fire-tongs laid on the map. Its head rests on the Italian frontier at Pontebba; its left leg stretches northeastwardly along the Drave, and its right south-eastwardly along the Save. The intervening space is filled by the towering range of the Karawanken Mountains. Tarvis is the joint. Along the northern leg of the tongs an important railway system runs. It rounds the western heights of the Karawanken range at Tarvis, and sharply turns south-eastwards into the Save Valley. This is the most important system which connects Western Austria with the Save and Isonzo Valleys. By destroying Tarvis, the whole system was shattered, and only one railroad now lay open to the Austrians—namely, the Gratz-Marburg-Laibach-Trieste-Gorizia line.

General Cadorna's skill

It is well to bear this fact in mind, for it is vital to an appreciation of the Italian tactics. The success of the Isonzo operations cannot be attributed, even in a minor degree, to any factor of a haphazard or accidental nature. General Cadorna's triumph was the reward, not merely of talented generalship within the area where the actual battles were waged, but also of an elaborate and well-planned organisation for the military control of the vast territory which lay at the rear of the enemy's forces.

Before treating of the operations around Gorizia, it will be well to point out the main characteristics of the terrain. Here, as in every other sector of the Austro-Italian battle area, in order to understand the grouping and estimate the relative strength of the armies engaged, the strategic value of mountain positions must form the basis of our reckoning. In Chapter CXIX. the salient features of the Isonzo line were pointed out, and the plan of campaign adopted by General Cadorna explained. Here it will be necessary to give a more detailed account of the position at Gorizia.

TRIUMPH OF THE TRANSPORT MEN.
The tractor ready for business again, but with its shell cargo still strewn around. In circle: How the indomitable Italians hauled it upright.

ADVANCING AT THE DOUBLE ACROSS A SHELL-SWEPT PLATEAU.

Italian infantry doubling across a field exposed to Austrian gun fire. They were on their way to relieve comrades who had spent many hours in the trenches. The undulating ground is typical of the Isonzo district, where this photograph was taken.

Moving down the Valley of the Isonzo from Tolmino, as we approach Gorizia two massive hills stand on either hand, Monte Santo (2,230 feet) on the left, and Monte Sabotino (2,000 feet) on the right. As Alpine hills go, they do not tower to great heights, but their bulk is huge, and its surface is gored by great furrows which create a veritable chaos of ridges, valleys, and spurs. Monte Santo is the chief Austrian position on the left bank of the river. In days of peace it was a favourite pilgrim resort. Leading up the mountain side from the town of Gorizia the road is fringed with many shrines and wayside Calvaries, where devout pilgrims rested and prayed as they toiled along their Via Crucis towards the summit of the "Holy Hill." The venerable convent is now roofless and battered. Its church-tower and the windows of its dormitories afforded observation posts for Austrian officers, and each grotto by the wayside enshrined a howitzer. From here there was full command of the Gorizia position on the south, and until the Italians captured the bridge-head it was the main support of the Austrian lines on Sabotino. On our right as we move downwards the southern slopes of Sabotino assume the form of a Gargantuan staircase. The chief landings along the descent are San Valentino, San Mauro, Oslavia, Peuma, Grafenburg, and Calvario. At the foot of Sabotino stands the isolated mound called Podgora by the Slovenes, and Piedimonte by the Italians, which in English means "the foot of the mountain." All this region from Podgora to the summit of Sabotino is often called the Hill of Death, for it has been from time immemorial the scene of many dreadful combats.

Hill of Dreadful Strife

As we reach Podgora the Vipacco Valley opens on our left. Approaching the river it forms rather an extensive plain about six or seven miles in breadth. Gazing eastward we can see where it narrows into an avenue and winds onwards amid the hills. The avenue leads into the Plain of Laibach, a distance of about forty miles. Laibach lies on the main road connecting the Danube with the Adriatic, and is therefore a very important centre both strategically and commercially. Opposite Podgora, on the left bank of the river and within the breach of low ground formed by the mouth of the Vipacco, Gorizia stands.

It is a city of 30,000 inhabitants, and therefore of no outstanding importance from the political or commercial viewpoint, but it would be impossible to overestimate its military value. In a strategic sense the Gorizia position is the key to Trieste. And that is so for two reasons. Once in control of the Gorizia defences, an army has the choice of two roads to Trieste; it may follow the Vipacco Valley at the rear of the Carso, or it may move southwards on this side of the Carso through Monfalcone and Duino, following the shore road from Duino through Nabresina and Prosecco. Along each route a railroad runs. If an invading army choose the former route, the possession of Gorizia is necessary for its forward march; if it choose the latter, the possession of Gorizia is essential to the defence of its rear. Along either route the distance is about thirty-five miles, though as the crow flies Gorizia is only about eighteen miles from Trieste. The shore route has manifest advantages for armies approaching Trieste from the Italian side. They can begin their journey at Monfalcone, thus lessening the distance to about twenty miles, and greatly facilitating the transport of supplies. But in order to safeguard the flank and rear, the possession of the Carso is essential.

Strategic value of Gorizia

Leaving Podgora on our right, and moving southwards on the Isonzo, Monte San Michele rises on the left. It is the northern spur of the Carso, dominating Gorizia from the south. We now have the grotesque-shaped bulk of the terrible Carso lying on our left along the whole way from Gorizia to the sea. As is the case with so many mountains and rivers in this region, the original form of the name is Celtic, meaning "a heap of stones." It suggests to the mind the picture of a mound or cairn raised by a race of primeval giants over the grave of some Celtic hero. The pall of death lies over it. Its stony wastes are without vegetation, and save in a few isolated spots there are no trees to be found. The north wind, or Bora, sweeps mercilessly across its barren brow, making the cultivation of the soil and the raising of crops an impossibility.

Sometimes the inhabitants build huge stone walls to break the force of the wind, in the hope of securing a secluded spot where crops may be grown. These enclosures,

whose walls are sometimes of Cyclopean character, afforded excellent cover for the Austrian armies. And there is another freak of Nature in evidence on the Carso which makes it almost impregnable against an attacking foe. Huge depressions of various grotesque shapes are to be found all over the terrain. By the Slovenes these are called "doline," and the name seems to have been adopted by the Italians, though the Venetians call them "inglutidori." They sometimes present the appearance of amphitheatres surrounded by rows of seats. When the rain falls these doline swallow it up—hence the name inglutidori (gluttons) — but it quickly percolates through the porous limestone, leaving a deposit of mud at the bottom of the pit.

"Gluttons" of the Carso

These hidden spots are carefully cultivated by the inhabitants, and sometimes rude cabins are built within the enclosures. Beneath its crust of indentations and corrugations the Carso is gored by a subterranean network of channels and caves. Scores of streams flow in buried corridors, which sometimes have openings on the surface, forming a series of caves where very beautiful stalactites often abound.

Such being its formation and characteristics, all can readily understand what a terrible obstacle the Italian troops had to face. The doline concealed innumerable batteries and whole regiments found shelter in the caves. No portion of the mountain rises to a height of more than a few hundred feet, but there is a row of peaks along its summit which resemble a series of heavy bastions protruding from the wall of a colossal fortress. Moving from north to south these are Monte San Michele, Monte San Martino, Monte Sei Busi, Selz, and the Rocca di Monfalcone. They are key positions, in so far as there can be any key positions in so torn and tormented a terrain. The reader is referred to Chapter CXIX. for an explanation of the position held by the Italian troops at the end of May on the Carso, Podgora, and Monte Sabotino.

Throughout June and July the line remained stationary, the Austrians still holding the greater part of Sabotino, the western heights of Podgora, and the whole series of positions along the western bank of the Isonzo, which formed the bridge-head of Gorizia. To drive the Austrians from Monti San Michele, Podgora, and Sabotino, and cross the Isonzo in front of Gorizia, was the task set before the Italian army on August 6th, 1916.

A FLASH OF MERRIMENT IN A CARE-CLOUDED DAY.

Delightfully human snapshot of General Cadorna suddenly amused by a humorous remark from the officer whom he was interrogating—one of the unexpected flashes that can brighten a grey day.

A sudden and extraordinary increase in railroad activity marked the prelude to the offensive. On July 27th orders were given for the immediate transference of large bodies of troops from the Trentino to the Isonzo front. Within a week, from July 27th to August 3rd, the railroads transferred across the Venetian Plain 7,000 officers, 300,000 men, 60,000 animals, 10,000 waggons, 800 pieces of light artillery, and 500 pieces of medium and heavy calibres. This huge bulk of traffic was further increased by the number of motors employed. Many newspaper reports, written immediately after the battle on the Isonzo, sought to explain the sudden triumph of the Italians by referring to a series of ruses which were supposed to have been employed by the Commander-in-Chief. It was said that his transport trains moved in one direction by day and in the opposite direction under cover of night, with the result that the Austrians were utterly deceived as to his purpose.

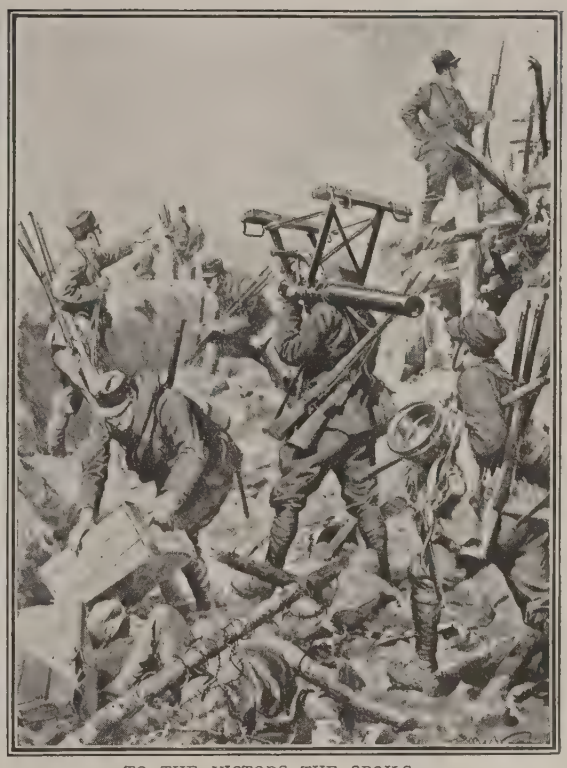
Needless to say, such a performance is impossible in modern warfare, where huge bodies of men and material are employed. What happened was not abnormal; but the abnormal swiftness with which the movement was carried out, and the advantage of position on the Italian side, made it impossible for the Austrians to cope with it. As I have already said, the Italians had the advantage of the cords, whereas the Austrians were condemned to operate along the arc. By leaving his surplus army on the fringes of the Trentino until the last moment, and then suddenly transferring it to the Carso, the Italian commander had held the enemy's forces at the south-western extremity of the arc, and outstripped them in the race for its south-eastern extremity. Furthermore, the larger portion of this army did not take an active part in the onslaught that swept the defences of the Isonzo, but was used as an army of invasion to drive the Austrians to their subsidiary lines of defence at the rear of Gorizia and the Carso. It was an ingenious and able manœuvre, the success of which was in large degree due to the energetic co-operation of the railroad and motor-transport organisations.

General Cadorna's plan was to open the attack in the southern section of the line. With an intense eagerness the soldiers had awaited the order to advance. For them it signified the hour of liberation from the monotonous torture of warfare on the Carso. It must be remembered that since the opening of war the Italian line in this sector had never been stationary. Yard by yard the soldiers had fought their way up the side of the hill. They were constantly under fire from the guns on the summit, and the ground did not afford them an opportunity of digging themselves in. It was impossible to organise defences in anything resembling a straight line.

A miracle of endurance

Toiling uphill in serpentine fashion, dragging huge baskets of limestone rock to build their barricades, they constantly threw forward salients in the hope of gaining a footing on some little hillock and enfolding a few yards of the enemy's trenches. Whoever has not seen this dreadful form of warfare cannot experience the sense of horror and utter helplessness which it engendered. When I saw them blasting the rocks and toiling up the hillside with their ugly burdens, pushing their trenches forward like an army of Sisypheans, I could think of no language adequate to

CALABRIAN INFANTRY SAVING THE GUNS.
An Italian battery, surrounded on Mount Mosciagh on the Asiago Plateau, was saved by Calabrians of the 141st Infantry Regiment.



TO THE VICTORS THE SPOILS.
Italian soldiers collecting the spoils in an Austrian trench which they had rushed and captured shortly before.

HEAVY ITALIAN FIELD-ARTILLERY.
An Italian 305 mm gun in action. There were two or three batteries of heavy artillery to each army corps of the Italian field army.

TRENCH WARFARE ON THE CARSO.
Italians watching a mine explosion in the enemy trenches. Directly it occurred they sprang up to rush and occupy the crater.

describe the scene, except that of Dante in the seventh canto of " The Inferno " :

Come fa l' onda là sovra Cariddi,
Che si frange con quella in cui, s'intoppa,
Cosi convien che qui la gente riddi.

Qui vidi gente più, che altrove troppa,
E d' una parte e d' altra, con grandi urli,
Voltando pesi per forza di poppa*

It was natural that they should look forward with yearning to the hour of the general attack, when they might leap forward and gain the summit of the hill.

*E'en as the billow on Charybdis rising,
Against encountered billow, dashing, breaks.
Such is the dance this suffering folk must lead.

There saw I people, more than elsewhere, many,
On one side and the other, with great howls,
Rolling weights forward by main force of chest.

On the morning of August 4th the artillery opened fire against the Austrian positions on the Carso directly opposite Monfalcone. Running from the south-east of Cima Debeli along the Rocca di Monfalcone to Duino, this line formed the southern defence of the Doberdo Plateau. Following a bombardment which lasted about six hours, small bodies of troops were sent forward to test the strength of the enemy's resistance. They found that extensive breaches had been made in the front line, and a small number of soldiers who still remained in the trenches readily surrendered. Believing that the Italians intended launching an important attack here, the Austrians quickly brought up heavy reinforcements. Save for the incessant artillery duel, no fighting took place throughout the night or during the following forenoon; but on the evening of the 5th the Italians attacked again and succeeded in capturing Hill 85, east of Monfalcone, taking a few hundred prisoners.

Capture of Hill 85

This was the prelude to a general onslaught on the Doberdo positions. Under the impetus of the first success the troops were borne forward through the principal line of the enemy, their advance being greatly facilitated by an entire company of Hungarians who had thrown down their rifles and refused to fight for Austria. While the infantry encircled Cima Debeli three regiments of Bersaglieri cyclists rode along the shore road from Monfalcone and seized Hill 121, the position which had controlled the approaches and dockyards of Monfalcone since the outbreak of war. Hills 85 and 121 were pivotal points of the Austrian line, which had formed a half circle around Monfalcone, cutting

IN POSSESSION: VICTORIOUS ITALIANS IN THE HEART OF CAPTURED AUSTRIAN TOWNS.
Alpini in occupation of a newly-captured town in the Trentino receiving congratulations from elated officers. Above: Italians at the portico of the Town Hall, Gorizia, so soon after capture that the police notices printed in German had not been removed.

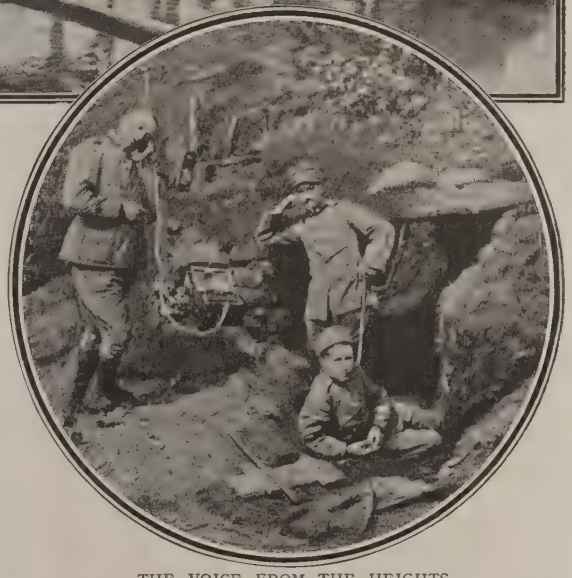
VICTORY OVER MOUNTAIN AND FLOOD.
Mountain batteries proceeding across a temporary bridge on the Isonzo on their way to the occupation of Gorizia.

across the railroad and highway that lead to Trieste. In the course of the operations in this section, 3,600 prisoners were taken, together with valuable booty.

The attack on Doberdo was in the nature of a diversion, intended to deceive the Austrians as to the location where the main offensive had been prepared. At first sight it looks somewhat strange that, with all the modern means of observation at their disposal, the Austrians did not realise the extent of the preparations which were being made against them; but when one realises how the Italians took pains to conceal every movement, the Austrian lack of information is not remarkable. Owing to his advantageous position on Monte Santo, which dominated the immediate neighbourhood of the Friulian Plain, the enemy had been able to shell all approaches to the Italian line. Wherever a white cloud of dust arose above the hedges it signalled the passage of transport waggons, and drew a hail of shells from the Austrian batteries. The movement of troops along the main roads was constantly carried out under the eye of the Austrian gunners. Expert snipers had been placed in the observation-posts, so that even a solitary pedestrian on the Gradisca or Monfalcone road risked his life at every step.

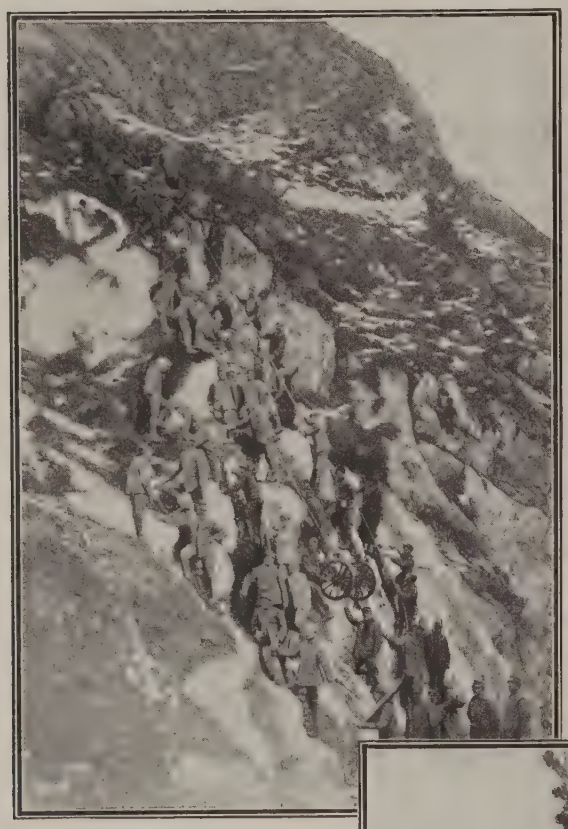
Under the enemy's eye

To contend with this difficulty effectively and entirely escape observation the Italians decided to build a series of new roads. While carrying out these operations a system of blindfolding the enemy was adopted. Airmen constantly accompanied the engineers and labourers, hovering overhead and warding off hostile aircraft. Whenever captive balloons ascended a direct attack was made against them. Meanwhile the engineers worked with drill and dynamite, and the pick and shovel of the peasant hacked and levelled the rough pathways on the hills. Long stretches of road were tunnelled through limestone rock. At the points where they emerged into the open and followed new routes which had been excavated on the crust of the mountain, a system of artificial foliage was employed to screen the passage of guns and troops. Hedgerows were erected, tall pines grew in a night; and in some parts sheets of straw matting were hung on wires that stretched from tree to tree. To this ingenious inventiveness



THE VOICE FROM THE HEIGHTS.
Italian telephone exchange situated in a remote part of the mountains. An operator is communicating with headquarters.

WALKING THE PLANK.
Italian infantrymen crossing a stream by means of an improvised bridge, in reality a precarious tree-trunk.



LABOUR OF HERCULES.
One of the miracles of the mountain war was the transport of the heavy guns.

and untiring energy in execution the Italian army owed much of its success.

At six o'clock in the morning of the first Sunday in August the heavy artillery opened fire along the whole length of the Lower Isonzo line. It sounded like a prelude to the celebration of some great festa. At ten o'clock the infantry attacked the formidable line of Austrian trenches on Sabotino and Calvario. As they advanced two screens of curtain fire preceded them, one ravaging the Austrian trenches in the immediate foreground, the other pounding the bases so as to hinder the bringing up of reinforcements. Lest they might become the victims of their own artillery, the Italian troops carried a number of long poles to the ends of which polished discs were attached. This sparkling ribbon marked their advance. With panting breath it was watched by the observers and Staff officers and the rank and file of the reserves. Amid the clouds of smoke, the deafening thunder of the guns, and owing to the rugged character of the terrain, it was impossible to follow the actual combat; but the gleaming discs marked every yard of ground gained.

The long-range guns pounded the bridges and the Austrian approaches on the further side of the river. This whole area was a holocaust of fire and flame. Hitherto the Italians had scrupulously spared Gorizia, but now they picked out and marked the buildings where the several departments of the Austrian Headquarters Staff had their offices. Each one of these buildings was demolished, the telephone communications destroyed, and the surrounding streets rendered impassable. Still farther in the rear of the town the roads and pathways were torn by an incessant hail of heavy shells The purpose of this bombardment was to destroy the communications between the offices of the Staff and the headquarters of the divisional commanders, thus throwing the whole organisation into chaos.

Shelling Austrian headquarters

Those who are familiar with the system of inter-connecting the fighting-line and the bases of supply, the reserve depots, and the Staff offices on the Franco-British front, will think it strange that the artillery of one army could so easily get into touch with the vital communications and headquarters of the other; but the Austrian position in Gorizia had been so protected by the surrounding hills as to be considered absolutely impregnable. Therefore, it was not a want of foresight that betrayed Konrad's Staff into fixing its headquarters in the town. A striking example of their sense of security was given by two of the leading Austrian commanders during the few days that preceded the Italian offensive. Major Moraht, one of Germany's leading military lights, had solemnly announced that the Italian army was like a mosquito; it could bite and sting, but not destroy.

Archduke Frederick, the Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian Imperial Army, had declared to his troops, in July, 1916, that the Austrians could check the Italians when and where they wished. The great Konrad von Hötzendorf had pretended to look upon the whole affair with an intermingled feeling of pathos and annoyance, in much the same light as the ladies of a West End salon consider the spectacle of the street organ-grinder. "You will defend the Empire against this army of mandoline-players," said Konrad to his troops at the commencement of the war. What wonder if lesser lights than Moraht and Konrad allowed themselves the comfort of that same transcendental sense of security. General Borövic, who had defended Gorizia during the October-November battle,

BRIDGE WHICH THE AUSTRIANS BURNED BEHIND THEM.
Bridge over a river destroyed by the Austrians in the precipitate retreat with which they concluded their great Trentino offensive, June 24th, 1916.

1915, and in whom the hopes of beating back the Italian attack once again had rested, was away in Carlsbad. General Zeissler, to whom the immediate control of the defences of the town had been entrusted, had betaken himself to his villa in Villach. This state of affairs, and the measures which the Italians adopted to take advantage of it, accounts in no small degree for the sudden disorganisation and ultimate paralysis of the Austrian defence.

But it must not be supposed that the Italians were having a walk-over, or that their enterprise was anything in the nature of a ruse. The individual sectors of the line offered a stubborn and well-organised defence. As the troops moved forward on Monte Sabotino they were met by a murderous hail of shells from the heavy batteries on Monte Santo. At closer range the machine-guns and trench mortars mowed them down. The barbed-wire entanglements and the thick brushwood were littered with explosives. Yard by yard the Italians advanced, losing very heavily. Even when they had conquered the crest, the enemy still lay hidden in the inner recesses of the mountain.

The exposed trenches were taken at the point of the bayonet; but the Austrians had built a series of catacombs in the limestone rock, and had fortified the openings with walls of concrete and steel. Into these they retired, belching forth clouds of poison gas and hurricanes of machine-gun fire on their foes. "Come out! Lay down your arms!" shouted the Italians. But the Austrians still held their ground. They had hoped that reinforcements would eventually come, and that the counter-attack would drive the victors back. Hand-grenades and machine-guns made no impression on them. Then the Italians brought up huge quantities of petroleum, in the hope of smoking the enemy out. This plan was successful, but the chief garrison in the caverns occupied by the divisional commander on Monte Sabotino steadfastly refused to surrender. Only when his catacomb was a stifling mass of petrol fumes, and fire was already issuing from its ventilators, did he come forth, followed by hundreds of his men. "He is a brave soldier," declared the Italian colonel in command of the attacking party, "and I order that his sword be returned to him and to his officers." He had resisted throughout the day and night. On the morning of the 7th Monte Sabotino was in Italian hands. The Hill of Death, which had claimed so many brave lives during the bitter struggle that had been waged there incessantly for fifteen months, had been conquered at last.

Honours to a brave foe

The northern portion of the bridge-head was now in Italian hands. Throughout the day the fight still raged on Oslavia, Peuma, and Podgora. In the evening Oslavia and Peuma had fallen; but Podgora still resisted. Directly opposite Gorizia, Podgora shuts out the view of the town from the plain of Friuli. It is a low hill, its highest point being about eight hundred feet, with a flat surface. It rises gradually towards the east, and then falls precipitously on to the bank of the Isonzo.

LIKE SOLDIERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

Steel helmets, breast-plates, and even chain mail were worn by Italian soldiers engaged in the perilous work of destroying the Austrians' barbed-wire defences. This illustration might represent some incident in mediæval warfare.

At the opening of the offensive the Italians had already gained the greater portion of the hill at the cost of immense sacrifices, but the Austrians were still entrenched on its eastern slopes. At first sight Podgora appeared to be the key of the whole position. And so it was in former wars. But the modern epoch of howitzers and high explosives had given a leading advantage to towering hills and commanding views. Podgora was therefore a supporting point for infantry and light artillery. It had to be won before the Isonzo could be attempted. And it had to be won under a converging fire from the guns on the higher hills.

Throughout the night of the 7th the battle for Podgora continued. As dawn broke the decisive phases began to be reached. Instead of wholly trusting to the advance on the ridge the Italians initiated a supplementary movement along the right bank of the river. The Austrian trenches had been entirely screened from artillery fire, and were supported by a labyrinth of spacious corridors and caverns built in the interior of the mountain. Moving

English Miles
0 1 2 3 4
Railways
Roads
HEIGHTS IN FEET
Over 600
300-600
Sea Level-300
GORIZIA
R. Isonzo
R. Vipacco
DOBERDO PLATEAU
CARSO
PLATEAU
GULF OF PANZANO
Descla
Batè
Dragovizza
Ravne
Gargaro
Podgozd
Zagorge
Volgarji
Nemci
Raunizza
Globoko
Erjavci
Jencerija
Tarnova
Zverenz
Locca
M. S. Daniele
M. S. Gabriele
Salcano
Rusia
Oslavia
Carinzia
Peuma
Trebez
Gradiscutta
Grafenberg
Castagnavizza
Val di Rose
Aisovizza
S. Michele
Ossegliano
Vittuglia
Sampasso
Qseh
Ravna
Visoco
Cernizza
Camno-celo
Battuglia
Prebacina
Dornberg
Saresid
Vrh
Tabor
Preserje
Ranziano
Gradiscutta
Spazzapan
Vinisce
Raccogliano
S. Grado
Merna
Biglia
Blycovizza
Pec
Rupa
Rubbia
Peteano
Gabrje
Sdraussina
Cotici
Devetaki
Nad Logem
S. Martino del Carso
Sagrado
Fogliano
Polazzo
Redipuglia
Doberdo
Villanova di Doberda
Hudilog
Castagnievizza
Novelo
Temnizza
Scherbina
Rubija
Sutta
Mali Dol
Tomasovizza
Comen
Gabrovizza
Lipa
Sibelia
Mihali
Sunca
Reifenberg
Pedrija
Cuetroz
M. Terstel
Pečinka 950
Oppacchiasella
Locvizza
Voicizza
Selo
Jamiano
Ivanigrad
Preserie
Brestovizza
Vale
Clantzo
Mohorini
Gurianscco
Volcigrad
Nadrozica
Coljava
Berie
Cregolisce
Scoti
Tublie
Velichidol
Pliscovizza
M. S. Leonardo
Samatorizza
Slivno
S. Pelagio
Prapròt
Nabresina
Sales
M. Lanaro
Culadrovizza
Sgonicco
Lit. Repen
Repen
Guraovizza
Mauchinie
Precnik
Visoglie
Duino
Sistiana
Monfalcone
La Rocca
Cma. Debeli
S. Polo
Dobbia
Staranzano
Villerhspa
Cantiere
Bestrigna
S. Canziano
Terme Romane
S. Giovanni di Tuba
Ceroglie
M. Quercto
Medeazzo
S. Antonio
Mol. Sdobba
Mol. Risera
Porto Rosega
C. Rondon
Alberone
Coggio
Sdobba
Ronchi
Begliano
Selz
Cma. Debeli
S. Zanut
Soleschiano
Vermegliano
M. sei Busi
S. Pietro
Doberdo
Redipuglia
Oppacchiasella
Fogliano
Polazzo
Sagrado
S. Martino del Carso
Cotici
Devetaki
Nad Logem
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Camno-celo
Visoco
Cernizza
Qseh
Ravna
Sampasso
Jencerija
Tarnova
Zverenz
Locca
M. S. Daniele
M. S. Gabriele
Salcano
Rusia
Oslavia
Carinzia
Peuma
Trebez
Gradiscutta
Grafenberg
Castagnavizza
Val di Rose
Aisovizza
S. Michele
Ossegliano
Vittuglia
Tivoli
GORIZIA
S. Pietro
S. Marco
S. Andrea
S. Vertoiba
Voghersca
Lucinico
Podgora
Mossa
Capriva
Cormons
Spessa
Russiz
Subida
Gradiscutta
Grafenberg
Cerou
Vipulzan
Oslavia
Carinzia
Peuma
Trebez
Rusia
Grazigna
Castagnavizza
Val di Rose
Aisovizza
S. Michele
Ossegliano
Vittuglia
Sampasso
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Visoco
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Tomasovizza
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Lipa
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Locvizza
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Selo
Jamiano
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Preserie
Brestovizza
Vale
Clantzo
Mohorini
Gurianscco
Volcigrad
Nadrozica
Coljava
Berie
Cregolisce
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Pliscovizza
M. S. Leonardo
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M. Quercto
Medeazzo
S. Antonio
Mol. Sdobba
Mol. Risera
Porto Rosega
C. Rondon
Alberone
Coggio
Sdobba
Ronchi
Begliano
Selz

ON THE FIELD OF VICTORY.
Scene at Monte Podgora immediately after the battle of August 8th, 1916.

along the surface the Italians had to fight blindfolded, casting their bombs at a dead angle and trusting to luck for the effect. As the encircling troops approached the mouths of the caves they were met by jets of poison gas and machine-gun fire. Bayonet and bomb were of little value to the attackers. The enemy was deeply entrenched in his cave, and had to be drawn forth somewhat as a terrier draws a badger

Again and again the attack from the river-bank was driven back; but the Italians re-formed, reorganised, and returned to the charge with unabated vigour. Meanwhile their comrades on the crest were toiling as best they could. Volumes of asphyxiating gas issued from the mouths of the caves, ascending above the crest of the hill

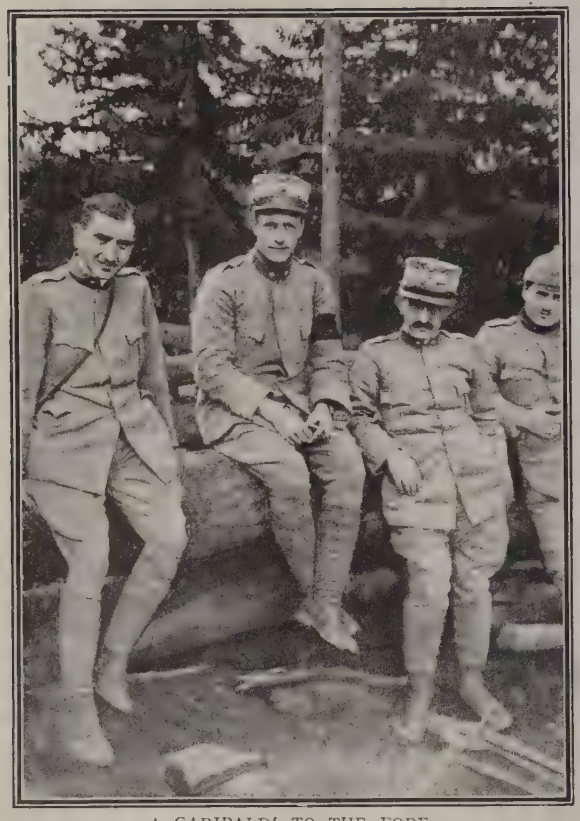
Bitter struggle for Podgora

in wreaths of sickly yellow and green. At every onslaught hundreds were stricken down. Several times the trenches were entered and desperate hand-to-hand struggles took place. Sometimes friend and foe rolled to the river-bank, locked in deadly embrace. Podgora had seen some of the most terrific fighting of the war, but survivors said that this last struggle was the bitterest of all. About midday the end came in sight. The men in the trenches were creeping slowly towards the brow of the hill; and now they could see the church-spires of Gorizia gleaming from across the river. It was the vision for which their eyes had longed. A wild hurrah rang from the foremost line. They swept over the crest of the hill and began to descend its steep side towards the river. But here the foliage and brushwood, which had been sheltered from the artillery since the start, concealed a hidden forest of barbed-wire network, rendered still more deadly by the layers of explosive bombs embedded in the thick grass. The first battalions suffered heavily, but they were vigorously supported by their companions in the rear, while the enveloping column, which had advanced along the river-bank, drew the fire of the machine-guns, and died as they crawled to the mouths of the caves. About two o'clock the enemy's resistance grew spasmodic, and a last wild rush swept the trenches like a whirlwind. Podgora was in Italian hands.

While the centre of the attacking forces was operating opposite Gorizia the right wing toiled upwards along San Michele, in an effort to reach the crest that controls Gorizia from the south. If this move were not successful, the fall of the bridge-head would have been ineffective, for Gorizia would have remained under the double fire of both pillars, Monte Santo on the north and Monte San Michele on the south. Fully realising that their positions on the bridge-head could not be held if Monte San Michele should fall into the enemy's hands, the Austrians had built their most formidable defences on this hill. The brow of the mountain is crowned by four angry peaks, one of which juts like a bastion towards the west, giving a full view of the Italian lines on the side of the Carso. Three lines of trenches were constructed, connected by underground passages, and supplied from subterranean caverns where food and ammunition had been stored.

The first line was built on the shoulder of the eastern crest, the second stood higher up on the southern bastion. This encircled the whole brow and overlooked the trenches of the first line. Corridors were tunnelled through the rock, forming connecting cords with the circumference of the outer circle. This system enabled the defence quickly to mobilise its artillery and infantry on the sectors of the trench which happened to be in greatest danger during the course of the struggle. The third line ran on a higher level, about three hundred yards distant from the first.

AFTER THE TIDAL WAVE OF WAR.
The field of battle beyond Podgora after the fall of Gorizia, a desolation of blasted trees, litter of sand-bags, and tangled wire.



A GARIBALDI TO THE FORE.
Group of Italian officers, among whom is Colonel Peppino Garibaldi, grandson of the great Italian patriot. He enjoyed the distinction of planting the tricolour on the Col di Lana, in that part of Italia Irredenta captured from Austria in the summer of 1916.

All three defences were constructed of reinforced concrete walls, which were sometimes three yards in depth. Against these even the heaviest artillery could not prevail. They might be battered and disfigured, but they could not be destroyed. No account has been given of the sacrifices which have been made on this spot. Since the beginning of the war the Italians had made upwards of a dozen organised assaults against it, and sometimes succeeded in reaching the summit, only to be driven back with tremendous slaughter. It is interesting to note the large number of medals which were conferred for bravery on San Michele. The famous Regina Brigade lost its bravest and best, but won undying honour here. The same is true of the Brescia, Ferrara, and Perugia Brigades, and the 2nd Regiment of Bersaglieri.

Austrians shoot their own men

At half-past three on the afternoon of August 6th, while the attack on Sabotino was developing, the troops in the San Michele sector received the order to advance. In the course of the first onslaught an unforeseen incident helped to bring about the fall of a large section of the Austrian trenches. The portion of the line facing south was controlled from the Austrian lines on San Martino, on the Carso, so that if the Italians should succeed in reaching San Michele they would immediately come under fire from San Martino.

While the right column was advancing, the attacking forces on San Martino succeeded in gaining some trenches and making prisoners. As the prisoners left the trenches, with uplifted hands, the Austrian commander was seized by a violent attack of rage and ordered the machine-guns to turn their fire on them. The momentary distraction caused by the action of the enraged colonel was providential for the Italians. They seized the western trenches of the San Michele line and had firmly established themselves while the machine-guns on San Martino were mowing down Austrian prisoners.

Having once got a footing the Italians clung to their gains with desperate tenacity. They fought yard by yard, almost inch by inch. Having reached the second line of trenches, which constituted the principal defence of the crest, they succeeded in forcing the Austrians to withdraw to the caves. And now began the gruesome business of smoking them out. As on Podgora, the enemy made lavish use of asphyxiating gas, and his machine-guns guarded the mouth of each cave. Realising how hopeless was the Austrian position, and wishing to spare the slaughter which the resistance would necessitate, the Italians called upon their foes to surrender, promising that every honourable consideration would be shown The enemy, however, would lend no ear. An Austrian prisoner volunteered to take a message to his comrades and explain to them the recklessness and crime of their resistance. A few minutes later the report of a revolver was heard from the interior of the caves. They had shot the messenger of peace.

Messenger of Peace shot

Bales of cotton which had been soaked in petroleum and set alight were now thrown into the cavities, but the labyrinthine system was so spacious that the enemy was able to barricade himself against the fumes. Mountain cannon were used, but to little effect.

When deadlocks of such a type occur in ordinary warfare it is a simple matter to cover the position with masking troops while the main forces continue the advance. But in mountain warfare the operation is not so simple; for the advance is upwards, not onwards. At length, after siege operations of the most extraordinary type, lasting throughout three days, the second line of trenches was occupied; and on the 9th the whole position fell. The Italians were now in possession of the Carso ridge from Gorizia to the sea.

With the range of hills from Podgora to the summit of Sabotino now in their hands the Italians were masters of the whole bridge-head, and were ready to cross the Isonzo. There are two bridges in the immediate neighbourhood. One of these is a modern metal construction over which passes the main road from Lucinico to Gorizia. The other is the railroad bridge, rather monumental in its aspect. It has a series of majestic arches which remind one somewhat of the great aqueducts one sees on the Roman Campagna. Both structures had been more or less injured during the Italian bombardment, and both still remained under the fire of the Austrian guns on Monte Santo.

The army of invasion was now gathered on the outskirts of Podgora and Lucinico and along the roads leading to Gradisca and Cormons, its infantry fully accoutred, its cavalry mounted, its artillery trains in line, its commissariat stocked and ready. As it waited for the order to move, a mournful procession was seen leaving Gorizia.

Konrad's Staff was departing. Along the road to San Daniele and through the Tarnova Wood a dense trail of dust marked the passage of the transport and gun waggons, heavy howitzers drawn by long teams of oxen, Staff motor-cars, and mule-carts piled high with every species of military furniture. The lumbering teams of oxen being a good mark for the artillery, the guns on Podgora and Sabotino were enabled to inflict considerable damage on the howitzers which the enemy dragged in retreat.

Believing that Cadorna's troops intended to effect a grand crossing in processional style, the Monte Santo guns busily watched the right bank of the river between Carinzia and Campagnuzza. But the Italians had decided to go slowly and carefully, picking their steps and making sure of the conditions on the opposite bank before risking their troops in the open stream. It was surmised that the

With the enemy: Austro-Hungarian night patrol among the Dolomites.

Italian troops assembling in Gorizia before the assault on Monte San Gabriele.

In the captured city: Italian cavalry occupying the streets of Gorizia, August 9th, 1916.

Italian outpost above the snow line over the Austrian frontier and in captured territory.

The Duke of Aosta entering Gorizia. In background the bridge over the Isonzo.

How the Italians drove the Austrians out of burning Asiago in June, 1916, and stayed their thrust towards the Venetian Plains.

Austrians had mined the bridges as they retreated. Italian gun fire had already exploded one of these mines, damaging a portion of the metal bridge. To cope with this danger, small bodies of engineers crawled along the girders, carefully removing the unexploded shells which had been hidden there. As this work went on their companions mended the broken section under the fire of the enemy's guns; but the gunners on Monte Santo did not now have so free a hand as before, for the Italian occupation of Sabotino made it possible to bring heavy howitzers into play against the enemy's batteries beyond the river.

The victors enter Gorizia

The infantry did not intend to await the reconstruction of the bridges. Nor would it have been wise, for the dense massing of large bodies which such a method of crossing would entail might bring about disastrous results. Accordingly, it was decided to build rafts and send the troops across in small batches. On the first raft twenty foot-soldiers of the Casale Brigade embarked, but the fire from Monte Santo searched them out and depleted them severely. However, they succeeded in reaching the opposite shore. It was evident that the experiment did not recommend this method as a general means of crossing.

The officers hesitated and consulted, many of them casting thoughtful glances at their men. Not a word of command was given, but the soldiers understood. Directly opposite the mouth of the Vipacco, between Sant' Andrea and Mainizza, a portion of the river which had as yet escaped the enemy's attention was selected for the crossing. Here the river runs shallow, and the formation of the foreshore makes the launching of rafts impossible. Hence it was an excellent spot for fording. From Peuma and Oslavia and San Floriano and Lucinico, chanting *sotto voce* the "Hymn of Mameli," the troops marched to the appointed rendezvous.

The leading battalions were soon in the water, wading bravely across, their rifles lifted high in sign of triumph and exultation. Luckily the big guns of the enemy were busy elsewhere; but his snipers turned their rifles against the advancing column. The firing, however, was fitful and blind, owing to the curtain fire of the Italian artillery from this side of the river. Within about half an hour the leading battalions had reached their goal. It was the signal for a triumphant cheer from the men who stood along the conquered bridge-head. At half-past four in the afternoon of August 8th—a date which will be memorable in Italian history—the soldiers of Victor Emmanuel III. entered Gorizia. The first to set foot in the city were the advance guards of the Casale and Pavia Brigades.

Some Bohemian and Hungarian regiments still held the town. The Bohemians readily surrendered and welcomed the invading troops, many of them offering their rifles to help the cause of Italy. But the Hungarians stubbornly held out. From their places of ambush in the houses, well barricaded and supplied, they peppered the streets heavily when the invading troops appeared. As the main body of the infantry arrived dusk had set in and the great searchlights began to play on the town. The task of clearing the houses now began. Doors had been well barred and windows barricaded, offering excellent shelter for the enemy. This portion of his troops, which formed the rearguard of the retreat, had orders to hold out as long as possible, in the hope of delaying the Italian advance, thus affording opportunity for the removal of material and the establishment of the new line in the mountains at the rear of the town. The Italians swarmed through the town, however, with unexpected rapidity. When morning came they had already driven the enemy from most of his hiding-places.

Meanwhile the cavalry and artillery had been getting ready to cross the river. Having reconstructed the shattered sections of the metal bridge, the engineers gave the signal for the advance. The light artillery teams passed over at a fast trot, the drivers holding their horses by the bridle-rein and shouting words of encouragement to their beasts as the hail of shrapnel fell on the river. The officers who had control of the traffic stood on the roadside with watch in hand. They knew the location of each gun on Monte Santo, and they had calculated the intervals which must elapse between the volleys. Small detachments of cavalry volunteered to rush the bridge and draw the enemy's fire. Immediately the explosion was heard the gun-waggons rattled over. On the whole the number of casualties was remarkably small, considering the position of vantage which the Austrians occupied on Monti Santo and San Gabriele.

A DISTINGUISHED NEAPOLITAN: THE ITALIAN MINISTER FOR WAR.
General Paolo Morrone (third from left) with officers of the Headquarters Staff of his army corps in the field. General Morrone succeeded General Zupelli at the Italian War Office in April, 1916.

Taking turn about with the artillery, the cavalry, mounted police, and Bersaglieri cyclists succeeded in reaching their goal. Once in possession of the town, and a considerable section of the artillery at hand, the invaders succeeded in silencing the secondary positions on Monte San Gabriele. Only the long-range guns could now search out the river, and their fire was necessarily a long-drawn-out staccato. This immensely relieved the pressure on the bridge, and made the crossing a matter of routine—always, however, with a sufficient spice of danger to make it exciting. Large supplies of bridging material had already arrived. Throughout the morning several other crossings had been constructed by means of pontoons, and large streams of material were now pouring into the captured city.

Spirit of death over the town

The scene within Gorizia was one of utter desolation. The spirit of death and silence brooded over the town. The inhabitants had long ago fled from their homes. No

IN OCCUPATION OF GORIZIA.
Italian cavalry riding along Franz Josef Strasse (renamed Via Luigi Cadorna), Gorizia, whence the Austrians precipitately retreated.

CAVALRY DESPATCH RIDER.
Over rough ground. Nowhere else in the battle-zones did cavalry encounter greater difficulties of progress than on the Italian front.

provisions remained in the cellars or store-rooms. The electric plant and water supply had been destroyed. Great tufts of grass flourished in the crevices of the side-walks, and the foliage of the well-trimmed gardens had grown wild. Broken gun-carriages, the dead bodies of horses and men, the debris of shattered churches, monuments, and public buildings lay strewn in chaotic confusion. Gazing on the scene, the spirit of cheering and exultation was smothered in the breasts of the soldiers. The Austrian Nice was another Pompeii. It seemed as if many centuries must have passed since its normal life had been brought to a close.

Deeper in the valley lie the ancient sections of the city. There the houses are of older design, somewhat like those in old Venetian towns. In this quarter the majority of the inhabitants were Italians, and not a few had remained throughout the martyrdom of the bombardment. Being stoutly built of solid stone, the houses had resisted the devastation of the guns. From the cellars and covered passages women and children came forth, fearful and trembling, their nerves shattered from the dreadful experiences they had endured, their faces furrowed deep with sorrow; for their husbands, fathers, and brothers had been either interned in Austrian prisons or sent to fight a friendly foe on the plains of Galicia.

On the night of the 9th two Gorizian ladies who had remained in the city throughout the whole reign of terror made their way to the Castello. Austrian shells were pouring on it in a veritable hailstorm, the purpose of the gunners being to prevent the Italians from planting the tricolour on the tower. Through the clouds of smoke and maelstrom of powdered masonry the two heroines made their way. Scrambling up the old stone staircase, they reached one of the portholes of the tower. In a few moments the Italian tricolour was waving aloft, high above the smoke-clouds of the shells, its red and green standing out dramatically against the lambent rays of the searchlights.

Austrians shell the Castle

Before retiring, the Austrians had ordered the civil population to evacuate the city. Terrifying stories of the treatment that might be expected from the invaders had been circulated through the poorer districts. Orders had been given that women and children should take the road to Laibach, trusting for food and accommodation to the generous consideration of the Austrian Staff. Believing the stories that had been told them, and yet reluctant to trust to the proffered hospitality of their rulers, old men and women and children fled to the surrounding hill towns. Collecting their few little belongings and family treasures, they set out for Tarnova, Vertoiba, and Aisovizza in the hope of finding shelter. But the Italian curtain fire blocked their exodus. In fear and trembling, with uplifted hands and prayers for mercy on their lips, they returned.

One needed to have seen the Italian soldiers in the towns that they had already captured to realise their gentleness towards the inhabitants. Food and drink were readily given to the returning Gorizians. The first acts of kindness seemed to have a magic effect through the city. From their hiding-places in cellars and caves the people rushed forth waving handkerchiefs and shouting evivas in the language of the conquerors. But it was no more than a remnant of Gorizia. Of its thirty thousand inhabitants only seven thousand had remained. They told vivid stories of the life which had been endured in the city during the long months of war. Many had hoped that the Italians would arrive sooner, but dared not express their yearning even to everyday friends. The slightest suspicion of Italian leanings would have entailed removal to a concentration centre in Poland or Bohemia. When Italian wounded or prisoners were being brought in any show of sympathy from the inhabitants was forbidden under penalty of death. Public notices announced the rigour of the enactment. Numbers of these placards were taken by the victorious troops, to serve as unassailable testimony for future chapters in the history of Gorizia.

That the enactments had been carried out according to the spirit as well as the letter was only too plain. In a few of the houses the Italian soldiers found a number of their wounded comrades who had been taken prisoners on Monti San Michele and Sabotino during the fighting. For two days they had been without food or drink, and even first-aid had not been rendered them. Among the relics secured one of the most interesting was a huge notice printed in display characters, intended for the announcement of the great victories which were to be won during the Trentino offensive. In the printing of the text a space had been left vacant for the insertion of the names of the cities. Doubtless these would be Vicenza, Verona, Venice, and Milan. For the benefit of the Italian section of the population a special version had been prepared in their own language. It ran as follows:

Premature Austrian triumphs

Concittadini. Esultate! La città di ——— é stata presa da noi austriaci. Incrollabili nella fede nell'avita fedeltà ed attaccamento alla sacra persona dell'Augustissimo nostra Imperatore Francesco Giuseppe I e alla Patria, dimostrate il vostro giubilo per questo fatto storico e glorioso del nostro esercito esponendo dalle vostre case vessilli e drappi.

Dalla residenza Comunale, Gorizia.

Firmato: Dandini.*

Among the other interesting documents collected were bread tickets and meat tickets, official communiquès announcing bogus victories in Russia, permits for the supply of soap, shopkeepers' lists of prices, and a host of popular pamphlets, lampooning, libelling, an attributing imaginary crimes to the soldiers of the Allies. It would be senseless to suppose that these did not have an important effect on the minds of the people. Supplementing the long campaign of slander against the Italians, which had been carried on for years in Gorizia, the more recent outbursts of Austrian vilification fell upon ears that had already been attuned to the cry. While it is true that many of the inhabitants of the city received their deliverers with open arms, it is also true that many looked upon them in the light of unwelcome visitors. Many months, perhaps years, must pass before the effects of the slanderous campaign can be rooted out.

A campaign of slander

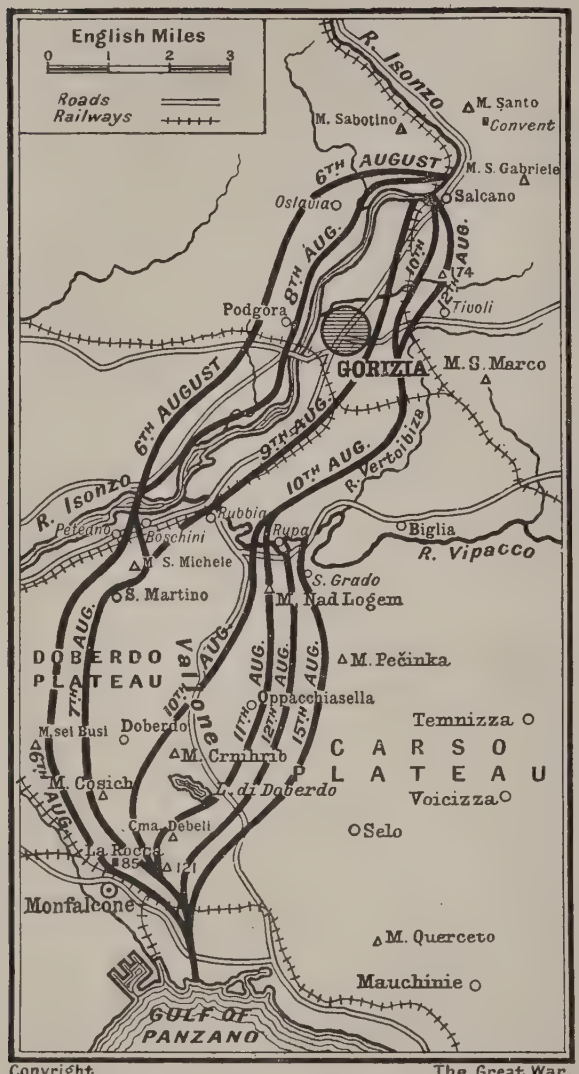
In preparation for their flight the Austrian armies destroyed whatever supplies they could not bring away. Petroleum was poured on the food that could not be removed. Shopkeepers stood mutely by and watched the soldiers destroy their stock of goods. Interference was forbidden under penalty of death. From house to house officers led their bands of organised marauders, crying out at each door, "Nothing must be left for the Italians. The city is lost for ever. If goods are still

* Fellow-citizens,—The city of ——— has been captured by us. You whose fidelity and devotion to the sacred person of our Most August Emperor Francis Joseph I. and to the Fatherland is unconquerable, let it be made manifest how you glory in this historic and majestic achievement of our army by waving flags and banners from your houses.

City Hall, Gorizia.

(Signed) Dandini.

INSPECTION OF ALPINI BY THE ITALIAN GENERALISSIMO.
General Cadorna was ubiquitous and indefatigable in his tours of inspection at the front. On this occasion, accompanied by officers of the General Staff, he was reviewing the Fourth Regiment of the incomparable Alpini.



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ITALIAN DISPOSITIONS ROUND ABOUT GORIZIA.

Sketch plan showing the Italian lines of progress described on page 302. The town was captured on August 9th, and after August 15th the positions remained practically unchanged until the end of the month.

concealed in your homes, give them up or destroy them; if not, we shall blow up the house." The mayor and municipal officials fled with the retreating troops. Only the town-clerk, Signor de Vecchi, remained. He at once unfurled the Italian banner from the balcony of the City Hall and offered his services to the invaders. Bands of Carabinieri and Red Cross officials were soon organised to care for the inhabitants and wounded soldiers. Food supplies were distributed, engineers began to repair the water and lighting systems. A census of the population was taken, and those to whom suspicion might reasonably point were sent to Italy. In searching for the records which might have been left in the City Hall it was found that the Austrians had forgotten to take the cash-box. Fifteen thousand crowns (about £500) still remained in the safe.

On August 13th a ceremony took place which had by then become part of the regular ritual in the Italian Army. In the picturesque Italian phrase, Gorizia made the renewal of her baptismal vows. On the morning of the 13th Signor Carlo Banelli, formerly member of the municipality of Trieste, arrived in the conquered city. Entering the City Hall, where a number of Gorizians had assembled to greet him, he unfolded a silken tricolour. It was received by the assembly in the name of the city of Gorizia. At the sight of the Italian national symbol tears welled into many eyes.

The bitter fortunes of war and the tyranny of rulers had already removed many who would have rejoiced to welcome the Latin deliverers. The banner was unfurled from the flagstaff of the City Hall. It was the official declaration that Gorizia had taken her rank among the cities of the Motherland. A little later the mayor of Cormons, who had been appointed head of the municipality of the newly redeemed city, arrived on the scene. Along the Via Francesco Giuseppe (renamed Via Luigi Cadorna) and the Via Giuseppe Verdi the doors were unbarred and the windows thrown open. In a few days civic life had resumed its normal course. On August 20th the King of Italy paid an official visit, and was received triumphantly by the inhabitants.

Though the name of Gorizia figured largely in the Press of the world after the commencement of the Austro-Italian war, its story is not widely known. Situated at a vital strategic spot where the frontiers of three races—the Teuton, the Slav, and the Latin—join, it has been the scene of political and military conflicts from time immemorial. Throughout the long series of barbarian invasions, when the Huns, Goths, and Vandals swept down upon the Roman Republic and Empire, Gorizia saw their banners flutter in the breeze. Again and again the troops of the Empire made their last stand on the bridge-head of Gorizia. When they went down before the invaders the Valley of the Po was lost.

From the south-western slopes of Monte Sabotino Attila is said to have watched the burning of Aquileia. In mediæval times it was the scene of endless conflicts between the Venetians and the Austrians. So fully did the Venetians realise the importance of holding the gates of the Isonzo line at Gorizia that, in 1344, the Republic censured and exiled its leaders, Morosini and Grimani, because, having conquered the Counts of Gorizia, they did not insist upon the necessity of establishing the Venetian frontier beyond the hills that lie to the east of the city. While Gorizia remained in Teuton hands the enemy was considered to be within the walls.

Sabotino's storied height

In 1469, when the Turks made their onslaught on Western Europe, they succeeded in coming through the Vipacco Valley and crossing the Isonzo, because they had secured as allies the Slav nations whose territory joined that of the Venetians on the Isonzo. Six years later, on their return attack, the Venetians met the Turks at Gorizia, taking their stand on the same bridge-head where the decisive battles of August, 1916, were fought. That history consistently repeats itself is probably true of military history more than of any other. One of the old Venetian chronicles gives a description of the battle-ground and the disposition of the opposing forces, which might apply in all its details to the history of the twentieth century battles on this spot. "They made a trench near the bridge of Gorizia," he says, "in that part of Friuli which borders the Isonzo. From Gradisca the trench extended and ran along the river-bank for six miles on the one side and eight miles on the other."

During Germany's bid for domination over Italy in the later Middle Ages the control of Gorizia was persistently regarded as indispensable to their programme of world domination. In modern times the writing on the old palimpsest has stood out clearer than ever. Already in 1866, when the Garibaldian troops threatened the Isonzo city, the shrewd Bismarck saw that if the Latins once got a footing on the farther side of the river their position would form an impregnable bulwark against future attempts to spread the reign of German Kultur beyond the Alps. Accordingly, arrangements were made, under the dictation of

PLIGHT OF GORIZIA: OLD CASTLE AND PIAZZA IN THE THROES OF ITALIAN BOMBARDMENT.

Prussia, for peace between Austria and Italy. In deciding on the terms of the agreement, care was taken that the Teutonic frontier should embrace Gorizia and the Isonzo.

During the twenty-five years preceding the war the Teutonising of Gorizia was part of the general programme in vogue in Istria and Dalmatia. The Italians were systematically ousted from their positions in the municipality. In trade and commerce German tradesmen thrived while Italians suffered. Every conceivable means was employed to ban Latinism in schools and public offices. But the spirit of Irredentism grew more intense under the persecution. At the opening of the European War several young men escaped from the city and enlisted as volunteers in the armies of the Allies.

In looking back over the series of battles which culminated in the conquest of the city, it is impossible to give an estimate of the sacrifices which were made on either side. The Italians must have lost very seriously during the struggle. For, although the heavy fighting lasted only three days, General Cadorna's troops had to face obstacles such as no other army encountered.

The price of victory

The Italian Supreme Command, which gained a world-wide reputation for the laconic and conservative wording of its communiqués, spoke of the struggle as one of the bitterest which had been experienced in the European War. In the communiqué of August 9th the heroism of the soldiers was extolled, and particular reference made to the generosity with which they had offered their lives. From these phrases one may safely conclude that the struggle cost the victors dearly.

On September 2nd the Supreme Command published an authoritative account of the number of prisoners and amount of booty captured in the Gorizia zone and on the Carso during the series of battles which opened on August 4th and closed with the fall of Doberdo on August 10th. According to this report the number of prisoners taken amounted to 393 officers and 18,365 men.

Prisoners and booty taken

The mass of artillery captured consisted of the following pieces: One 6 in. howitzer, two howitzers, two field cannon and one mortar, each 105 mm. (3·93 in.), one 5·51 in. mortar, eight "seventy-fives," and three of a calibre 2 mm. larger than the "seventy-five," eight mountain cannon, four 37 mm. guns, 63 trench-mortars, 92 machine-guns, and 12,225 rifles.

The amount of ammunition captured consisted of three thousand shells, five million cartridges, sixty thousand bombs and hand-grenades, three thousand bombs for bomb-throwers, 190 boxes of ammunition, 378 cases of grenades, 34 cases of rockets and fuses.

The war material included 5,906 shields, one auto-train, two heavy oil drills, several miles of telephonic and telegraphic wire, several hundredweight of engineering material, two thousand chevaux de frise, 112,000 labourers' tools, 442 wire-cutting pincers, 276 rolls of barbed-wire, 1,337 blankets, one complete dressing-station, one carpentry-shop,

PASSING OF AUSTRIA FROM GORIZIA: A SYMBOLICAL IMPRESSION.

The body of an Austrian soldier killed during the bombardment of Gorizia. It was left lying at the corner of Franz Josef Strasse, one of the most imposing thoroughfares of the city, the Austrians retreating so rapidly that they had apparently no time to bury their dead.

and forge, tailors' supplies, cooking utensils, an enormous quantity of explosives, one asphyxiating-gas apparatus and 68 carboys, five liquid-fire throwers, numerous "tear" bombs, spiked clubs for murdering soldiers and prisoners, and heavy daggers for piercing breastplate armour.

Because of its historic associations the conquest of the Gorizia bridge-head was hailed throughout Italy as a racial triumph. At an hour when Europe had been called upon to decide whether she would have Latinism or Teutonism as the inspiring ideal of her civilisation, there was a dramatic fitness in the answer given by the children of the Romans on the spot where their fathers had so often contended for the same ideals against the Teuton hordes of the North. And there is a further sense in which the victory is of importance. When writing and speaking of modern Italy, one must set aside the idea that it is the child of mediæval romance. Its ideal is far different. The modern Italians are the heirs of the ancient Romans; and the great ideal that inspires them in their struggle for the unity and integrity of their country is the ideal bequeathed them by their fathers.

True heirs of Ancient Rome

Now, one of the leading dogmas of Roman statesmanship was that the Isonzo line is essential to the defence of Italy. The Danube was the first defensive line of the Roman Empire, the Isonzo the last. As part of the system which ensured the safety of their frontiers the Romans built three great military cities close to the Isonzo and the circle of the Alps. These were Trent, Aquileia, and Trieste. To the outsider they are mere names of cities, to the Italian they are symbols of national security. As long as they are in the hands of the stranger Italy is not mistress in her own house. From Aquileia the forces of the Empire went forth to defend the Isonzo. It was then a city of a million inhabitants, rivalling Rome in wealth and importance; but to-day it is a lonely street, with only about two hundred houses. In 452, when the Huns swept away the Isonzo defences, Attila burned Aquileia. With the Isonzo once in his hands Rome easily became his prey. The defence of Rome, therefore, is on the Isonzo. That is an important dogma of modern Italian statesmanship. With the wresting of the Isonzo from the Teuton the ideals of the Risorgimento became established for the first time on an abiding foundation.

On August 10th the Italians completed the conquest of the western ridge of the Carso. Had it not been that the glamour of the Gorizia victory was still in the public mind, the conquest of the Carso would have been hailed as one of the most important events of the war. From the point of view of sheer fighting it probably offered more difficulties than even Podgora or Monte Sabotino. When Lord Kitchener passed along the battle-line of the Carso and saw the positions of vantage which the Austrians held, he declared: "The army that conquers the Isonzo defences may account itself the greatest fighting force in the world."

The system of defence which ran from Monte San Michele to the southern limits of the Doberdo Plateau was intended as the great barrier on the road to Trieste. Therefore it had for years engaged the attention of the Austrian Staff. A line of fortifications was constructed on the Doberdo Plateau, supporting the positions on Monti San Martino and Sei Busi. An intricate series of trenches, large sections of which had already been built when war broke out, extended along the whole crest of the mountain. They were connected by a series of underground passages supplied from spacious caves, where artillery and food and supplies had been stored. In the minds of the Austrian Staff there always had been a suspicion that the Italians might decide that the capture of Gorizia was not indispensable to their advance on Trieste. Therefore, no pains were spared to make the Carso line independent of the Gorizia defences.

On the night of the 10th the Austrians retreated across the Vallone and took up their new positions on a line that

THE CASTLE, GORIZIA.

Gorizia, situated about twenty-two miles north-west of Trieste, is a thriving centre for cotton and silk spinning. The majority of its inhabitants have always been Italian.

runs along the hill-crests on the other side of the valley. This Vallone is of immense military importance on the Carso. Running almost directly north and south, it is a sort of low pass leading from the Vippacco Valley to the sea. Opposite the Doberdo Plateau, on the hills beyond the Vallone, Oppacchiasella was attacked and won on the 12th. The Italians were now pressing their enemies backwards into the hills, in an effort to clear the way to Trieste. By the end of the month their lines ran from Hill 85, east of Monfalcone, to the high tableland of Pecinko, north-east of Oppacchiasella, thence in front of Vertoiba and along Monte San Marco to Monte San Gabriele and Monte Santo.

Two weak spots still remained in the line. The Austrians had held their ground on Monti Santo and San Gabriele, thus enabling them to annoy the Italian supply trains and troops passing over the Isonzo by the Gorizia bridge. It also gave them the opportunity of destroying the city, just as they destroyed Monfalcone from the Carso. That they intended carrying out a programme of destruction was made only too plain by their action during the first days of the Italian occupation. From this point of view the victory was not complete. The whole block of mountains that stand between the Idria and the Vippacco would fall into Italian hands if Cadorna's troops could bring about the fall of Monte Santo and Tolmino. As they stood at the end of August they formed an ugly menace on the flank of the advancing armies. The possession of this block of hills might not be considered indispensable, but certainly it would be very desirable.

A programme of destruction

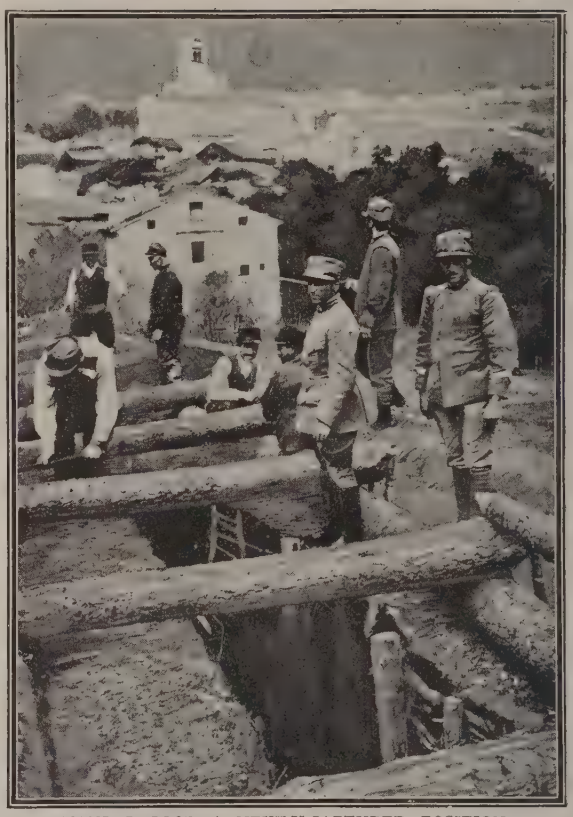
The great series of battles which swept away the defences of the Carso and the Gorizia bridge-head opened a new

phase in the Italian military situation. King Victor's Staff could now begin to feel that they were masters of their task. Hitherto, their march had been uphill and gruelling. They had commenced the struggle with slender forces, poorly supplied with artillery and only half prepared for the type of warfare which had to be undertaken. Yet they had to fight against one of the best-equipped armies in Europe, and on most difficult terrain, where all the odds were against them.

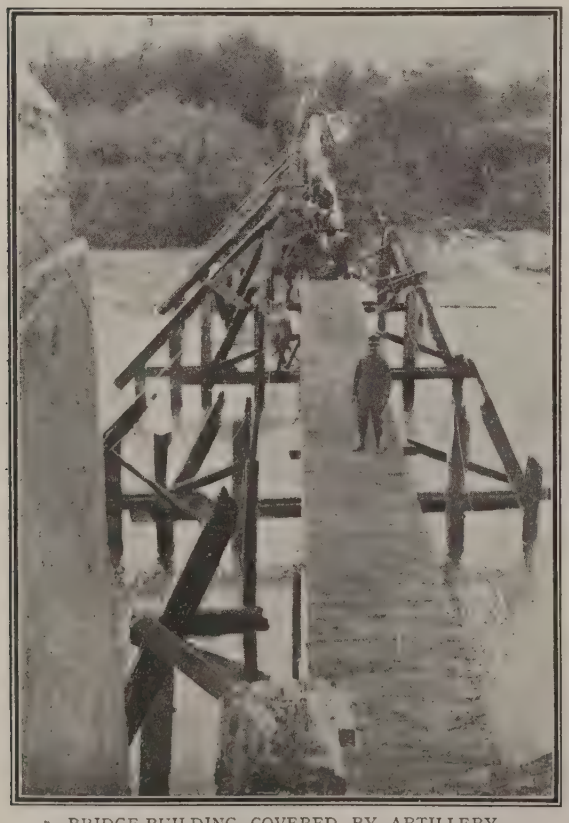
The first victories cost the Italians dearly. But lives could not then be counted, because stern necessity called for the most generous sacrifices. Throughout the winter and spring all their resources were engaged in fighting the elements. As spring advanced a great army appeared on one of the most dangerous sectors of the line, and threatened not only the most vital military lines but also the invasion of the country. Throughout this period it was utterly impossible for the Italian Staff to think of withdrawing some of its divisions and sending them into other war theatres. That is the commonplace fact which accounts more eloquently than all other explanations for the Italian delay in sending troops to join the Allies in the Balkans.

Italian valour and sacrifice

But now that the enemy had been driven from his most threatening positions, and that the threat of invasion had been effectively removed, it was possible for Italy to carry out a programme which she would have carried out long ago had not stern necessity prevented her. In the chaos of thought created by the European upheaval there were moments when even careful writers and speakers blamed Italy for her hesitancy about joining in the Balkan campaign. In some quarters it was actually suggested that she was fighting a war of her own, and did not feel called upon to take active part in the full programme of the Allies. The strange feature of that view was that it had left out of count the main historical fact which brought about Italian neutrality and subsequently forced Italy into war with Austria. That fact was the Austrian attack on Serbia. In August, 1914, Great Britain declared war on Germany because the neutrality of Belgium had been violated. On the same date Italy severed herself from the Triple Alliance and declared her neutrality, because Austria had vowed the destruction of Serbia. This formed part of the basis on which she later made her declaration of war.



MAKING GOOD A NEWLY-CAPTURED POSITION.
Organisation of a position follows immediately upon its occupation. These trenches were being made by the Italians on ground which they had only just won.



BRIDGE-BUILDING COVERED BY ARTILLERY.
Italian engineers spanning a bridge across a river under cover of their artillery and of the trees on the opposite bank.

The stern logic of her position, therefore, made it incumbent upon Italy to join in the Macedonian Expedition. And she seized the earliest possible opportunity of carrying out an essential part of the programme which her action in 1914 called for. On August 11th the first battalions of the Italian Expeditionary Force landed in Salonika, to take their place beside the French, British, and Russians in re-establishing the fabric which Germany had destroyed. General Carlo Pettiti di Roreto, who had given distinguished service during the Trentino offensive and counter-offensive, was in command of the troops.

Italy to the Balkans

This move brought Italy into direct conflict with Germany. Hitherto open hostilities had not been declared between the two countries, though Italy was at war with Germany's ally. To attempt an adequate explanation of the situation would involve too many hypotheses and surmises. Even when the diplomatic history of the period becomes known the mystery will probably remain. And, as in the case of many another mystery, it is possible that the key is a very simple one. Once Italy had declared war

ASHES OF ASIAGO: AN ALPINE CITY DEVASTATED.
General view of Asiago, situated amid the Venetian Alps in the Trentino. The town was more or less destroyed by Austrian gun fire, and presented quite as melancholy an appearance as any town caught between the lines on the western front.

GORIZIA, WHICH FELL TO ITALIAN SKILL AND PROWESS, AUGUST 9TH, 1916.
Picturesque view of Gorizia as seen from Podgora. In the foreground houses typical of this region of the Isonzo are seen, while in the middle distance a large modern factory is discernible.

against the Dual Monarchy, Germany was bound, by the stern logic of the situation, openly to come to her ally's assistance. But she failed to do so. In November, 1915, Italy signed the London Pact, whereby she officially declared herself bound to the programme of the Allies. Yet Germany did not retaliate. This probably accounts for the anomaly of the situation.

Not being in contact with Germany on any section of her frontier, the declaration of war on Italy's part would have remained a dead letter, at least as long as the political and military situations of May, 1915, remained. The German declaration not being forthcoming, Italy naturally took the stand that by concentrating her energies on the Austrian frontier she would be doing the best service in her power to the cause of the Alliance. Without Austria, Germany cannot stand. Therefore, if Austria were brought to her knees, and the discussion of peace terms refused as long as she did not consent to sever her relations with Germany, the European problem would have been solved. One may safely say that that was the idea in the minds of Italian statesmen. And the position which they had adopted was undoubtedly logical.

ISONZO VALLEY.
Panorama of the Valley of the Isonzo with the Salcano Railway Viaduct in the foreground.

AL BRIDGE, NEAR GORIZIA.
Fierce fighting took place for possession of this fortified bridge-head near Gorizia.

But people at large are not governed by logic, especially in crises where great issues are being decided not by words but by blows. The absence of open hostilities between Germany and Italy was a constant source of uneasiness among the people of the Alliance. In the eyes of the man in the street no amount of argument could explain or justify it. And the Italian populace were at one with the Allies in that view. Yet there were weighty reasons which bade the Government to go slowly and securely. The financial conditions of the country were almost hopelessly intertangled with German interests. It took many months of weary work before Italy could make her reckoning and decide where she stood. Then she could show her accounts to her friends and arrange terms whereby they might be adjusted. All this necessitated heavy and painstaking work and a wholehearted co-operation on the part of the other members of the Alliance. With the betterment of the financial situation it was a more simple matter for Italian statesmen to embark upon a bold course.

THE CASTLE ON THE HILL, GORIZIA.
Modern artillery had deprived the Castle Keep of its fortress value, but it remained the symbol of its holder's power. The Italian flag replaced the Austrian on Gorizia Castle, August 9th, 1916.

In July, 1916, the commercial treaty which had existed between Germany and Italy was denounced. The denouncement of it logically followed Germany's

BEFORE PROCEEDING TO THE PRISON CAMP UNDER A VIGILANT GUARD.

In the course of a barbarous Austrian Army Order the following significant statement appeared: "The good wine and beautiful women of Italy await us." Doubtless these few hundred Austrian prisoners arrived in their detention camp in distinctly chastened mood. All were captured in the summer fighting of 1916.

VICTORS ADVANCING AND PRISONERS RETREATING ALONG THE SAME ROAD.

Unique illustration showing steel-helmeted Italian infantry going forward into action considerably heartened by the sight of a column of dejected Austrian prisoners who were descending the mountain-side, having been captured in a recent engagement.

REST AFTER THE FIGHT.
Bivouac of Italian infantry among the pines near Asiago. Evidence of artillery bombardment is seen on the farmhouse.

action towards Italian creditors. According to an agreement, signed by Prince von Bülow and Baron Sonnino, it had been stipulated, in May, 1915, that each country should respect the proprietary rights of the citizens of the other. This document was not drawn up with the foreknowledge that war would not be declared between both countries. On the contrary, it was a document intended for use in the event of war breaking out.

It is well to remember that point, because the document is often taken as a proof that when they declared war upon Austria the Italians had already known what course Germany would take. As a matter of fact, a similar document had been presented to the Austrian Ambassador, but he refused to make the arrangement.

Italy scrupulously kept her part of the bargain, but the Berlin authorities violated it consistently. Though German creditors were allowed to sue Italian debtors in Italian courts, no such permission was given to Italian creditors who had German debtors on their books. Furthermore, the money which was owed to Italian labourers in Germany was refused. And when the test cases were brought into court it was officially declared that Italians in Germany were to be treated as alien enemies.

This act was tantamount to a declaration of war on Germany's part. Hence the Italian Government immediately decided on a retaliatory course. They prepared a formal declaration of war, which they asked the Swiss Government to hand to the Imperial Government of Berlin. Among the causes stated in the Note as justifying and impelling their action the Italians accused the Kaiser's Staff of open and organised hostility. Germany had systematically supplied guns for the Austro-Italian front. She had sent some of her best-trained officers to serve in Francis Joseph's army. She had counselled the Trentino offensive and sent the higher members of her military Staff to examine the territory and help to draw up the Austrian plan of campaign.

"For these reasons above set forth," the document concluded, "the Italian Government announces, in the name of his Majesty the King, that from August 28th Italy will consider herself in a state of war with Germany." On August 27th the Italian Minister at Berne presented the document to the Swiss Government with a request that the Swiss Government forward it to the Imperial Government at Berlin.

The last shreds of the Triple Alliance were now gone. The lifework of Bismarck had been undone. No more even outwardly an ally of Teutonism, Italy had fully taken her stand by the side of the nations that were struggling to uphold and safeguard the ideals which were first established in Western Europe by the valour and genius of Roman civilisation.

A "GUN CARRIAGE" IN THE ALPS.
In certain sectors of the Italian line mules were the only means of transport, and both belligerents resorted to these sure-footed, if sometimes refractory, quadrupeds. Such a military mule is here seen, laden with rifles, in charge of a Bersagliere.

1ST NEWFOUNDLAND REGIMENT AT PHYSICAL DRILL.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

NEWFOUNDLAND'S HEROIC PART IN THE WAR.

By F. A. McKenzie.

The "Merchant Venturers" and Terra Nova—Poverty and Hardihood of our Oldest Colony—Development of the Colony under Sir Robert Reid—The Anglo-Newfoundland Land Development Company—Sir Edward Morris—the Colony Undertakes, August 7th, 1914, to Supply a Force of One Thousand Naval Reservists for Naval Service Abroad and of Five Hundred Efficient Men for Land Service Abroad—Departure of the First Contingent for England—The 1st Battalion Leaves England for Gallipoli, August 15th, 1915—Landing at Suvla Bay—Attached to the Immortal 29th Division—The Fight for Donnelly's Post on Caribou Hill—Evacuation of Suvla Bay and Cape Helles—The Newfoundland Regiment in France—The Battle of the Somme, July 1st, 1916—Out of Eight Hundred and Eleven Men only Ninety-seven Left Unwounded—General Hunter-Weston's Praise—Sir Douglas Haig's Message to Newfoundland—Newfoundland's Answer—Sir Edward Morris Visits the Newfoundland Regiment at Beauval—Congratulations from the Colonial Secretary, and from the President and the Premier of the French Republic on Behalf of France.

THE story of the Newfoundland Regiment presents a splendid page in the story of the world-war. Here was a small dominion, for long looked upon as the Cinderella of the Empire, with a population numbering not more than a quarter of a million. Its resources in money and in men were limited, but it showed from the first a spirit of valour, a willingness to sacrifice all, if need be, for the Empire's liberty, and a steady endurance under heavy loss which won it the esteem of all the allied nations. Twice in the first two years of the war its troops in the fighting-line were almost wiped out, once by battle and disease in Gallipoli, and next in a brief charge against desperate odds on the Somme. It then began again with fresh reinforcements to win still further honours.

To understand the position of Newfoundland in the war, it is necessary to go back for a brief space. Terra Nova, "the oldest colony," as it was long known, was discovered five years after Columbus first set foot in America, by John Cabot, a Venetian mariner who had been sent out on a voyage of exploration by Henry VII., at the instigation of a group of merchants at Bristol. A century afterwards the Bristol merchants attempted to make the best of Newfoundland's great fisheries, and from then until close on the middle of the nineteenth century there followed one of the most amazing chapters in British Colonial history.

[Elliott & Fry.

NEWFOUNDLAND'S FOREMOST STATESMAN.
The Right Hon. Sir Edward Patrick Morris, K.C.M.G., P.C., K.C., D.C.L., LL.D., Premier of Newfoundland since 1909.

The "Merchant Venturers" and their successors did not desire a permanent settlement of Newfoundland. Their aim was rather to keep it as a fishing station. The fishermen, who formed almost the whole of the population there, were ruled for a century and a half by captains of merchant ships, who administered justice as they pleased. Men were forbidden to settle within six miles of the coast. People who came to Newfoundland—despite every possible discouragement—were, wherever possible, expelled. Spain and France fought with Britain for the possession of the Newfoundland fishing rights, thus adding external troubles to internal ill-treatment. Despite everything, the British population, hardy men of the west, grew. The present colony of Newfoundland was the result.

In time, the Newfoundlanders secured self-government. But they were still greatly hampered by faulty international agreements to which the Imperial Government had assented, and by disputes with France over fishing rights. Newfoundland was out of the current of world travel. Few visited there. Few knew of its great natural wealth. Investors passed it by. It was a little world of its own, poor and struggling, in some years scarcely able to pay the cost of its own administration, yet noted for the hardihood of its men, for its high standard of life, and for its sturdy simplicity. Serious crime was unknown among its people.

Then a new chapter in its history opened. Sir Robert Reid, a famous Canadian contractor,

NEWFOUNDLANDERS IN TRAINING.
Eight weeks after the declaration of war five hundred Newfoundlanders embarked for England to complete training. Ninety-eight per cent. were Newfoundland born.

took over the railways of the island, transformed them, and further enormously improved communications by opening a series of steamship services. The Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, founded by Lord Northcliffe and owned and directed by the Amalgamated Press and allied organisations, secured a large area of land around Grand Falls, and built there a modern town and one of the largest paper and pulp mills in the world. General attention was in consequence directed to the potential wealth of the island, and other large industrial enterprises soon followed. The country was fortunate in the important years that followed in having Sir Edward Morris at the head of affairs as Prime Minister, a statesman of broad views and great energy. Sir Edward Morris threw himself into the work of fostering the industrial growth of the colony. Fresh enterprises were opened in many directions, agriculture was developed, mining was encouraged, trade commissioners went abroad to learn the best methods for the island trades, the lesser fishing industries were fostered, and the administration improved in every department. Newfoundland, the Cinderella of yesterday, soon found itself enjoying hitherto undreamed-of prosperity.

Newfoundland's instant rally

The war turned the entire energy of the colony from industrial development to fighting. News arrived in the night of August 4th, 1914, that there had been a declaration of hostilities between Great Britain and Germany. All parties in the island came together, political differences were forgotten, and on the 7th the Ministry, expressing the determination of the entire community, undertook to supply a force of 1,000 efficient Naval Reservists by October 31st, available for naval service abroad, and to raise an efficient local brigade of five hundred men for land service abroad.

At this time, it is important to bear in mind, Newfoundland was probably the least military part of the British Empire. In olden days the British Government had maintained a garrison at St. John's, but in 1868 the Gladstone Government had ordered its withdrawal. The colony then offered to meet the cost of the troops itself, but its offer was refused. The soldiers were shipped away, and their barracks remained a ruin for many years, until they were finally burnt to the ground. From that date until the beginning of the war no British troops of any description had landed in Newfoundland, and the vast majority of the inhabitants had never seen a soldier, save in pictures. The military education of the community had to start at the beginning. A prompt commencement was made, and the people at once began to train themselves in the art of war.

In naval affairs Newfoundland was more happily placed. For many years before the war the Legislature annually voted a sum of money to train Royal Naval Reservists to man the Dreadnoughts of Britain. In 1892 the Imperial Government handed over the Calypso, an old cruiser, for the purposes of training Newfoundland fishermen as Naval Reservists, so that if an emergency

SUN HELMETS FOR WEAR IN GALLIPOLI.
"Just the men I want for the Dardanelles," Lord Kitchener said; and on August 15th, 1915, the 1st Battalion of Newfoundlanders left for Gallipoli.

like the Great War arose, they would be able to assist in maintaining the supremacy of Britain on the seas. Ever since that day, five British officers lived on board the Calypso, and every year there passed through that ship hundreds of fine young Newfoundland fishermen, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four, who received their training, first on the Calypso itself and then by voyages in the ships of his Majesty's Navy.

Thus, when war was declared in 1914, there was a force of trained naval men ready for the Empire's call. They dropped their nets and their fishing gear and abandoned their boats, and before the war was two years old 2,000 Newfoundland fishermen were serving in the King's ships. Within that time over one hundred of them had perished. Twenty-five went down in H.M.S. Viknor on June 30th, 1915; on February 15th twenty-two Newfoundlanders were drowned when H.M.S. Clan MacNaughton was lost. On March 17th eleven were lost in H.M.S. Bayano. Several of the Newfoundland men in the Royal Naval Reserve were mentioned in despatches for bravery, including William Peddle and Leander Green.

Newfoundland had resolved to raise a force for land service. The men were quickly recruited, and hundreds more clamoured to be allowed to serve. Fishermen, hunters, trappers and lumbermen, lads from universities and high schools, the sons of politicians, professional and business men, every section of the community was represented in the regiment. The ages of the recruits averaged between twenty-three and twenty-four, the ideal age for a young soldier. Newfoundland had no officers of military experience, so men were selected from the local cadet corps, the Church Lads' Brigade, the Catholic Cadet Corps, the Methodist Guards, and the Highlanders. Committees were appointed for the examination of volunteers, for instruction in musketry, and for equipment and finance. One voluntary organisation, which afterwards did great service, undertook to look after the comfort of the lads when overseas. Within eight weeks the first contingent of five hundred embarked in a Newfoundland ship for England, to complete their training there. This first contingent was to grow in the months ahead to several thousand fighting men.

The first five hundred

On first arriving in England the Newfoundlanders were sent to Salisbury Plain, and were quickly transferred to Fort George, in Inverness-shire, an old barracks built immediately after the Rebellion of 1745, and rich in historical associations. English and Scottish people were at first apt to confuse the Newfoundlanders with the Canadian Contingent, which arrived about the same time, greatly to the annoyance of the Newfoundlanders, who were intensely proud of their land of origin. They belonged to their colony in reality as well as in name, ninety-eight per cent. of them being Newfoundland born.

Now followed a wearisome time of preparation and waiting. From Fort George the young soldiers were sent for a time to Edinburgh, and then to Aldershot. Their strength was being steadily increased by fresh drafts from home. News came that the Canadians were off to France. Still the Newfoundlanders waited on, chafing at the delay. The war would be over, many of them feared, before they could strike a blow. They had only been asked to enlist for a year. Ten months of it were already over, and still they were in a peaceful camp in Britain, doing routine duty.

Chafing for the fight

Then came a memorable day when Lord Kitchener came to review them and pronounced them, "Just the men I am wanting for the Dardanelles." The soldiers were offered the choice between going back to Newfoundland, at the end of their year of service, and re-enlisting for the period of the war. Every man re-enlisted. Their only fear was lest they should be kept from the front. On August 15th, 1915, the 1st Battalion, now numbering about eleven hundred men, the flower of the manhood of Great Britain's oldest colony, left Aldershot for Gallipoli.

One little incident serves to illustrate the spirit of the

[Official photograph.

GERMAN TRENCH AT OVILLERS AFTER BOMBARDMENT BY THE BRITISH ARTILLERY.

Ovillers, a small village lying on the north of the main road from Albert to Bapaume, was the scene of some of the fiercest fighting at the beginning of the great advance in July, 1916. It did not pass wholly into British hands until July 15th, 1916.

Newfoundlanders. Among the men in the ranks was a private, Gallishaw by name, formerly private secretary to two members of the Cabinet, and at the time war began a special student at Harvard. Private Gallishaw was selected by the commander to keep the records of the regiment in London, instead of proceeding to the front with the others. He had enlisted to fight, not to work as a clerk in London. When the regiment embarked he smuggled himself on board the transport, remained in hiding until the boat had left Malta and there was no chance of his being put back, and then came out and reported himself. He was pardoned for his insubordination, put in the fighting ranks, and was wounded in Gallipoli, but recovered.

The regiment landed at Suvla Bay on September 16th, and was at once attached to the 29th Division, replacing the 1/5th Royal Scots, who had suffered heavy casualties in recent engagements. The fact that they were selected to take the place of so famous a corps was regarded as a signal honour. "It was far beyond our expectations," wrote one of the officers. "Although we felt that we would be able to pull our own weight, and more, when the time came, yet, as untried soldiers, we realised that we would have to make no mean effort to attain the standard and uphold the glorious traditions of the incomparable 29th Division."

"RESTING"—BUT KEEN ON THE PROGRESS OF EVENTS.
Two men of the Newfoundland Regiment in Wandsworth Military Hospital reading the news of the great advance from which they were knocked out.

The Turks were apparently lying in wait for new arrivals. The men landed in lighters in the dark, jumping over the sides as the boats grounded and wading ashore. As daylight came on it showed that they were on a steeply sloping beach with cliffs around.

"A short distance up the hill we could see our battalion digging themselves in," wrote one of the soldiers afterwards when recalling the scene. "To the left I could see the boats of another battalion. Even as I watched, the enemy's artillery located them. It was the first shell I had ever heard. It came over the hill close to me, screeching through the air like an express train going over a bridge at night. Just above the boat I was watching it exploded. A few of the soldiers slipped quietly from their seats to the bottom of the boat. At first I did not realise that any one had been hit. There was no sign of anything having happened out of the ordinary, no confusion. As soon as the boat touched the beach the wounded men were carried by their mates up the hill to a temporary dressing-station.

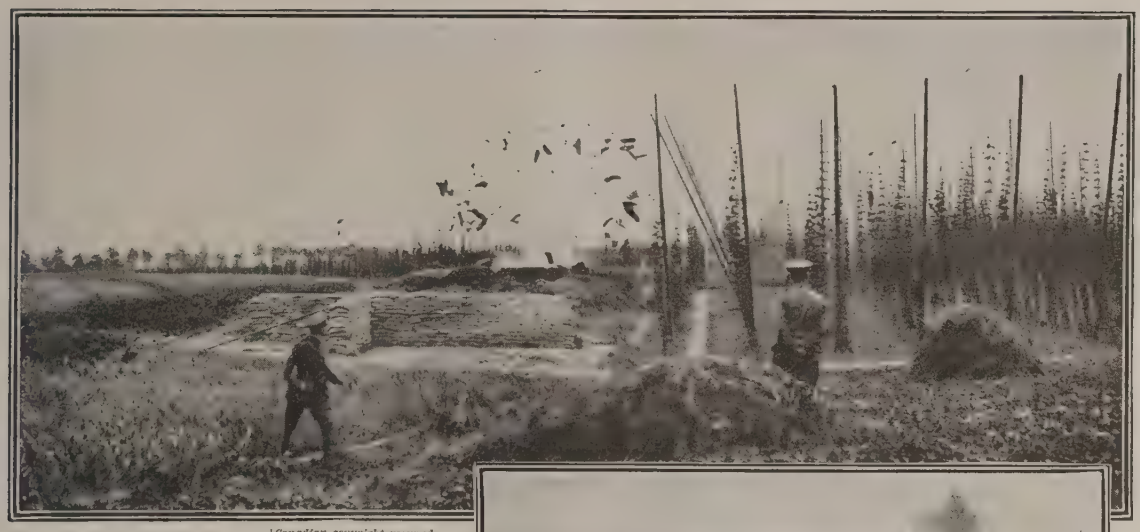
"The first shell was the beginning of a bombardment. 'Beachy Bill,' a battery that we were to become better acquainted with, was in excellent shape. Every few minutes a shell burst close to us. Shrapnel bullets and fragments of shell-casing forced us to huddle under the baggage for protection. A little to the left some Australians were severely punished. Shell after shell burst among them. A regiment of Sikh troops, mule-drivers, and transport men were caught half-way up the beach. Above the din of falling shrapnel and the shriek of flying shells rose the piercing screams of wounded mules. The Newfoundlanders did not escape.

"That morning 'Beachy Bill's' gunners played no favourites. On all sides the shrapnel came in a shower. Less often, a cloud of thick, black smoke and a hole twenty feet deep showed the landing-place of a high-explosive shell. The most amazing thing was the coolness of the men. The Newfoundlanders might have been practising trench-digging in camp in Scotland. When a man was hit some one gave him first-aid, directed the stretcher-bearers where to find him, and coolly resumed digging. In two hours our position had become untenable. We had been subjected to a merciless and devastating shelling, and our first experience of war had cost us sixty-five men. In a new and safer position we dug ourselves in."

Among those severely wounded was the adjutant of the regiment, who had been hit by the first shell.

Following the usual routine, the Newfoundlanders were scattered among different regiments for their first spell in the trenches, in order that they might learn actual fighting conditions. It was impossible to advance during the day, but towards dusk the senior company, under

FOUR MEMBERS OF ONE FAMILY WHO FELL ON THE FIELD OF HONOUR.
Four members of one Newfoundland family, two brothers and their two cousins, fell in France on July 1st, 1916. From left to right they are: Capt. Eric S. Ayre, Newfoundland Regt.; Capt. Bernard P. Ayre, Norfolk Regt.; Sec.-Lieut. Wilfred D. Ayre and Sec.-Lieut. Gerald W. Ayre, both of the Newfoundland Regiment



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THE TRENCH IN THE HOP-FIELD.

Any little obstruction encountered in the course of trench construction was soon disposed of by the aid of high explosive. Such an operation was being carried out when this illustration was secured.

[Official photograph.

HAZARDS OF BOMBARDMENT BEHIND THE LINE.

German shell, having gone fairly wide of its mark, nearly falls by accident into a British rest camp situated some distance behind the lines. The white ridges seen in the illustration indicate the communication trenches.

the command of Captain George Carty, the "father of the regiment," moved forward in single file, followed in due course by the remainder. Great honour had been given to them. They had been sent to what was pre-eminently the danger-spot of the perilous Gallipoli line. The division they had come to join had won high fame at heavy cost. Sir Ian Hamilton himself described it as the "Incomparable 29th Division." The Newfoundlanders were to form—with the Dublins, the Munsters, and the King's Own Scottish Borderers—the 88th Brigade. They moved that night through the underbrush to join their new comrades. All along the line they could see in the darkness the white crosses marking the many graves of the men who had fallen.

Nearest to Constantinople

In due course the battalion moved from the front lines to the dug-outs in reserve for "rest." This rest consisted chiefly of trench digging and trench strengthening. Parties of one hundred men were constantly at work from 7 p.m. until dawn, and to use their own phrase "the soil of Gallipoli made hard going." The Newfoundland digging-parties soon became famous on the Peninsula, and it was said that they could do more in four hours than most men could accomplish in double that time.

After this first experience the regiment went into the trenches as a distinct unit, responsible for its part of the line. Save for one vigorous attempt at an attack by the Turks, the situation had now reached the stage of what might almost be described as siege warfare. Each side kept the other ever in view, shelling where possible, sniping, mining, standing steady under aeroplane attack, ever watching the foe and improving its own position. The Newfoundlanders were well up in front, and they were able to boast afterwards that they approached nearer to Constantinople than any other troops on the Peninsula.

It was deadly monotonous work, hard, exacting and dangerous, with each day's routine much like that of the day before. The men longed for active fighting. When there came any rumour of a raid, everyone volunteered. All longed for the command to jump over the trenches and storm the enemy lines.

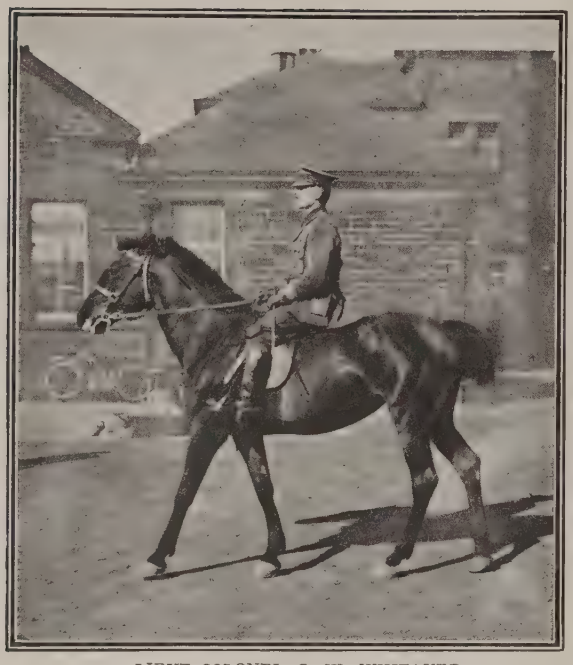
One brief spell of excitement came over the capture of Donnelly's Post, on Caribou Hill—as it was afterwards called—the foremost point on the British lines. The Newfoundlanders had suffered a great deal of annoyance and some loss from a group of Turkish snipers who established themselves on a knoll looking down into the line. It was decided to take the hill and to clear the Turks out. On November 4th Lieut. Donnelly, after a careful reconnaissance, went out with a party of eight men and took possession of the knoll while the Turks were away. They had scarcely occupied it before a party of Turks approached and made a desperate attack on them. The Newfoundlanders succeeded in driving them off, but not before they had suffered some casualties.

Later on, Lieut. Ross, Sergeant Greene (afterwards given the D.C.M.), and six men, set out to strengthen the original party. As they were crawling through the No Man's Land they came upon a platoon of twenty Turks who were endeavouring to surround Lieut. Donnelly's group. A hot fight followed. Three of the Newfoundlanders fell wounded, one of them being hit by four bullets, one by five bullets, and the third by shrapnel. Lieut. Ross was wounded in the forearm near the shoulder.

Capture of Caribou Hill

In the end he had only a sergeant and two men left, and had to retire. Lieut. Donnelly's party returned at daybreak, but went out again the next night and held the hill till the end. The knoll was afterwards called Caribou Hill in honour of the regiment, whose badge was the deer's head.

The work of two soldiers in this little expedition won great credit among their fellows. One of Donnelly's men, Jack Hynes, moved away from his comrades on the first night to a point two hundred yards to the left. He remained there, single-handed, keeping up a rapid fire all night and making the enemy believe that the spot was held in force. Next morning Hynes saw Sergeant Greene moving back time after time, carrying wounded men to the



LIEUT.-COLONEL C. W. WHITAKER.
Commanding the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Newfoundland Regiment.

rear. To distract the attention of the Turks from him Hynes started back, purposely exposing himself and stumbling as he retired. Both Greene and Hynes were given the Distinguished Conduct Medal. Lieut. Donnelly was decorated with the Military Cross.

This was the first real engagement in which the Newfoundlanders had taken part. They were soon, however, to undergo a much more severe experience. Towards the end of November the Gallipoli Peninsula was swept by a storm of rain, wind, and snow. Trenches and dug-outs were flooded. Men were overwhelmed where they stood, or frozen as they strove to struggle along. Hundreds of our troops were drowned in the flooded trenches; others died from exposure. In many parts of our lines it was impossible to remove the sick men to the clearing-station on the beach, and those who tried to crawl there were often overwhelmed on the way. This November storm remained for long a horrible nightmare to all who were in it. The spirit of the Newfoundlanders, however, was by no means broken. Reduced to short rations, chilled to the bone, with every garment soaking, and almost exhausted for want of sleep, they yet managed to rebuild their parapets, clear the communication trenches, and "carry on" until the storm was over.

Ordeal by storm

Then came the evacuation of Suvla Bay and Cape Helles. At Suvla Bay part of the Newfoundland Regiment was in the rearguard covering the retirement at Cape Helles; other companies did great things in building roads and bridges and loading transports on W and V Beaches. Shells were raining death and destruction, but they kept on in such a way as to earn very high praise from the general officer commanding the division. The Newfoundlanders had landed in Gallipoli without having heard a shot fired in war. Within three weeks they were veterans, and in the short, trying experience their capacity for hard work, their readiness, resource, and courage had earned them the goodwill of all. They had started out eleven hundred strong. It was said that when the roll was called at Lemnos Island the day after they left the Peninsula there were only one hundred and seventy to reply.

About the middle of January the Newfoundland Regiment landed at Suez and encamped in the desert, where it began a system of training which was to stand the men in good stead when they were called upon to show for the second time their mettle.

From Suez the 1st Newfoundland Regiment moved on to France, and here it was soon to undergo an experience that will long be remembered in the history of the colony and of the Empire. It was moved down to the neighbourhood of the Somme, to take part in the great advance. On the night of June 25th, 1916, a party of fifty men, under the command of Captain Butler, attempted to raid the German lines, but did not succeed, although it partly succeeded in cutting the German entanglements. The effort was repeated on the following night, and the men, carefully making their way through the German entanglements, found that the Germans were ready for them. Machine-guns were fixed at places to sweep the paths through which they must go, and the trenches were strongly held. Captain Butler and his men rushed forward before the machine-gunners could get to work and hurled bombs on them. Some of the party leapt into the German trench and some placed themselves so as to cover the entrances to the dug-outs, killing the Germans as they emerged. One German machine-gun began to work, but a private named Phillimore threw himself on to the machine-gun party and stopped them at the cost of his own life. In the end, however, the raiding-party had to retire, but only after all their bombs had been used. All the officers had been wounded and some six men killed and thirteen wounded.

In the Somme advance

Then came the great Battle of the Somme. On the night of June 30th-July 1st the regiment marched eight miles from its billet to its allotted place in the trenches. Its actual strength when it set out was twenty-six officers and seven hundred and eighty-three rank and file in the front, with fourteen officers and seventy-five rank and file in reserve. The regiment reached its position about 2 a.m. on the morning of July 1st. Everyone knew that the mighty blow for which we had been preparing for months was now about to be delivered. For a week the ears of the soldiers had been deafened by the noise of the terrific British bombardment. All that night it continued. In the morning, from six until half-past seven, there came a hurricane of fire which made even what had gone before seem mild and ineffective. Surely, men said to one another, nothing could survive a rain of death such as that.

The Newfoundlanders were at a position south of the village of Beaumont-Hamel, over the ridge flanking the River Ancre. The Ulsters had advanced astride the Ancre, and the Inniskillings were attacking to their left. But where it was hoped the Germans had been all killed, men suddenly emerged from dug-outs. They put their machine-guns in position even before our artillery had ceased. They met our men with a withering fire before which none could live. Two British regiments moved forward, one after another. Both failed, not through any weakness or lack of dash, but simply because the German fire was irresistible. Our own men were the first to admit that for once the enemy surpassed anything we had known of their fighting power. The bravery on either side was as great as anything seen in the whole war.

The first two attempts had failed. The Newfoundlanders were to have been used to push home the victory obtained by the first attacking parties. In place of that, word was sent that they were to make the third attempt to break the enemy line. Victory was crowning our arms at point after point; we must not fail here.

There came a pause in which our artillery spoke again. A heavy fire was concentrated on the German lines, and now came word for the Newfoundlanders to advance. Their colonel called the company commanders together, and told them what was before them. There was no hesitation.

With a cheer, every man jumped over the parapet, with the colonel in the van. Again the German lines suddenly swarmed with men. They emerged once more from the dug-outs in which they had remained sheltered. It seemed as though every concealed spot had a machine-gun behind it, and every machine-gun was firing at once on our men.

Success was impossible. The terrific machine-gun fire was soon followed by shell fire. The men continued to move forward at a rapid pace, without flinching. They fell by the units, by the scores, soon by the hundreds. A few reached the beginning of the enemy's entrenchments, only to die there. They had not even an opportunity to strike a blow at the foe. The whole thing was over so quickly that it seemed impossible that in a few minutes a gallant regiment should thus have been wiped out. Yet when the roll was taken afterwards it was found that out of a total of eight hundred and eleven Newfoundlanders engaged, only ninety-seven were unwounded, two officers, the commander, Lieut.-Colonel Hadow, and the adjutant, Captain Riley, and ninety-five rank and file. The bodies of ten officers and forty-six men killed were recovered; fourteen officers and four hundred and forty-two men came in or were brought in wounded, and two officers and two hundred of other ranks were missing. Some of them had fallen, killed or wounded, too close to the German lines to be recovered.

Great and glorious effort

"When the order to attack was given," the corps commander, Lieut.-General Sir Aylmer Hunter-Weston afterwards wrote to Sir Edward Morris, "every man moved forward to his appointed objective in his appointed place, as if on parade. There were no waverers, no stragglers, and not a man looked back. It was a magnificent display of trained and disciplined valour, and the assault only failed of success because dead men can advance no farther. They were shot down by machine-guns brought up by a very gallant foe under our intense artillery fire. Against any foe less well entrenched, less well organised, and—above all—less gallant, their attack must have succeeded."

"Go on with it, boys"

Many were the stories told afterwards by the survivors of what their comrades had done. One captain, when leading his men, was hit by a bullet in the hand. Some of his men moved to go to his aid. He ordered them on. "Go on with it, boys, I will be with you in a minute." Then he stepped back to a dressing-station, had his bandage fixed, and doubled back, urging on his men till he fell with another wound.

Captain J. A. Leddingham, the youngest captain in the regiment, while leading his company in a charge, fell wounded in three places, and crawled into a shell-hole, where he lay, barely conscious, for five hours. Aroused by the moaning of a comrade, he peeped over the edge of his shelter and saw an old chum, Lieut. Robertson, lying a few yards away, helpless. Hardly able to move himself, he crept out of his shelter, hoisted his comrade on his back, and crawled along with him to the British lines. One young private, going into the firing-line for the first time, approached near to the German front. All his comrades were shot down, and he fell into a shell-hole. For four days he lay among the dead, with the fire continuing ceaselessly around. All the food and water that he had was taken from his dead comrades. He did not know

[Official photograph.

A BRITISH CAMP IN FRANCE ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT OFFENSIVE.

Great activity prevailing at a camp prior to the advance of July 1st, 1916. The dusty road was alive with movement and preparation, transport horses and mules going to and from the base, and men collecting their equipment for the coming ordeal.

where he was. At the end of the fourth day he crawled out, selecting his line of route by chance. Fortunately it led him in the direction of the British patrol.

The story of the Newfoundland men sent a thrill through the Empire. General Hunter-Weston, addressing the survivors said, "Newfoundlanders, I salute you individually. You have done better than the best." In a letter to Sir Edward Morris, written shortly afterwards, the general repeated in even more emphatic terms his praise. Some part of that letter has been already quoted in this chapter. The remainder is well worth reading. "The Newfoundland Battalion covered itself with glory on July 1st by the magnificent way in which it carried out the attack entrusted to it. It went forward to the attack when two other attacks on that same part of the line had failed, and by its behaviour on that occasion it showed itself worthy of the highest traditions of the British race and proved itself to be a fit representative of the population of the oldest British colony.

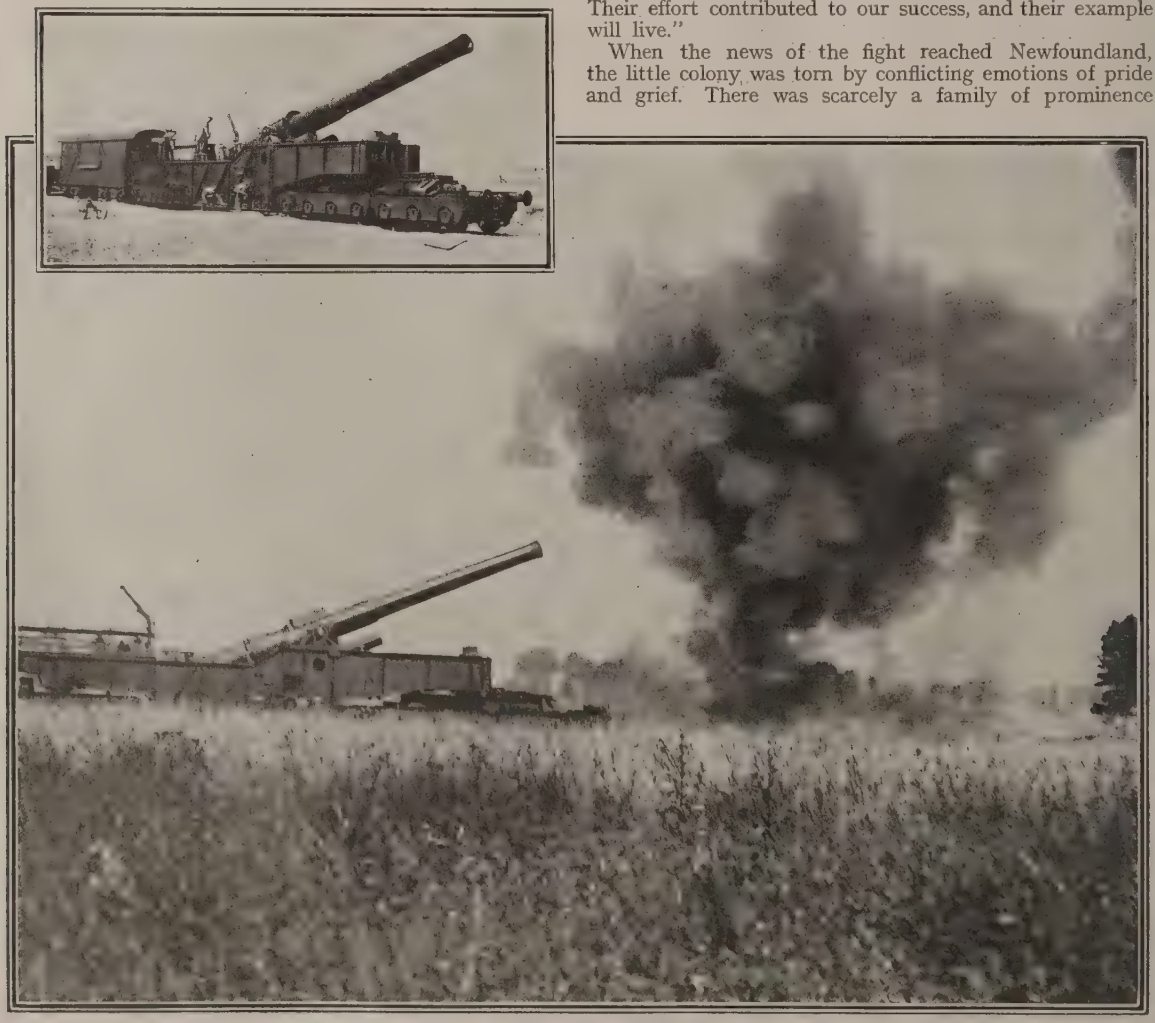
"As it was, the action of the Newfoundland Battalion, and the other units of the British left, contributed largely to the victory achieved by the British and French farther south, by pinning to their ground the best of the German troops, and by occupying the majority of their artillery, both heavy and field. The gallantry and devotion of this battalion, therefore, was not in vain, and the credit of victory belongs to them as much as to those troops farther south who actually succeeded in breaking the German lines. An attacking army is like a football team; there is but one who kicks the goal, yet the credit of success belongs not alone to that individual but to the whole team, whose concerted action led to the desired result.

"I should like you to let my fellow-citizens of the Empire in the oldest overseas portion of the British Realm know how well their lads have done, both officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, and how proud I, as their corps commander, am to have had such a battalion under my command, and to be a comrade of each and all of them."

Praise from Sir Douglas Haig

Sir Douglas Haig was equally emphatic. In a message to the Government of Newfoundland he wrote: "Newfoundland may well be proud of her sons. The heroism and the devotion to duty they displayed on July 1st has never been surpassed. Please convey my deep sympathy and that of the whole of our armies in France in the loss of the brave officers and men who have fallen for the Empire, and our admiration of their heroic conduct. Their effort contributed to our success, and their example will live."

When the news of the fight reached Newfoundland, the little colony was torn by conflicting emotions of pride and grief. There was scarcely a family of prominence



THE "HIGH-EXPLOSIVE EXPRESS": TYPE OF GREAT BRITISH GUN IN ACTION.

From the size of the cloud of smoke and debris raised by the explosion of its projectile, some idea may be gleaned of the power of this huge engine of war, the destructive capacity of which was enhanced by its mobility. It ran, like a colossal locomotive, on wheels—an ammunition waggon being coupled to it, as seen in the smaller photograph.

[Official photograph.

THE ASSAULT ON LA BOISSELLE.

Our troops got into the village on July 1st, but did not finally master the defences until July 3rd, 1916.

that had not lost one near and dear to them in that fierce advance. "The soldiers of Newfoundland have won the highest praise which sons of Britain can ever earn," said the governor. "The glory of it can never fade. July 1st, when our heroes fought and fell, will stand for ever as the proudest day in the history of the loyal colony." Grief for those who had fallen meant no looking back.

The men of the Newfoundland Regiment who were quartered at Ayr, in Scotland, under training, sent a message home, "Unanimous message from Ayr boys. Our ranks are thin. Come all who can and help us to defend the safety and honour of the Homeland and Empire, and avenge our gallant comrades who have fallen at the post of duty."

The message home

On the second anniversary of the war, while still in the first flood of their sorrow, the people of the island held public meetings, and there solemnly resolved that Newfoundland's part in the war should continue, that recruiting should go on, and that the public credit was pledged till the final issue resulted in victory for Britain and her Allies.

The remnants of the regiment at the front did not repine. "The Newfoundland spirit is indomitable," wrote an observer a few days afterwards; "already the regiment is reshaping itself. For every man who fell in that glorious fight there are two others willing and anxious to take his place, and all burn with a desire to avenge the comrade, the brother, and the cousin who fell." Volunteers went out soon after the fight to gather in the dead under heavy German fire, and they gave them Christian burial behind the lines. "Our comrades sleep easily," they said.

Shortly afterwards, Sir Edward Morris, who was then visiting the British front in France, went to Beauval, where the remnants of the Newfoundlanders were stationed. The regiment, numbering four hundred and fifty—having been increased by drafts from its British depot—was then resting in billets. Sir Edward Morris's own description of his visit, taken from a published official report to the Governor of Newfoundland, is well worth giving. "The men, four hundred and fifty in number, were parading, and through the courtesy of the colonel I was afforded an

MAKING THE BEST OF IT.

French troops having exploded a mine in the enemy first line, the Germans organised it into the defensive position here shown.

opportunity of addressing them. I told them how much we appreciated their work, and especially their action of July 1st; how we had followed their career with interest from the day they had left our shores.

"I told them what we thought of their conduct in Gallipoli, and in France, and how we rejoiced in the splendid name they had won for themselves and their country; how their example had fired the patriotism of their brothers and relatives in their far-off home, and that while I spoke a leviathan of the ocean was ploughing her way through the Atlantic, followed by a keel-compelling breeze from their own shores, carrying in her cabins five hundred and fifty of their brothers to reinforce their ranks and prepare them for the day if they should ever be called upon to again go into action.

"I told them of the letter addressed to them by their lieutenant-general; how it was an heirloom that each man would transmit to his children, a legacy establishing the honour, patriotism, and character of their fathers, of more value than gold and precious stones. They in no way appeared to be cast down by the losses of July 1st. On the contrary, there was a light in the face of every man of them, and a ring of determination in the voices of

all; they appeared to long only for the hour when they would have an opportunity of getting at the insolent foe and avenging the death of those of their comrades who had fallen.

"And yet, I could not but feel sad to see only four hundred and fifty of that splendid battalion, that to us represented and meant so much. I had seen them grow from the enlistment of the first man; it seemed a part of myself. But they had died for their country; their death was like the death of those bright stars whose death is day. The war training had developed them; they had become magnificent men. Of the eight hundred that had gone into battle that July morning the average age could not have been more than twenty-four, and this in itself made it particularly sad to think that the course of so many of them should have run at so early an age.

Sir Edward Morris's tribute

"It is not growing like a tree
In bulk, doth make Man better be;
Or standing like an oak, three hundred year,
To fall a log at last, dry, bald and sere:
A lily of a day
Is fairer far in May,
Although it fall and die that night—
It was the plant and flower of Light.
In small proportions we just beauties see;
And in short measures life may perfect be."

Of the many messages sent in from all parts of the allied fronts in praise of the Newfoundlanders, only a few can be given. The Colonial Secretary cabled his intense admiration for the gallant deeds of the contingent, and his warmest sympathy with the relatives of those who had suffered in the fight. The President of the French Republic sent his congratulations in the name of France through Sir Edward Morris to the people of Newfoundland and the valiant army. Monsieur Briand declared "Their courage has called forth the admiration of all who have seen them in action."

In a memorable tribute in the House of Commons, Mr. Steel-Maitland, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said that Newfoundland, with a population less than half of that of Wandsworth, had not only contributed to the land forces which had fought so nobly in France, but had furnished more daring seamen to the British Fleet and British trawlers during the present struggle than all the other Dominions combined. "It seems to me it must be something in the blood. Newfoundland is largely peopled by the descendants of those who set out from Barnstaple and Bideford in the days of Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins."

Spirit of Drake and Hawkins

To the people of the Empire the story of the Newfoundlanders' great sacrifice was a stimulus. To the people of Newfoundland itself it was an inspiration. It was felt that the island had now to maintain the reputation of the brave boys who had thus given their lives, and to send others to replace them. Newfoundland set about living up to the ideal it had raised for itself.

[*Official photograph*

RUINS OF MONTAUBAN: "A TRIUMPH FOR OUR ARTILLERY."

Nowhere was our artillery fire more destructive than in Montauban. In one almost impregnable position our heavy guns left nothing whole, not even the elusive machine-gun. The honour of being first to enter the place in July, 1916, fell to certain battalions of the Manchesters.

DUBNO, ON THE IKVA, AFTER RECAPTURE BY THE RUSSIANS.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

RUSSIA RESURGENT: THE SUMMER OFFENSIVE OF 1916 TO THE FALL OF STANISLAU.

By Robert Machray.

How Russia Astonished the World in General and Germany in Particular—Vain Boasts of the German Chancellor—Russia's Great Spirit—Her Lack of Munitions Remedied—Positions of the Russian and Austro-German Armies in June, 1916—The Rival Generals—How Brussiloff Prepared his Offensive—Attack Along the Whole Southern Front—Smashing In of the Enemy's Lines—Capture of Lutsk—Inspiring Message from the Tsar—Kaledin's Wonderful Fighting Advance—Fall of Dubno—Lutsk Salient Formed—Enemy Counter-Offensive—Its Success and Failure—Sudden Appearance of Lesh's Army—Decisive Effect—The "Iron" and "Steel" Divisions—Sakharoff's Splendid Victories and Triumphant March—The Taking of Brody—Pressure on Bothmer from the North and South—Collapse of the Austro-German Line—Shcherbacheff's Advance—Fresh Austro-German Efforts—How Lechitsky Contributed to the Russian Triumph—Penetration and Conquest of Bukovina—Capture of Czernovitz—Fall of Kolomea—Weather Interferes with Operations—Advance Resumed—Retreat of Bothmer—Capture of Stanislau—Colossal Number of Prisoners Taken—Russia's Asiatic Front—Fall of Trebizond and Erzingan—The Situation in Armenia and Persia—A Turkish Counter-Offensive.

AMONG the great surprises in which the war abounded none was more unexpected in its occurrence or astonishing in its result than the resurgence of the armies of Russia that was manifested, to the delight of her friends and the confusion of her foes, in the summer of 1916. Even those of the Allies who were acquainted with her vast resources in men, and understood something of her infinite capacity for sustained effort and ungrudging self-sacrifice, were amazed. The well-informed correspondent in Petrograd of a London journal stated, when in England on a holiday in January of that year, that no movement of vital importance could be looked for from Russia for at least the next twelve months. Similar pessimistic views were general, because of the grave losses which she had undergone in 1915, and of her tragical deficiencies in munitions. But to the Central Powers the resilience and the recovery of Russia were a staggering blow.

Germany had declared, and apparently with conviction, that Russia was so completely defeated as to be practically negligible. As narrated in Chapter CIX., entitled "The Renewed Russian Offensive and the Fall of Erzerum," there were signs that the German estimate that Russia had been reduced to a condition of collapse was another of the fond delusions to which the enemy was a prey. Yet Germany still retained her belief in the impotence of her big neighbour; though she ought, it might have been supposed, to have known better.

Two months after the capture of Erzerum by the Russians, Bethmann-Hollweg, the Imperial German Chancellor, said, when addressing the Reichstag, that the fortress had been taken because of the numerical superiority of Russia's forces in that area, but that Turkish reinforcements would speedily give a different complexion to the situation in Armenia and Persia. He then went on to boast that the Central Powers would find no difficulty in keeping all the territory of Russia which they occupied. Never again, said he, was she to be permitted to rule over the Poles, Lithuanians, Balts, and Letts who had been set free by Germany and her allies, nor ever again would the land of the Vistula be used for an assault on "unprotected Germany." He spoke with derision of the attempts of Russian storming columns to drive "Hindenburg and his brave men" from their trenches.

GENERAL ALEXEI BRUSSILOFF.
General Brussiloff's drive through Volhynia in 1916 signalised the resurgence of the Russian armies.

Such was the attitude of official Germany to Russia, and it also was that of the German people. Bethmann-Hollweg's speech was delivered early in April, and it might have seemed a warning to German arrogance when the Russians, of whom he had spoken so contemptuously, took Trebizond a few days later. On the other hand, the position on

LEADER OF THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE IN VOLHYNIA, JUNE, 1916.
General Alexei Brussiloff first saw active service in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. He led the Russian dash over the Carpathians in 1915, and in 1916 commanded the four armies of the Russian left wing which hunted the Austrians out of Russia.

nearly all fronts, as late as the beginning of June, appeared to be so favourable to Germany that there was some excuse for the complacency with which she regarded the outlook. Nowhere were the Entente Powers genuinely forging ahead. At Verdun the French, in spite of almost unimaginable heroism, were scarcely holding their ground, and the brave Italians had been compelled to retire for several miles in the Trentino. The Austrian offensive against Italy in itself indicated how scanty was the regard paid to Russia. In Armenia the Russians had been thrown back by the Turks, though they had made some progress in Persia, and in Europe their success had not been conspicuous.

Indecisive winter battles

Along her European front Russia had gained little or nothing positively by the battles that had taken place during the winter. In some of these the fighting was of the most desperate description. After the spring thaw had passed, and the terrain had become practicable for the marching of armies, the struggle was resumed about the beginning of May, when, in the district around Lake Naroch, east of Vilna, the Russians, who had made a slight advance in this quarter, were heavily checked by the Germans, who claimed to have captured upwards of 5,000 men and four guns. About this time experts in Petrograd expected that the enemy would make a powerful attack on the Russian positions in the north. Artillery actions were incessant on the Riga-Dvinsk line, and in the second week of the month a violent contest developed in the vicinity of Jacobstadt on the Dwina, but with indecisive results. And whatever was the plan that had been evolved by Hindenburg, who was in chief command of the German operations in this region, it was paralysed by the need of reinforcements at Verdun by his compatriots, which deprived him of several divisions, weakening him materially. During May artillery duels were almost continuous on the Oginski Canal, north of Pinsk, and south of the marshes there was considerable cannonading. But nothing in this period even faintly suggested the prodigious change that so soon, and with such dramatic suddenness, was to come over the scene. Surprise, with the success attending it, was the chief note of the great Russian offensive that began in June.

Germany and Austria, stultified by their overweening pride and their confidence in their power easily to hold and deal with Russia, were fooled to the top of their bent. They had thought that Russia was finished. Their mistake was to cost them dear. Nothing in the whole war, with the exception of the splendid way in which the civil population of the British Empire rallied to the Flag, was more remarkable than the recovery of Russia, as shown by the formation of immense new armies during the months that had elapsed since the preceding October.

The enemy's fatal pride

The heart, the spirit, the soul of Russia were in the business, and this national feeling made tremendous and terrible her inexhaustible strength in men, to which a German statesman had referred, not without foreboding, shortly before the war broke out. Not even in the dark days when Napoleon strode on to Moscow was Russia so united, so inflexibly determined. Throughout all the vastness of the Russian land no one talked of anything but the war. Every town, village, and hamlet had its wounded back from the front, and everyone knew that a part of the soil of Holy Russia was in the remorseless grasp of the most brutal of invaders. Horrible, true stories of the hideous treatment meted out by the Germans to Russian prisoners circulated from mouth to mouth. Russia was thoroughly roused from one end to the other. Therefore, willingly and gladly did the Russians in their millions drill continually all these months, inexorably resolved to defeat and conquer their enemy.

The man is more than the machine. It was this marvellous outflow of national feeling, with all its quickening and vitalising influence, that accounted for the extraordinary resurgence of the Russian armies, and explained the magnificent, unquestioning heroism which they displayed when the offensive started. Naturally, there were other factors that made for success. The retreat of the preceding year had not been brought about by any wonderful generalship on the part of the Germans or by lack of courage on the side of the Russians—when it became known, the story of the unfaltering bravery shown in the retirement of the Russian armies thrilled the world. The retreat was caused solely by the shortage of guns, rifles, and other munitions. When the Russian people understood that this was the case, they threw themselves into munition-making with a perfect frenzy of enthusiasm.

Russia, however, was unfortunately but poorly equipped from the industrial point of view, yet she mobilised all her mills, factories, and everything that could be pressed into service. More than that, she called on Japan—lately her foe, but now her friend—to assist her, and that strong, young-old giant of the Far East wrought mightily on her behalf, sending to her millions of rifles and bayonets, besides large numbers of guns of all calibres with the proper ammunition, to say nothing of clothing and boots in prodigious quantities. (Chapter CXXXI.) Her other allies also helped her in various ways; among them, Belgium supplied her with a fleet of armoured cars.

Russia, when the brilliant Brussiloff commenced operations against the Austro-Germans, was stronger than she had ever been in all her history. And she had learned much, taken it to heart and profited by it. If she was terrible in man-power, she was truly formidable in all the grim machinery of war, and she was great in hardly-won

Fodder for horses and guns: Provision train en route for the front.

[Official photographs.

Watering horses by the roadside: A restful interlude in the daily toil.

Historic meeting in France: King George, Sir Douglas Haig, and Sir Henry Rawlinson.

[Official photographs.

Royal interest in trench drill: Watching the Anzacs at work in France.

During the third Royal visit to the front: The King follows the Pozières fighting.

[Official photographs

King George and the Prince of Wales inspect the calcined ruins of Fricourt trenches.

Derelicts of Contalmaison: German prisoners proceeding to the base via a trench.

[Official photographs.

The day goes well! First batch of prisoners on the memorable First of July, 1916.

knowledge. She was fortunate, too, in her generals, who, at any rate in Alexeieff and Brussiloff, already had proved themselves to be soldiers of the highest class, and as her offensive progressed other names sprang into fame.

As June opened the Russian armies in Europe were disposed in three groups, strung along a front of about eight hundred miles in length from north to south. The northern Russian armies, composing the first group, and temporarily under General Kuropatkin, well known from his connection with the Russo-Japanese War, stretched along the Riga-Dvinsk line. The central Russian armies, forming the second group, were under General Evert, who had shown distinguished ability in the great retreat, and they took up the line from Dvinsk to the Marshes of the Pripet.

The southern Russian armies, the remaining group, stood on the front from the marshes to the Rumanian frontier, and they were led by General Brussiloff, a man of exceptional capacity, as was evinced—even when he was retreating, under General Ivanoff, in Galicia the previous year—by the defeat she inflicted on the enemy. All three groups were under the command of General Alexeieff, who was subordinate only to the Tsar himself. In the preceding October the total strength of Russia on her whole European front was perhaps a million men; by June, 1916, it had probably been nearly tripled, with plenty of reserves at the depots in the background.

Rise of Brussiloff

ALFRESCO HAIR-DRESSING: A SIDE-LINE IN THE WAR.
Russian soldiers having their hair cut before proceeding to take a bath. Although the operation frequently had to be performed in the open air, military organisation had not omitted to supply mechanical appliances.

Over against the northern and central Russian armies lay the eastern German armies, including one Austrian army corps, led by various generals, but all under the supreme command of Marshal Hindenburg, whom Germany still regarded as her best soldier. Opposite the southern Russian armies five Austro-Hungarian armies, with which were incorporated several German divisions, stretched down from the Pripet Marshes through Volhynia, Galicia, and the duchy of Bukovina to Hungary and Rumania. These armies were commanded by the Archduke Frederick, the one member of the House of Hapsburg who was a professional soldier, but of no particular distinction in that rôle. His headquarters were at Lemberg—or Lvoff, as the Russians called it—and he held a Royal court in that ancient city, which, after its occupation for nine months by Russia, had resumed its old life as if there had been no interruption.

Though the fact was not known till the middle of June, the chief command in Volhynia was in reality in the more efficient hands of General Linsingen, a German officer with headquarters at Kovel, a railway centre and strategically important as the point of junction between Hindenburg and the Austrians. But whether the Austrian prince or the German soldier were in charge, both firmly believed that their line was impregnable and absolutely secure against the assaults of Brussiloff.

From the Pripet to the Pruth, the boundaries north and south of the area in which Brussiloff was about to spring his offensive on the enemy, the battle-front was nearly two hundred and seventy miles in length, over a country that did not rise into considerable hills or steep eminences till the Carpathians were reached, but was rendered difficult by its being broken by rivers and streams with lake-like expansions and marshy tracts, as well as by broad belts of forest. Below the Pripet it passed through Volhynia along the Styr to Chartorisk, thence over open, undulating ground to Olika, to the west of the fortress of Rovno, struck south to the east of the fortress of Dubno, on the Ikva, into Galicia, where it lay on the Strypa, west of Tarnopol and east of Buczacz, and crossing the Dniester at Uscieczko, which the Russians had retaken in the winter, swung eastwards to the Dniester again, and, lower down, to the Pruth in Bukovina, with Czernovitz well to the south-west of it. Both combatants had strongly fortified it. With communication trenches in between, trench succeeded trench, the first in each case being protected by row after row of savage wire entanglements; mortars were abundant; field and heavy guns and howitzers, with vast stores of shells and bombs, had been accumulated at the best points; machine-guns bristled everywhere. Probably the Austro-Germans possessed the stronger "machinery," and they certainly enjoyed superior facilities as regarded railways. From Kovel they had constructed a new line which ran through Vladimir Volynsk and Sokal to Rawaruska, where it linked up with the line from Lemberg, itself a great railway junction, and this gave them the enormous advantage of a line of communication laterally behind their whole front.

On the Russian side of the front the four armies of General Brussiloff's command were, from north to south, respectively, the Eighth Russian Army under General Kaledin, in Volhynia; the Eleventh Russian Army under General Sakharoff, in Volhynia and Galicia; the Seventh Russian Army under General Shcherbacheff, in Galicia; and the Ninth Russian Army under General Lechitsky, in the region of the Dniester. Of these armies Kaledin's had been Brussiloff's own before his appointment two months previously to the leadership of the whole southern group, in succession to General Ivanoff, who had gone to the Imperial Headquarters to act as military adviser to the Tsar. A German estimate, published a few weeks prior to the start of Brussiloff's offensive, put the total strength of the forces at his disposition at forty-one infantry and fourteen cavalry divisions, or not far short of a million men, if the divisions were at full strength. A very large proportion of them were, however, young, untried troops, whose training had begun in the preceding winter, but

Russia's estimated strength

MASKED FOR ATTACK.
Russians preparing to attack Germans in the north-west.

all were animated with the same sublime spirit of devotion.

On the German side of the front two Austro-Hungarian armies held the part of it which lay in Volhynia and bent down some distance into Galicia. The Fourth Austro-Hungarian Army, under the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, stood on the line from the Pripet to about Chartorisk on the Styr. Next came the First Austro-Hungarian Army, under General Pulhallo von Brlog, with Lutsk and Dubno in its possession, and facing Rovno, held by the Russians—the three fortresses formerly termed the Volhynian Triangle. South of Pulhallo lay the Second Austro-Hungarian Army, under General Böhm Ermolli, with its right north-west of Tarnopol. Below Böhm Ermolli, the German General Count Bothmer, with forces predominantly Austrian, held the west bank of the Strypa and the line to a point north of Buczacz, where he connected up with the Austro-Hungarian army of General Pflanzer-Baltin, whose troops occupied the remainder of the front to the Dniester and Bukovina.

The total strength of these five armies was about forty-one divisions, including three German divisions, and about ten divisions of cavalry, or very much the same number of men as Brussiloff had. The enemy would have been far stronger in this whole area but for the requirements of the German offensive at Verdun and of the Austrian in the Trentino. Just as Hindenburg had been weakened in the north by the one, so were the Austrians in the south by the other.

Diversions for Verdun and Trent

These armies were composed mainly of Austrians and Hungarians, most of the Slav elements of the Dual Monarchy having been stationed on the Italian front.

RUIN AND DESOLATION IN THE DUCHY OF BUKOVINA.
Russian scouts observing the enemy from the useful shelter of a shattered mill. In circle: Flooded trenches in Bukovina. No scene could better suggest the desolation through which the Russians advanced.

These two opposing groups of armies were so nearly balanced as regarded their numerical strength that there was little or nothing to choose between them. Among their leaders, however, Brussiloff was the general who had most distinguished himself in previous operations in the war, but then only in the subordinate capacity of an army commander, and it remained to be seen what figure he would present as the commander of a group of armies. Unlike Ivanoff, who was of peasant descent, Alexei Brussiloff came of noble stock. Slim, of medium height, with a clear-cut, aristocratic face, Brussiloff was now sixty-three years of age, but had lost none of his early vigour. He said himself that he abhorred "lulls," and an aggressive energy was characteristic of him. His appearance indicated the cavalry soldier. Ten years before he had been appointed to the command of the 2nd Cavalry Division of the Guard, and in 1911 was placed

at the head of the army corps stationed in the district bordering on Galicia. When the war broke out he was selected, as was natural, to lead the army which invaded that Austrian province, and during the first months of the struggle his achievements were most remarkable.

Forced to retire from the Carpathians in May, 1915, along with the other commanders under Ivanoff, Brussiloff made every foot of territory he yielded up extremely expensive to the enemy, whom he more than once turned on and severely defeated. It was he who, as the great retreat came to a close, retook Lutsk in September, 1915, though lack of munitions prevented him from holding it. His fine counter-offensive at that time helped, however, to retain Rovno for Russia. Meanwhile, he had perfected his knowledge of the country, and obtained as thorough a knowledge of Linsingen, Bothmer, and the Austrian generals against whom he later was to pit himself. General Lechitsky, too, knew the terrain well, and, besides, had taken the measure of Pflanzer-Baltin, before whom he had been compelled to withdraw during the general retreat, but whom he was now about to engage on more equal terms.

ABANDONED.
Broken guns abandoned by the Austrians in Bukovina.

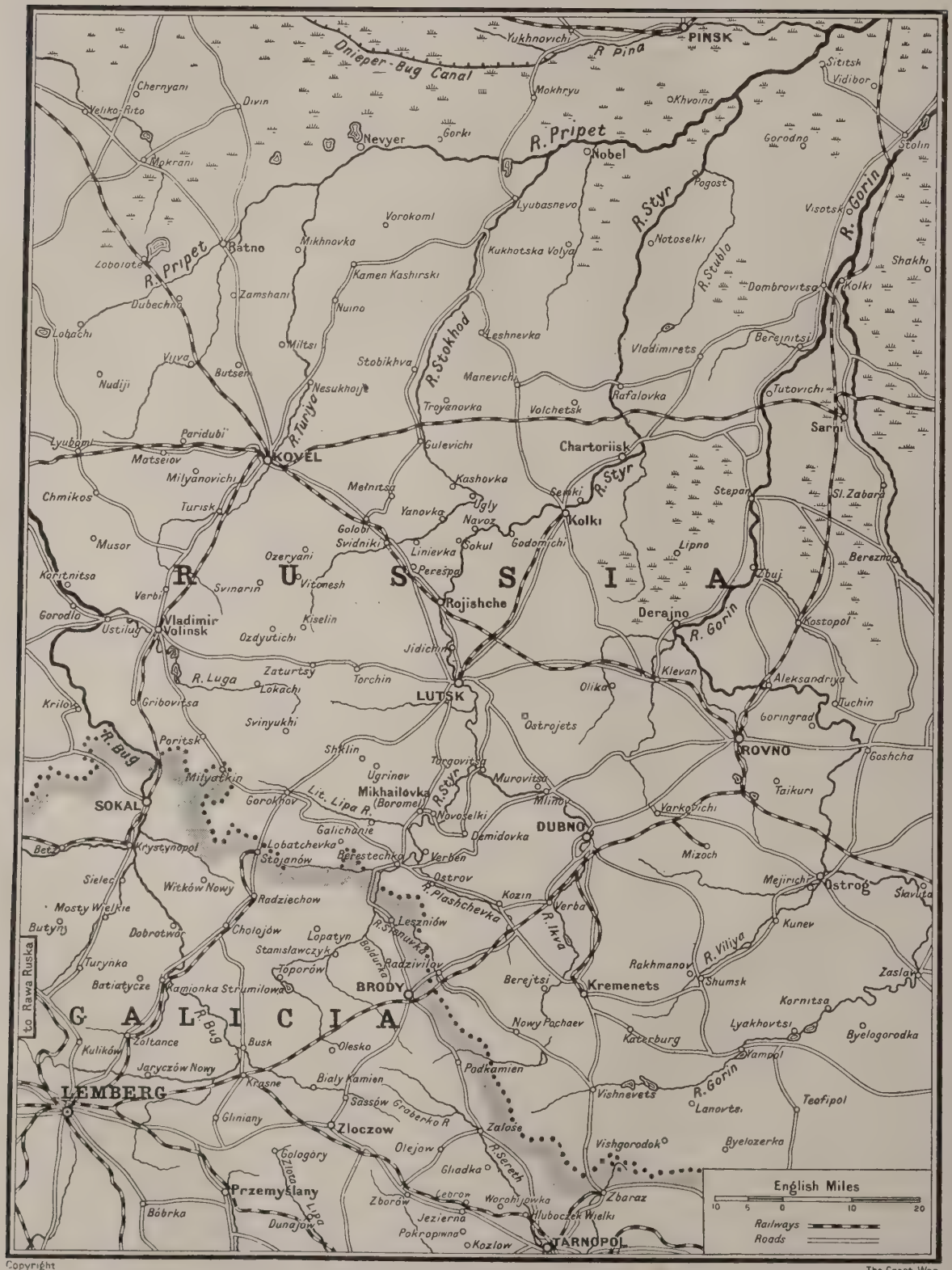
Russia superior in leadership

On the Austro-German side Marshal Mackensen, the leader of the tremendous offensive of 1915, and to whose ability much of its success was due, had disappeared from this theatre, and none of the subordinate commanders he had left behind him was of outstanding merit. Man for man the Russian generals in this portion of the field were superior to, or quite as good as, those of the enemy. And it was doubtful whether Germany possessed in her High Command a strategist or a tactician of the genius of Alexeieff, whose was the brain that worked behind that of Brussiloff.

Extensive and careful preparation was made for the new offensive. The Staff organisation had been greatly improved; weak elements were weeded out; better men with better methods supervised and worked out details. For months munitions had been pouring in; there was no shortage of guns or ammunition, and every soldier had a rifle—in 1915, when not more than half of the men in the firing-line had rifles, all had been very different. Transport and the means of communication had been seen to, speeded up, and rendered efficient as never before. Every feature of the attack had been studied. The Russian guns by their fire had learned the ranges on the enemy's front to a nicety.

One of the open secrets of the success of the Germans had been their power to move forces swiftly from one point where nothing was

COGS IN THE GREAT RUSSIAN WAR-MACHINE.
Motor-cycles on the Russian front. Vast numbers were employed in the war, regardless of bad roads or lack of roads. In circle: Wounded Russians at a rest camp near Riga.



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AREA OF GENERAL BRUSSILOFF'S OFFENSIVE BETWEEN PINSK AND TARNOPOL.

Region of operations in June and July, 1916, of the armies commanded by Generals Kaledin and Sakharoff. These armies formed half of the Russian left wing under the command of General Brussiloff, whose vigorous offensive marked the resurgence of Russia in 1916.

doing to another which was being heavily assaulted. Seeing this, the Russians determined to deprive the enemy of this advantage by taking the offensive over so long a front that it would be excessively difficult, if not impossible, for him to work on his old plan. So Brussiloff attacked the Austro-Germans not at one point, or at several points, but at every point of his two-hundred-and-seventy-mile line. He applied on his whole front that unity of attack which the Allies, only in May, 1916, came to understand and agree was absolutely essential on all fronts for the triumphant prosecution of the war.

On Sunday, June 4th, an official Austrian communiqué gave the first news of Brussiloff's offensive to the world, which little suspected how important was the information. This statement said that in the morning the Russians brought their artillery into play against the whole of the Austrian north-eastern front, and that their fire was especially violent on the Dniester, on the Lower Strypa, in the region north-west of Tarnopol, and in Volhynia, where the army of the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand near Olika, covering a front of seventeen miles, was being subjected to a severe bombardment. After mentioning that a Russian gas attack on the Dniester had failed to do the Austrians any harm, it concluded with the remark that everywhere there were indications that assaults by infantry were imminent. Next day the Russian Chief Headquarters reported in somewhat laconic sentences that fighting had begun the previous morning "from the Pripet River front to the Rumanian frontier," and that the Russians had won considerable successes in many sectors, capturing 13,000 prisoners, besides guns and machine-guns. It was added, however, that the struggle was developing further, and the manner in which it was developing was shown by the significant words, "Our artillery is progressively demolishing the enemy's works and shelters, and as the success of the artillery preparation becomes evident, our infantry advances and captures the enemy positions."

These despatches but dimly suggested what was happening and was about to happen. Later on June 4th, in a second communiqué, the Austrians claimed that Brussiloff's offensive had been expected for a long time by them, but in reality they looked for nothing so tremendous as actually occurred, or they never would have started their drive against Italy. Towards the end of May, Vienna had announced some attacks by the Russians on the Bukovina frontier, and bombardments of the Volhynian front; it noted what it called an artillery battle along the whole line on June 1st. These operations may have prepared them to a certain extent, but certainly gave them no uneasiness.

FEEDING THE CAPTIVES.
Some of Russia's thousands of prisoners waiting for rations.

TEA-TIME: RUSSIANS PREPARING TO BREW THEIR NATIONAL DRINK.
Russian soldiers in camp in France drawing their supply of hot water for tea. The British soldier came to regard tea rather as a necessity than a luxury; to the Russian it was indispensable.

In the west it was almost universally believed that Russia was only making a gallant attempt to relieve the pressure, then very formidable, on the Italians in the Trentino, but it soon was apparent that it was ever so much more than that. When on June 7th Petrograd stated that the Russian operations had resulted, up to noon on the preceding day, in the taking of upwards of 40,000 prisoners and nearly eighty guns, with fifty trench-mortars and over one hundred and thirty machine-guns, it was everywhere seen that Brussiloff must be moving on a very large scale, and that great events were in the wind.

Brussiloff's terrific blows

Early in the morning of June 4th the deep roar of the Russian guns was heard all along that southern front. Particularly heavy fire was directed on selected strategic points, where the ranges had been got, the heaviest being poured on the Olika-Dubno sector in Volhynia and the Okna positions in the Bukovina, but it was heavy everywhere. This intense bombardment lasted for twelve to thirty hours on the various parts of the Austrian line, according to circumstances. Here and there the trenches of the enemy were completely flattened out, as at Okna, but the general effect of the Russian artillery preparation was to cut great openings in his barrier wire entanglements, and provide avenues for the advance of the Russian infantry and, where possible, cavalry.

As these big breaches in the ramparts of wire were disclosed, the Russian foot, regardless of the storm of bullets from the hostile rifles and machine-guns, swarmed up to and through them, and with their bayonets made short work of their adversaries, who, deprived of support from their second line, and unable to retire on it, owing to the curtain of shrapnel interposed by the guns in the Russian rear, had no choice but death or surrender. Then the Russian cavalry pushed forward, and rode on through the gaps.

By this action of the Russians numerous enemy first-line trenches and deep dug-outs, all of which had been constructed with the most sedulous care, and fortified with sand-bags, large beams of wood, and cement, were turned into so many prisons. The Austrians were trapped, but during the first hours, at least, of the offensive they fought with furious courage and the utmost determination, the bravery of the Hungarians being especially noticeable. In and about a front of trenches only a very few miles long the Russians buried 4,000 of their foes—a fact which clearly told of the strong resistance they met and overcame. The second communiqué, issued by the Austrians on June 4th, spoke of a bitter struggle at Okna, and mentioned that stubborn fights were continuing around Olika, but even on that day Russian infantry and cavalry had swept beyond the latter town and were miles on their westward march, carrying all before them. Here not only was the enemy's first line shattered, but all his lines were destroyed; his front was completely broken.

Enemy trapped but courageous

It so happened that, by one of the many minor ironies of the war, June 4th was the birthday of the Archduke Frederick, the Austrian Generalissimo, and celebrations of the event were being held at his headquarters and elsewhere. The Russian offensive, with its deep smashing in of his front, was Brussiloff's present to him. Tidings of what was going on, particularly at Olika, in which they were vitally interested, broke in on the Archduke's commanders at Lutsk as they were feasting in his honour, and before they realised it, their fortress was in dire peril. They could not at first believe that their heavily-fortified entrenchments had been destroyed, and though they made a belated effort to stem the Russian flood, it was of no avail. In this sector Lutsk was the immediate objective of the Russians, and they were not to be denied.

On June 5th and 6th Brussiloff's offensive began really to develop amazingly. On the former day the Austrians were forced to withdraw for three miles from their first-line trenches at Okna, on their extreme right flank, thus preparing the way for the triumphs of Lechitsky in Bukovina. But also on that day and on the next the Russians under Kaledin's leadership made even more sensational progress in their advance from Olika towards Lutsk. Here the assaults of the Russian troops proceeded in waves of thousands of men, fresh forces being thrown into the fighting masses as opportunity offered. A few miles lower down in the same district they were marching victoriously upon the same goal from the direction of Mylnoff. All this region was of extreme significance strategically, as the Austro-German bases and railways lay behind it. No great distance away, west of Lutsk, was the Vladimir Volynsk base on the railway from Kovel to Rawaruska, and north-west of the fortress was Kovel itself, where the railways from Rovno and Sarny met and joined up with other important lines. Vladimir Volynsk and Kovel were the obvious Russian objectives, with Kovel much the more valuable of the two. Rushing on rapidly and irresistibly, and corralling thousands of prisoners as his main columns converged on Lutsk from the east and south-east, Kaledin captured the stronghold in the evening of June 6th without having to beat down any serious resistance there, so demoralised had the enemy become.

Lutsk was once more in Russian hands. It had powerful defence works, and its capture should have given Kaledin much trouble, but practically it was taken by surprise, owing to the panic caused by the impetuous energy of the Russian advance. So great were the dismay and confusion of the enemy that in his wild retreat he left intact a considerable number of 4 in. and other heavy pieces with their charges still in them, and in many instances cases of shells newly opened were discovered beside the guns. In Lutsk the Russians found large quantities of military stores in excellent condition, besides hundreds of wounded, as the Austrians had not had time to clear their hospitals.

Broken Austrians panic-stricken

Within little more than sixty hours of the initiation of his offensive, Brussiloff was able to report to the Tsar and Alexeieff, both anxiously awaiting news at the Imperial Headquarters, this very substantial success, together with other, if less striking, gains on his whole front. Late that

EFFECTS OF GENERAL BRUSSILOFF'S GREAT OFFENSIVE: RUSSIA INVADED BY ARMIES OF TEUTON PRISONERS.
Thousands of Austrian prisoners on their way to a Russian internment camp. These men were captured during General Brussiloff's great offensive in Volhynia in the summer of 1916.

evening the Tsar telegraphed to Brussiloff in reply to tell his beloved troops that he was watching their bold deeds with pride and satisfaction, and, appreciating their dash, to express to them his heartfelt gratitude for their splendid achievements. This inspiring message from their "Little Father" kindled fresh flames of devotion in the breasts of the Russian soldiers. The taking of Lutsk was an encouragement to all the Allies, and a correspondingly heavy blow to the Central Powers.

From his starting-point Kaledin had advanced no fewer than twenty-five miles in about two and a half days, and he had been fighting all the way. On June 7th and 8th his forces were crossing the Styr and its tributary the Ikva at many points, and hotly pursuing the beaten Austrians, who, however, made an attempt to check him at some places. By this time German detachments, sent in great haste by Linsingen or Hindenburg from the German front above the Pripet, had begun to come upon the scene and stiffen the Austrian resistance. On the 8th and 9th a sanguinary battle raged at Rojishche, thirteen miles north of Lutsk, and the town at which was the chief passage over the Styr.

In this desperate affair the youngest Russian soldiers, who had been with the Colours only two or three months, greatly distinguished themselves, their deeds of valour vying with those of men belonging to war-seasoned regiments. Russian Territorials drove the Austro-Germans, by dint of sheer hard fighting, from the strong bridge-head at Rojishche, captured the town, and took about 2,000 prisoners, most of whom were Germans, besides two guns, several machine-guns, and much other booty. It was a wonderful feat of arms on the part of Russia's young troops, and the place was important both as a military base of the enemy, and from its position on the Rovno-Kovel railway, the light railways from Lutsk on the south and Kolki on the north joining the main line there.

Of even greater importance than Rojishche, and equally important with Lutsk, was Dubno, the southernmost fortress of the Volhynian Triangle, and there also the Austrians, with German supports, made a determined stand in order to prevent the Russians from crossing the Ikva; but they failed utterly, though not without first exacting a heavy penalty from their conquerors. This region was one of oak forests, and easily capable of the most formidable defence; the enemy took every advantage of the natural difficulties of the position,

FLEEING FROM THEIR NATIVE LAND.

In ramshackle farm-carts, old men, women, and children made their way out of Czernovitz as the Austrians entered the town. Most of the refugees found asylum in Rumania.

REFUGEES FROM CZERNOVITZ.

Refugees from Czernovitz awaiting a train at Burdujeni Station. Czernovitz changed hands several times in the course of the war. In circle: Distributing bread to the weary, hungry fugitives from Czernovitz.

A NIGHT ATTACK: RUSSIANS AND GERMANS DIVIDED ONLY BY THE PERMANENT WAY.

On a certain front a detachment of Russians held a village through which a railway ran on a slight embankment. The Germans attacked at night, and a sharp engagement resulted, in which the opposing forces were separated only by the width of the permanent way. The Germans sent up rockets which burnt in great flares, while the Russians used rockets which burst in innumerable stars and kept alight for about five minutes

but was unable in the end to withstand the fierce and prolonged Russian assaults, and the fort and town of Dubno fell on the same day as Rojishche. The Russians had never relinquished Rovno, and now they had regained possession of the two other fortresses of the Volhynian group—Lutsk and Dubno. Westward of Dubno they marched on, forcing the enemy back continually, and occupied Demidovka. Southward, on June 13th, they had got as far as Kozin, nearly twenty miles from Dubno, in the direction of Brody on the Rovno-Lemberg railway, and on the 16th entered Radzivilov, some miles closer to Lemberg. In this region, where Kaledin's army joined up with that of Sakharoff, the front of the Austro-Germans had first been deeply pierced and then rent to pieces, while Lemberg, though still some distance off, was threatened.

UNLOADED HAY AT A RAIL JUNCTION.
Scene at a supply section in Galicia. In the middle distance, placed on a truss of hay, is an accordion, a favourite musical instrument of the Russian soldier.

Those swift and crashing successes of Brussiloff's offensive, with the menace they necessarily implied to vital Austro-German centres, could not but attract the most earnest attention of the German High Command, and several German divisions were railed down from the north and thrown into the conflict. But in spite of the increasing numbers of Germans hurried forward to the assistance of the discomfited Austrians, Kaledin for some days longer continued his advance towards Vladimir Volynsk and Kovel after the capture of Lutsk and Rojishche.

Kaledin's irresistible advance

On June 12th he took Torchin, on the high-road from Lutsk to Vladimir Volynsk, and rather more than half-way between the latter centre and Olika, where he had first broken through the enemy's front. On the following day he was fighting at Zaturtsy, still nearer Vladimir Volynsk. He had advanced nearly forty-five miles due west, and the Austrians had retired from the Styr to the Stokhod. With another column he struck up from Rojishche along the Rovno-Kovel railway towards the latter river, but some miles lower down that stream, the course of which flowed to the north, and on June 16th he reached Svidniki, some twenty-one miles from Kovel. It was obvious that Germany would have to make very great efforts if Kovel and Vladimir Volynsk were to be saved, and from her point of view it was essential to retain them.

What was known as the Lutsk Salient had now been formed. On the north it began at Kolki in a tract of marshy land, on the east side of the Styr. In this district fighting had been desperate. On June 10th the Austrians, who were in superior numerical strength, attacked the Russians as the day dawned at Semki, east of Kolki, and under cover of a concentrated fire forced Kaledin's troops across the Styr, but there the enemy was held up. Three days later Kaledin took Kolki, and afterwards advanced to Godomichi. From Kolki the salient ran along the Styr, through Sokul to Svidniki on the Stokhod, and thence went on to Zaturtsy, on the road from Lutsk to Vladimir Volynsk, where it reached what might be called its apex. South of Zaturtsy it was bounded by the line Lokachi-Svinyukhi, whence, bending eastward to the Styr again, it crossed that river and travelled along the Plashchevka, an eastern affluent of the Styr to Kozin. Roughly speaking, it was a semicircle, of which Olika was the centre, its radius being about forty-five miles.

The Austrian positions on the Plashchevka had been stormed by Sakharoff on June 15th, after a terrible battle, in which, according to the Russian communiqué, a young Russian regiment, led by Colonel Tatarnoff, after a fierce fight, forded the deep river, with its waters rising to the chins of its men. "One company was engulfed, and died an heroic death, but the valour of their comrades and their officers resulted in the disorderly flight of the enemy, of whom seventy officers and 5,000 men were taken prisoners. Two guns, a great many machine-guns, thousands of rifles and cartridges, and enormous reserves of barbed-wire were captured."

It was chiefly against the Lutsk Salient that the Germans, under Linsingen, who relegated their defeated Austrian and Hungarian friends to an entirely subordinate position, now proceeded to start a powerful and for a while not unsuccessful counter-offensive, beginning about June 16th. It was certainly high time for the Germans to bestir themselves. Kaledin was only some twenty miles from Kovel and Vladimir Volynsk, and Sakharoff about sixty miles from Lemberg. In the course of the twelve days of his advance Kaledin had taken nearly 72,000 prisoners including over 1,300 officers, eighty-three guns, two hundred and thirty-six machine-guns, and a vast quantity of all kinds of material. These large figures pointed to the thorough beating he had given his opponents, and were eloquent of the condition to which he had reduced them. To restore the situation, which was equally bad for their ally on two other parts of the front, and promised well nowhere, the Germans now brought reinforcements from France, amounting to four divisions, with all possible speed. According to a memorandum found by the Russians in the note-book of a dead Austrian officer, a whole German army corps was transferred from Verdun to Kovel in six days. At the same time the Austrians withdrew all their reserves from the Trentino, thus weakening their offensive against Italy. They even brought up troops from Serbia and Albania. Taking full advantage of his superior railway facilities, the enemy in one way or another succeeded in concentrating forces to attack the Russians and, with his heavier artillery, to check them.

German reserves from all fronts

Severe fighting developed on the whole of the Lutsk Salient during the next week, slackened off for a few days, and then broke out with fresh fury towards the end of the month. It was reported that Hindenburg, alarmed by the Russian victories, had sent General Ludendorff, his Chief of Staff, and generally believed to be due the credit for most of his triumphs, to Kovel to superintend the counter-offensive of Linsingen, but his name did not appear in the despatches. Two or three days earlier the old Field-Marshal had tried to relieve the pressure on the Austrians by launching a series of local assaults on the Russian front from the Baltic to the Pripet, but four of these completely failed, and only the fifth made slight temporary progress. On June 16th Vienna, however, plucked up a little heart, announced that in Volhynia "new fighting" was developing along the entire front, and asserted that the Russians had been repulsed with severe losses. What had happened was that at Sokal, north of Rojishche, the Austro-Germans were on that day defeated, with a loss of nearly two thousand prisoners, and were equally unsuccessful at other points on the salient. But it was the case that Kaledin had to slow down his advance in presence of the vastly augmented numbers and better fighting quality of the German element of the enemy forces.

Godomichi village, near Kolki, on the northern flank of the salient, was the scene of violent encounters, in which the Russians broke the enemy's front and took hundreds of Germans prisoners. But for several days the chief centre of the struggle, brought about by Linsingen's counter-offensive, was Svidniki, which had just been captured by Siberian troops, assisted by the famous Hussars of White Russia, who charged through three extended German lines and sabred two companies. On June 17th and 18th the Germans made furious attacks on the town, being greatly helped by fire from an armoured train, but the Russians defeated them, sotnias of Cossacks making a flank assault that threw the hostile ranks into great disorder.

The most that the official German communiqué asserted was that Russian attacks in this district were "partially repulsed." But in the region of Lokachi the Germans on the 19th scored a success, asserting that they took 3,500 Russian prisoners there. The result was the other way in a sanguinary battle between Vorontchin and Kiselin, which occurred on that day, and on the 22nd German attacks on Vorontchin were overwhelmed, the enemy being put to flight. Some miles farther south the Austro-Germans were routed near Sviniuky. Meanwhile, stubborn fighting continued near Godomichi, the village of Gruziatin, two miles north of the former place, changing hands several times. But in all this area the Russians found the general pressure of Linsingen so heavy that they could not advance, and deemed it wise to retire from some of the positions on the Stokhod and make a fresh alignment on the Styr. They also withdrew from Lokachi for a distance of four to six miles in an easterly direction on the Zaturtsy-Shklin-Lipa line. The Germans had succeeded, at least for the time, in forcing Kaledin back from both Kovel and Vladimir Volynsk.

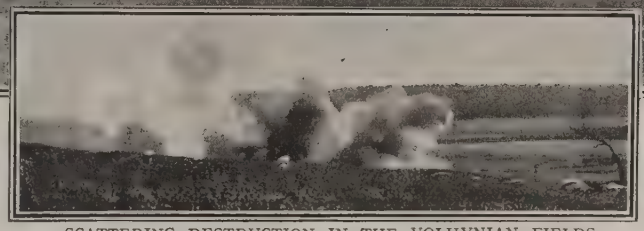
Russian success at Vorontchin

For the next few days there was something in the nature of a lull in this part of the salient, now somewhat flattened

CUT OFF BY ARTILLERY FIRE: A LARGE HAUL OF TEUTON CAPTIVES.

Russian sentries escorting a batch of Austrian prisoners to the rear. The total of Teuton soldiers captured by our ally was numbered in hundreds of thousands. The smaller illustration shows three artillery officers directing a bombardment from an advanced trench in Bukovina.

RUSSIAN CHARGE UNDER COVER OF SMOKE.
Smoke clouds, to evade or conceal attack, were employed with good effect in the warfare on the Russian front. This illustration shows Russian infantrymen charging the enemy lines under such improvised cover.



SCATTERING DESTRUCTION IN THE VOLHYNIAN FIELDS.
This photograph, taken outside Dubno when the Austrians were in possession of the town, shows a shell bursting in the long grass in which Russian troops were taking cover.

out by the German counter-offensive. Then the enemy attacked again, and with redoubled fury. He had now railed up many heavy guns of various calibre, including 8-in. cannon, and large quantities of explosive shells. On June 28th Berlin announced that the Germans had stormed and captured the village of Linievka, which lay west of Sokal and about three miles from Svidniki. In the first days of July there were violent battles, fought with great fury on both sides. From Linievka the Germans, under cover of an extremely heavy fire, started an offensive movement, but it was held up, with a loss to them in prisoners alone of over eight hundred, besides nine machine-guns. Near Zaturtsy the Austrians, in massed formations, delivered a powerful assault on the Russians along the Lutsk-Vladimir Volynsk road, but they were checked and thrown back.

Futile Austrian massed attacks

In the neighbourhood of Ugrinov, between Shklin and the Styr, the Austro-Germans, who had been reinforced, pressed the Russians closely, but at a critical stage of the encounter relief came to Sakharoff's troops from a flanking charge of Cossacks led by their colonel, Kortchenoff. The enemy immediately gave ground, and the Russian infantry advanced, capturing nearly a thousand prisoners. The contest throughout this portion of the salient was of the most savage character. The usually merciful Russians had been infuriated by the German use of explosive bullets, and were not disposed to be easy with their foes. Fresh troops were now arriving to reinforce them. On July 6th the Petrograd communiqué spoke of the "most desperate battles" between the Stokhod and the Styr, and of the "extreme tenacity" of the enemy on the Lipa, another of the Styr's tributaries. Germany was, in fact, making a supreme effort in this area, and the result seemed to hang in the balance.

But in the meantime fresh features had developed, both above the Pripet on the main battle-front and on the northern flank of the salient. More influential still, through its effect on the whole war, the Franco-British offensive, which had begun on July 1st, was progressing favourably on the Somme in France. These three new factors, together with what had gone or was going on on Brussiloff's front below the Lutsk Salient (about to be recorded), finally prevented Germany from sending further formidable reinforcements to Linsingen and the other commanders opposed to the Russians in the south, or to anyone on any front whatsoever. She no longer was in a position to do anything to help her allies with large masses of troops swung from one front to another, and, indeed, from this time onward practically her sole preoccupation was to defend herself. She strove to mend matters, as against Brussiloff, by putting Hindenburg in command of all the Austro-German forces, with the exception of a small part which, to save the face of Austria, remained ostensibly under the control of the Dual Monarchy. Moreover, she ordered the Turks to despatch assistance to the Austrians in Galicia and the Carpathians, and they complied by transferring three divisions from Thrace, but their appearance in the Russian theatre could have no decisive effect. The tide had turned definitely—away from Germany. In that first week of July, 1916, the aspect of the entire colossal conflict, east and west, was changing completely.

The first of these fresh features was a strong offensive on the front above the Pripet by the Russians in the neighbourhood of Baranovichi, a great railway junction and a place of cardinal importance to the Germans. With a view to relieve the pressure on the Lutsk Salient, General Alexeieff instructed General Evert, in command of the central Russian armies, to attack in force on July 3rd the enemy south of Tsirin, some miles north of Baranovichi. At the same time the Russians attacked Hindenburg at other points farther north. At Tsirin, Evert broke through two lines of the German defensive organisation, capturing eleven guns and nearly 3,000 prisoners. Severe fighting took place near Smorgon, on the Minsk-Vilna railway, and at Tcherneshki the Russians carried part of a German position. South of Lake Naroch a portion of the enemy's first-line trenches was stormed with the bayonet. It looked as if Evert were making a great bid for both Baranovichi and Vilna; in reality, he was keeping Hindenburg too busy to dream of sending many fresh troops to the aid of Linsingen. For about a week a series of extraordinarily violent and sanguinary battles raged in this area, with daily offensive and counter-offensive movements of extreme ferocity. Evert was at pains to maintain the illusion he had created; then, when Alexeieff was satisfied with affairs

General Evert engages Hindenburg

below the Pripet, the Russians withdrew to their original front, and the struggle in these sectors died away.

Kaledin, although holding the Austro-Germans well on the line to which he had retired on the Lutsk Salient, required reinforcements in order to resume his advance towards Kovel and Vladimir Volynsk. The sudden appearance of a large army on his northern flank, on and above the Sarny-Kovel railway, was the second of the new features alluded to above. This was the Third Russian Army, under General Lesh, which had been stationed above the Pripet. Lesh had won distinction in the Russo-Japanese War, and had been in command of the Russian forces opposing Mackensen on the Lublin-Cholm line in August, 1915. He was regarded as one of the ablest of the generals of Russia, and events soon proved the accuracy of this estimate. He took the field above Kaledin, first in the region of the Lower Styr, between the Pripet and the Sarny-Kovel railway, and struck shrewdly and swiftly towards the Stokhod. In this area the enemy's troops were partly German, belonging to the command of Prince Leopold of Bavaria. Lesh had not been expected by the Germans, perhaps on account of the difficult swampy country, which in anything but a very dry season made

ETERNAL PROBLEM OF DEFENCE.
Russian soldiers erecting rough wooden screens from shell fire. These consisted of tree-trunks consolidated with mould.

WITH THE RUSSIAN ARMY AERONAUTS.
Type of captive balloon used on the Russian front for the purpose of artillery observation. Hidden in a wood, the envelope had been partially deflated, and was guarded by sentries.

military operations on a large scale well-nigh impossible. The weather, however, had been hot, and the small streams, lakelets, and marshes in which the district abounded had become negotiable.

It was on July 7th that a Petrograd communiqué first gave news of the activities of Lesh and his army, by remarking that the battles to the west of the Lower Styr continued with much success for the Russian arms. In the region of Volchetsk, Lesh drove the Germans and the Austrians from their fortified positions, and put them to flight. In the course of the fighting the Russians took a battery of six Krupp guns, which, in the words of the communiqué, "had hardly time enough to fire a few shots." By that date Lesh had advanced from his starting-point a distance of eleven miles, driving the enemy out of Manevichi, a station on the Sarny-Kovel railway, and capturing in the pursuit seven guns, four of which were heavy pieces. Immediately to the south of the railway the troops, after a sharp fight, occupied the village of Kamaroff.

After dislodging the Austro-Germans from many points south of Nobel on the Pripet, Lesh marched on towards the Lower Stokhod, and on July 8th reached Leshnevka, a few miles from that river. On the same day, another column gained possession of the enemy's well-organised entrenchments east of the small towns of Ugly and Navoz, and pressing on the heels of the retreating foe crossed the Stokhod near the former place.

Up to this date Lesh had "bagged" upwards of 12,000 unwounded prisoners, forty-five guns, big and little, as many machine-guns, and huge quantities of munitions and supplies, including forage. His soldiers fought with wonderful dash. The speedy capture of the passage of the river near Ugly was due to the courage of Colonel Kautseroff, of the 283rd Pavlograd Regiment, who, rushing to the head of his men, and calling on them to follow him, crossed the bridge, which was in flames, and got to the other side safely, in spite of heavy artillery and rifle fire.

Crossing a flaming bridge

Presently the Russians were lined all along the Lower Stokhod, which was Lesh's immediate objective, with Kovel behind it. On the 11th and for some days afterwards there was heavy fighting on the river, as the Germans had brought up some troops and many big guns, but the Russians maintained themselves in the positions theyhad conquered. Once the enemy succeeded in getting to the right-hand bank near Gulevichi, but was repulsed, with a loss in prisoners of eight hundred men.

Not only was Lesh successful in this local offensive, but his action, by indicating an enveloping movement from the north on Linsingen's forces who were attacking Kaledin, had at once a beneficial effect on the struggle of the Russians on the Lutsk Salient. It speedily was clear that the German counter-offensive was able to make no farther progress, and for a little time, along portions of this area, the fighting took on the character of trench warfare.

The great fact remained that Linsingen had failed, although for his effort, which was very determined, he had had the support of very many heavy guns and of the famous 20th Braunschweig Division, dubbed by the German Kaiser the "Steel Division," on account of its exploits in France. By a coincidence, this division was confronted by a Russian force known as the "Iron Division," which for four days withstood all the attacks of the Braunschweigers, finally repulsing them. It was stated that during a pause in the contests between the two the Germans put up a placard on which was inscribed: "Your Russian iron is not worse than our German steel, but for all that we shall smash you." In reply the Russians exhibited a rival bill, having written on it: "Well, then, German sausage, just try!"

But the trench warfare did not last long, for on July 8th Kaledin broke through his opponents' line, and two days later was fighting with success a pitched battle on the Rovno-Kovel railway at Svidniki. At Kiselin he put the enemy to flight by a sudden blow. A week later, near Svinyukhi, he thrust back by a vigorous counter-offensive a German attack in massed formation. On the 20th Lesh defeated a formidable assault on his lines near Ugly. The middle of the month was marked by heavy rain, which flooded the marshy reaches of the Stokhod, prevented movements in force, and gave the enemy an opportunity of strengthening his defensive works in the region of that river.

Germans admit serious defeat

Towards the end of the month, however, Kaledin once more advanced and was not to be gainsaid. Fighting with great energy, he pushed Linsingen out of his heavily fortified entrenchments at Trysten, a pivotal point about four miles from the Stokhod, and forced him to the opposite side of the stream. It was a serious defeat for the Germans, who admitted it in an official communiqué by stating, "North-west of Lutsk, after severe unsuccessful attacks, the enemy succeeded in penetrating our lines at Trysten, and obliged us to evacuate the positions we still held in front of the Stokhod." Not often was Berlin so truthful.

At the beginning of August there was tremendous and widespread fighting, particularly strenuous at Stobikhva and Lyubashevo, north of the Sarni-Kovel railway, in all this part of Volhynia, but in the upshot the Germans, under the unrelaxing pressure of Kaledin and Lesh, were compelled to retire from most of their ground on the left bank of the Stokhod, including the bend formed by that river where it approaches the Styr. At that time the Russians were about twenty miles from Kovel, north, east, and south of it, the point they held nearest it being Vitonesh, eighteen miles south-east, this town also being about the same distance from Vladimir Volynsk. On August 3rd they were on the Stavok, a western tributary of the Stokhod. The general position a week later in this northerly part of the Lutsk Salient—to retain that name, though there was no longer really a salient—was that the Russians, having driven the Austro-Germans from the western bank of the Stokhod, after overcoming as stubborn a resistance as any seen in the war, had no great natural obstacle to surmount in their advance on Kovel or Vladimir Volynsk, to both of which their menace was now very direct.

Pressure of Kaledin and Lesh

On the southerly face of the Lutsk Salient the Russians, under General Sakharoff, did even greater things. In the first week of July the counter-offensive of Linsingen was directed in this area from Shklin, almost due south of Torchin, Ugrinov, and the little River Lipa flowing into the

PAIN AND PITY FOLLOW ON THE HEELS OF VICTORY.

Wounded soldiers, Russian, Austrian, and German, awaiting attention by Red Cross men. At dawn of the summer day in 1916 when this photograph was taken the Russians under General Sakharoff had made an attack which resulted in an advance of seven miles.

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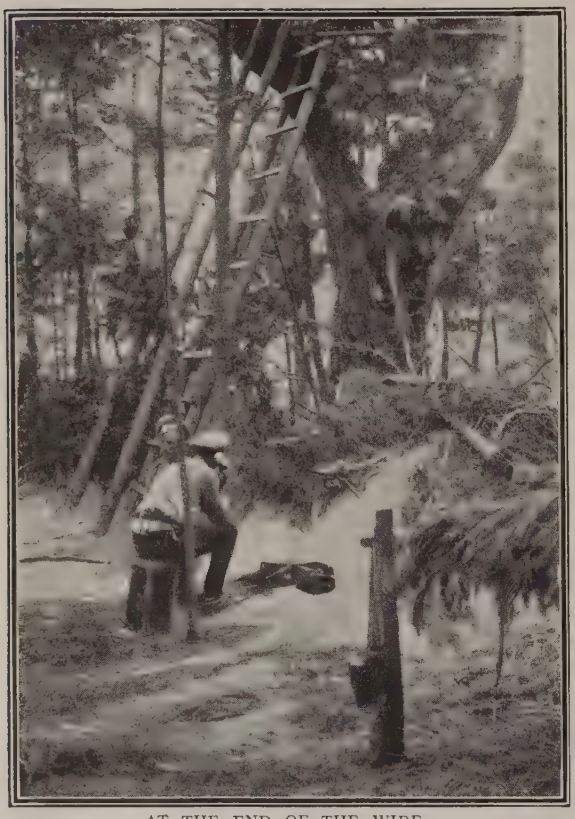

AT THE END OF THE WIRE.
Russian soldiers receiving messages by telephone from their officers, who were observing the enemy movements from a point of vantage between the forks of a great tree.

Upper Styr. For it he had concentrated strong forces in the neighbourhood of Stojanow, the terminus of a railway from Lemberg, and Gorokhov, a few miles east of Sokal on the railway from Kovel to Rawaruska. His intention was to strike up at Lutsk from the south-west, and he hoped that under cover of his attacks west and north of that fortress he would be able to distract the attention of the Russians from this sector, but in this he was wrong, for Sakharoff, who opposed him here, showed himself far more than equal to him. Sakharoff, Chief of Staff to Kuropatkin during the Russo-Japanese War, proved both a strategist and a tactician of the highest order. Guessing what was the German plan, he anticipated and absolutely thwarted it, with disastrous consequences to the enemy.

Sakharoff's brilliant offensive

Sakharoff's front in July extended from about Svinyukhi, south-west of Lutsk, across to the Lipa, along which it lay, thence passed over the Upper Styr, and continued along the Plashchevka to Kozin, on the Rovno-Dubno-Brody-Lemberg railway. The part of it north of the Lipa was heavily bombarded by Linsingen on July 14th. Two days later, with a fine prescience of the scheme of the enemy, which was on the very eve of maturing, and knowing that the best way to defeat it was to forestall it, Sakharoff suddenly attacked him. The Russian general struck unexpectedly at both of Linsingen's flanks, drove them in and crumpled them up. The Russian Main Headquarters afterwards characterised Sakharoff's action as a "clever manœuvre"; and so it was. East and south-east of Svinyukhi his "brave troops," in the words of the Petrograd communiqué of the 17th, "broke the resistance of the enemy," taking at Pustomity, near Svinyukhi, many guns and prisoners—this was on Linsingen's left wing. He also advanced, notwithstanding desperate opposition, near the mouth of the Lipa, cleared the Austro-Germans from his side of that stream, and in places drove them in confusion and rout across it—this was on Linsingen's right wing.

Berlin's singular comment on this battle, which the Russians denominated the Battle of Mikhailovka, was: "South-west of Lutsk the Russian attack was arrested by a German counter-attack, and thereupon, in order to strengthen our defence line, our troops were withdrawn behind the Lipa without being molested by the enemy." Fighting continued next day, with the advantage to the Russians. Linsingen's counter-offensive was not only foiled, but smashed up. He now had to stand on the defensive. In these two days Sakharoff captured about 13,000 men, thirty guns, of which seventeen were heavies, thousands of rifles and shells, and an abundance of other war material.

Surrender of Austrian Landwehr

On July 18th Sakharoff was bombarding the new German line on the Lipa with some of the big guns he had taken on the 16th, and was using the German shells. Having recovered somewhat, Linsingen, two days afterwards, attempted to advance on the line Zviniany-Elizaroff, but was quickly checked by Sakharoff, who on that same day and the following fought and won a great battle termed by the Russians the Battle of Berestechko, in this area. While making a feint on his left against the strong Austrian position at Ostrov, he delivered a powerful and successful assault from Novoselki on the flank of Linsingen, many of whose troops fled in disorder. In the vicinity of Verben the 13th Austrian Landwehr Regiment surrendered in a body.

RUSSIA'S ALLIES IN A NOBLE CAUSE.
Nurses and doctors of the British Field Hospital attached to the Russian Army operating in the region of the River Stokhod at lunch in the open. Note the Union Jack, which flies suspended from an adjacent tree.

BARRICADES ON THE RIVER BANK: SOME SPADE-WORK AT DUBNO.

Russian soldiers consolidating their position along the bank of the River Ikva, in the vicinity of Dubno. The Austrians were driven out of this town after hard fighting from house to house and garden to garden. Note the effect of shell fire on a large building to the left.

Consequent on the success of the 20th, the Russians advanced from Ostrov, and next day took by storm the town of Berestechko. While this operation was proceeding Colonel Tataroff, who was leading his men, was hit by a shell and fell from his horse, exclaiming that he was dying, but, raising himself by a supreme effort, he shouted to his troops to advance, and then expired. A splendid soldierly end in the midst of victory. In this battle Sakharoff added to his list of captures 15,000 men and ten guns. Berlin explained away this defeat by the statement that "after Russian attacks between Verben and Korsov (about twelve miles north of Brody) had been brought to a standstill, our salient jutting out towards Verben was withdrawn in view of enveloping attacks."

With scarcely a halt, Sakharoff continued to make marked progress. On July 23rd, after fierce, sanguinary encounters in the streets, he dislodged the Germans from the village of Galichanie, on the south bank of the Lipa. He began on the night of the 24th the third of the series of his great operations by breaking through the Austrian front, which was protected by rows of wire entanglements, on the River Slonuvka, an eastern tributary of the Upper Styr, in the Galician part of its course. To cover his real attack, which was directed towards Brody, Sakharoff attacked fiercely at Leszniow, farther west, and there the Austrians claimed some success, but it was only in appearance. All day long on the 25th the Russians in vast numbers pressed on across the Slonuvka, driving the routed foe before them and inflicting heavy losses. Next day they were fighting for the possession of the fords of the Boldurka, a more southern affluent of the Upper Styr, which it joined about nine miles north of Brody.

Austrians routed on the Slonuvka

Vienna spoke of Russian repulses between Radzivilov and the Styr, but Sakharoff went on gaining ground. On the 27th the Russians were well on their way to Brody, and as they approached the town they heard explosions and saw fires breaking out in it. Their aeroplanes reported that processions of goods trains were leaving the place. The enemy was, in fact, preparing to evacuate Brody, and was destroying such of his stores as he could not save. Early in the morning of July 28th Sakharoff captured the town. At the end of the month he had reached the Upper Sereth and its tributary the Graberko, from ten to sixteen miles south of Brody.

Sakharoff's magnificent contribution to Brussiloff's offensive, which in the north now embraced the entire area between the Sarni-Kovel railway and the Rovno-Lemberg railway, as well as the district above the former to the Pripet, was of the greatest tactical and strategical importance. The German troops under Linsingen and the Austrians under Böhm Ermolli had been thoroughly thrashed, with a loss to them, from July 16th to 28th, of upwards of 40,000 prisoners, fifty guns, more than double that number of machine-guns and an enormous quantity of booty of all kinds. Sakharoff had victoriously advanced from forty to fifty miles, and his line of march south and south-westward menaced both the Rovno-Lemberg railway, with Lemberg itself, and the Austro-German army of General Bothmer, on the Strypa, west of Tarnopol. His successful offensive on the Sereth, which was beginning as July closed, continued into August, and threatened Bothmer with envelopment from the north.

Heavy enemy losses

In the first week of August the Austrians fiercely resisted his progress, which, in any case, was impeded by the marshy nature of the terrain, made all the more difficult by reason of heavy rains at the time. The enemy counter-attacked him many times on August 4th as he was crossing to the right bank of the Upper Sereth, but his efforts were of no avail, as the Russians occupied Zalose on August 6th, and moved on, though slowly, taking numerous prisoners, nearly 9,000 men being captured between August 4th and 6th. In this region the gallant troops of General Ekk, one of Sakharoff's army commanders, took between August 4th and 10th upwards of 14,000 prisoners, 5,000 of them being captured on August 10th. As the result of the victories of the Russians, the enemy was compelled to retreat from his fortified positions at Gliadki and Worohijowka, and on the 12th had to retire from a

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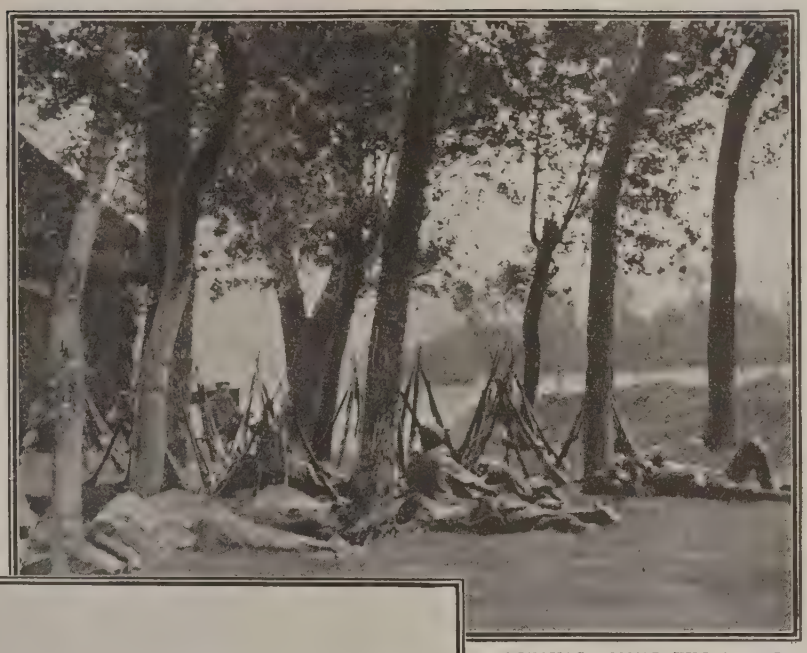
SOUTHERN AREA OF GENERAL BRUSSILOFF'S VICTORIOUS ADVANCE IN THE SUMMER OF 1916.

Galicia and Bukovina, where the Russian armies under Shcherbacheff and Lechitsky operated during the summer of 1916. These forces were the southern half of the four armies constituting the Russian left wing, of which General Alexei Brussiloff was in supreme command.

string of other villages, which he tried with extreme desperation to hold, only three or four miles from the railway.

Sakharoff's enveloping movement now was of material assistance to General Shcherbacheff, who had been standing for about two months—or from the commencement of Brussiloff's offensive on June 4th—over against Bothmer, on the Strypa. On August 12th the Russian High Command issued a statement, which announced that the celebration by the valiant soldiers of Russia of the birthday of the Tsarevitch Alexis, who was sojourning in the theatre of war, happily coincided with the fall of the last sector of the powerfully-fortified rampart which the enemy had erected from the Pripet as far as the Rumanian frontier during the preceding winter. "To-day," it added, "as the result of seven weeks of persistent effort on the part of the glorious troops of General Sakharoff and Shcherbacheff, under the direction of General Brussiloff. the fortified villages of Gliadki, Worohijowka, Cebrow, Jezierna, Pokropiwna, and Kozlow, the powerfully-organised wood of Burkanow, and the whole line of the River Strypa fell into our hands. The whole sector of the winter base position established by the enemy in front of Tarnopol and Buczacz is in our possession."



BIVOUAC AMONG THE TREES.
Russian infantry at ease on a farm near Czernovitz. A picturesque corner of one of the most sanguinary battlefields in the whole theatre of war.

CUMBERSOME VEHICLE OF AGGRESSION.
Type of Austro-Hungarian armoured train used on the eastern front. The armoured train, like the armoured motor-car, hardly realised expectations on either the eastern or the western front.

Naturally this great event, which was the completion of the first stage of Brussiloff's campaign, was the occasion of much rejoicing to Russia and the Allies. It, however, had been brought about not only by Sakharoff and Shcherbacheff, but also by the astonishingly brilliant offensive of General Lechitsky in Bukovina and in the whole region of the Dniester and the Pruth, which more than once held for a time the attention of the world and extorted its admiration.

Shcherbacheff's share in driving the Austro-Germans from their winter front was for several weeks somewhat negative, but in the start of the general offensive he was successful in the sector of which Buczacz was the centre; opposite Tarnopol he failed to make any considerable impression. On his part of the line, as on every other part of it, the Russians, after an intense artillery preparation, attacked the enemy on June 4th in force. Their main assaults were in the direction of the three railways leaving Tarnopol for the west. These were the Tarnopol-Lemberg railway, which joined the line to Lemberg from Rovno, via Dubno, at Krasne; the Tarnopol-Lemberg railway running through Brzezany to Chodorow, where it linked up with the line from Stanislau and Halicz to Lemberg; and a third railway that went due south from Tarnopol on the east side of the Sereth to Czortkow, whence it turned west through Buczacz and Nizniow, reached Stanislau, and connected with the system from Lemberg.

Russian assaults on the railways

Of these railways the first, which was part of the Berlin-Odessa line, was the most important. That the Germans attached special significance to it and the district was evident from the fact that the Austro-German forces had as their leader the German soldier Bothmer, supported by two German divisions, one of which was probably the 3rd Division of the Prussian Guard. Immediately west of Tarnopol the Austrian positions had been made exceedingly strong, and the country north of it to the head-waters of the Sereth and the Strypa, well-wooded and marshy, lent itself readily to defensive measures. From Zalose southward the line of the Strypa formed the front between the Russians and the enemy.

The struggle between Shcherbacheff and Bothmer fell into two sectors, the Forest of Burkanow lying in the middle. On June 4th the Russians penetrated the Austro-

ADVANCE GUARD OF GENERAL BRUSSILOFF'S VICTORIOUS ARMIES.

Russian cavalry scouts making their way across country on their small but wonderfully trained horses. Conditions of fighting on the eastern front, where the opposing lines moved to and fro over large stretches of territory, gave cavalry greater opportunity than it had on the less mobile western front.

German trenches north-west of Tarnopol at various points, but were unable to maintain their ground, and at Kozlow their attacks broke down in front of the wire entanglements under withering Austrian fire. Their assaults, which for a time were incessant, were carried out with the most reckless courage, but in this region did not prevail, though they were supported by some of the Belgian armoured cars. South of Burkanow the Russians were much more successful. On June 8th the Petrograd communiqué announced that on the Trybukowce-Jaslowiec front, which lay a little north of the Dniester, Russian infantry, under cover of artillery, carried by a vigorous blow several strong positions and had got quite close to the Strypa. They crossed the river on that day, entering Buczacz at dawn, and developing an offensive along the Dniester, carried after bitter fighting the village of Scianka, and in a battle of equal intensity took the village of Potok Zloty, both of these places being on the west side of the Strypa, the one eight and the other four miles beyond the stream.

Among the many captures they made was an artillery park with great quantities of shells at Potok Zloty, a battery of 4 in. howitzers at Ossowice, north of Buczacz, and a large number of prisoners, with the Staff of an Austrian battalion. Of the struggle in this sector Vienna admitted in its communiqué of June 10th that on the Lower Strypa strong Russian forces "drove our troops from the eastern to the western bank." Higher up, near Tarnopol, Bothmer held firm, though his front from Buczacz to the Dniester had been completely broken. On the 11th, near Bobulince, north of Buczacz, the Austrians, assisted by German troops which had been brought into the district, forced the Russians back in a contest of the most terrific kind, nor were the latter able to regain the line which they had attained.

Shcherbacheff's heroic effort

By an heroic effort Shcherbacheff overthrew the enemy on the 15th at Hajworonka, on the west bank of the Strypa, but the Austrians rallied and put up a determined resistance, which was not ineffective. Nor was there much change during the rest of the month.

Fighting of an indecisive character continued throughout July on this part of the front, the Russians attacking near Gliadki in the northern sector, and lower down on the Strypa; in the second week of the month stubborn combats took place at various points, in the course of which the Russians captured several thousand Austrians and Germans, besides guns and machine-guns. As the month drew to its end the Russians were on the Koropiec, south of Buczacz, but their gains had been small, and Bothmer maintained himself in what practically was his old position west of Tarnopol. He had, however, increasing reasons for uneasiness, for Sakharoff, to the north of him, had routed his friends, taken Brody, and was pressing downwards on his left flank, while on his right the progress of Lechitsky upwards was not less dangerous. As August began, Germany showed the apprehension with which she viewed the general situation by placing the whole eastern front under Hindenburg, with the exception of that portion of it on which Bothmer still stood, and also that which had been commanded by Pflanzer-Baltin. The part excepted was left in charge of Austria in the person of the Archduke Charles, heir-presumptive to the Emperor Francis Joseph, but Bothmer was responsible for it in reality.

KEEN EYES AND EARS.

Inside a Russian observation-post improvised in a tree. Two Russian officers were scanning the enemy position, while a third transmitted information by telephone.

Things grew worse and worse for the German general. In the second week of the month

Sakharoff, as has been narrated, had forced the Gliadki-Worohijowka sector, and Lechitsky was on the Koropiec, near the Dniester; thus both of Bothmer's flanks were enveloped. Thus threatened, the German commander, who had stubbornly held out on the Strypa since the start of Brussiloff's offensive ten weeks before, withdrew from his winter front on that river, and on August 12th retired to entrenched positions about ten miles west on the line of the Zlota Lipa, which he had had plenty of time to prepare. Next day Sakharoff was in Jezierna, and Shcherbacheff, who had captured upwards of 56,000 men, 55 guns, and over 200 machine-guns from the retreating Bothmer, was in Podhajce, close to the latter's new front, while lower down Russian troops were crossing the Zlota Lipa.

BRITISH MISSIONERS OF MERCY IN RUSSIA.
With a Red Cross field hospital on the Stokhod. A wounded Russian soldier was being put into the ambulance by the orderlies and a nurse.

Splendid as the success of Sakharoff had been, it would scarcely have made Bothmer retreat from the Strypa had it not been for the not less splendid success which had attended the operations of General Lechitsky in Bukovina and in the region lying between the Dniester and the Pruth. Lechitsky had to negotiate most difficult country—more difficult, indeed, than that on any other sector of the front as it existed at the commencement of June. From the north it was protected by the formidable line of the Dniester, on which only one bridge-head—that at Uscieczko—was in the hands of the Russians when the great offensive began, and it offered no facilities for an invasion on a large scale. South-eastward, however, they held the north bank at Usciebiskupie, in Galicia, from which a road went south to Okna and Czernovitz, in Bukovina.

Lechitsky shares the laurels

Below this crossing the mountains of the Berdo Horodyszcze walled in the east side of the duchy from the Russian province of Bessarabia, and below that again lay the then neutral frontier of Rumania. Thus the front of the Austrians under Pflanzer-Baltin was exceedingly strong by nature, and all that military science could do had been done to strengthen it. Yet Lechitsky not only forced it but broke it in pieces. Perhaps the Austrians believed that their positions were impregnable here also, and did not pay sufficient attention to them, in that arrogance of confidence which was their ruin; but they seemed to have been caught napping, or, at all events, insufficiently prepared.

There was one spot—for it was hardly more—and one spot alone, where Lechitsky had a chance; though it was little short of desperate, he took it. Into the Dniester flowed from the south the little stream called the Onut, and it made a cleft and a tiny valley among the hills of the Berdo between Okna and Dobronowce, in the north-east corner of Bukovina. On May 10th, 1915, it had been the scene of some wonderful exploits of the Cossacks of the Don. This spot was commanded by the Russian guns stationed on the high bank of the Dniester on the north side, and after being shelled was turned into a means of access into the duchy. On June 4th and 5th, as was related earlier in this chapter, Lechitsky launched his soldiers across the Dniester and took Okna. At the same time he attacked the Austrians south-east of it at Dobronowce, and after four days of terrific battling captured it.

The nature of this victory was explained in the Petrograd communiqué of June 11th, which announced: "In spite

REDOUBTABLE COSSACKS MOVING AGAINST THE RETREATING FOE.
Knee-deep in the long grass, a troop of Russian cavalry were moving forward in pursuit of fugitives of Bothmer's battalions. By the middle of 1916 the Russian Government had completely reorganised the Army. Munitions, guns, and trained men were forthcoming in quantities incredible to the Central Empires, whose leaders imagined that Russia had been practically vanquished.

of a desperate resistance on the part of the enemy, a violent flanking fire, and even curtain fire, and the explosions of whole sets of mines, General Lechitsky's troops took the enemy's position south of Dobronowce, fourteen miles north-east of Czernovitz." It added that in the region of this struggle the Russians captured 18,000 men, of whom three hundred and forty-seven were officers, and ten guns, while more prisoners were "still streaming in in large parties." Lechitsky had driven a wedge deep into the Austrian front.

Bukovina open to Lechitsky

In their retreat the Austrians blew up the railway bridge at Jurkowce, and by June 10th had been driven out of Zaleszczyki, the most important bridge-head on the Dniester, where both a road and a railway crossed the river, and which had been the theatre of the most sanguinary and even ferocious fighting in previous phases of the war.

By the same date, or a day later, Lechitsky had entered Horodenka, the meeting-place of several roads, and all Bukovina was open to him. Pflanzer-Baltin's beaten and disorganised forces fled partly up the Pruth, and partly towards Tysmienica and Stanislau. Advancing with great rapidity, Lechitsky was in Sniatyn on June 13th—this was the third time the Russians had occupied it since the war began—and was marching along the railway in the direction of Kolomea.

AUSTRIAN GAS APPARATUS IN RUSSIAN HANDS.
After the Germans first used poison gas at Ypres it had to be adopted by all the belligerents as a weapon of war. This Austrian apparatus was captured by the Russians.

To the east he was fighting his way across the Pruth to Czernovitz, the doom of which was already sealed. He was held up for a while south of Bojan, and the strong line of the Pruth gave him a good deal of trouble; but at four o'clock in the afternoon of June 17th he captured the Czernovitz bridge-head on the left bank of the river by assault, and after bitter fighting at the fords—the bridges having been blown up by the Austrians—occupied the city, which now changed hands for the fifth time, the first being as far back as September, 1914. During these fluctuations most of the cosmopolitan people of the capital of Bukovina had adapted themselves with apparent aplomb to the changes which took place, and no later than a fortnight previously the town had been gay with flags in satirical commemoration of the time of its Russian occupation; it received the returning Russians with expressions of joy.

One of the curious things about the struggle for Czernovitz was that the city itself was only slightly damaged, and not more than six civilians were wounded. Sensational tales of the unnecessary, not to say reckless, destruction wrought by the Russian guns on the town were spread by Austrian and German journalists, but these stories were contradicted by one of its most prominent citizens in a Vienna paper. The main railway-station had been shelled and ruined, but otherwise the damage, which was not considerable, was confined to some streets near the river. The Russians had brought with them a Rumanian barrister, who had been mayor of Czernovitz during their second occupation of the place, and he was again installed in that office by the conquerors, now come to stay so far as could be foreseen.

With the capture of Czernovitz that portion of Pflanzer-Baltin's army which had been on the Pruth was thrown back upon the Carpathians, and Lechitsky lost no time in pursuing it and completing its defeat. Crossing the Bukovinian Sereth, one of his columns took Radautz on June 21st, having marched thirty miles south, and less than twenty-four hours later was in Gora Humora, twenty miles farther in the same direction. By the night of June 23rd it was in Kimpolung, but not till after a fierce struggle in which it captured over 2,000 Austrians. This movement, taken in connection with other of Lechitsky's movements in the same area north-westward, made him master of Bukovina, a land more than half the size of Wales, in nineteen days. It was the largest conquest of enemy territory the Allies had had to their credit for a long time in Europe.

Meanwhile other portions of Lechitsky's army were advancing westward. The town of Kuty, on the borders of Bukovina and Galicia, lying on the Czeremosz, a southern tributary of the Pruth, was taken after a fight on June 23rd, and the Russians advanced from it along the road to Pistyn, a few miles south of Kolomea, on which more of his columns were converging from the east and the north-east. Pressing on from Sniatyn, the Russians stormed the heights overlooking the Rybnica, another affluent of the Pruth, and on June 28th fought a great pitched battle on the ground lying between the Dniester and the Pruth, on a front bounded on the north by the Czortowiec, a southern tributary of the former river, and on the south by the Czerniawa, a northern tributary of the latter. Victory once more crowned the Russian banners, and in the course of this fighting about 10,500 Austrians were taken prisoners, as well as a battery of four heavy guns intact, horses and all, besides other guns. The enemy fled panic-stricken, abandoning large quantities of war material, and Kolomea, the centre of four railways, fell to Lechitsky on the last day of the month.

The fall of Kolomea

Obertyn, thirteen miles north-east of Kolomea, was occupied, after an engagement, about the same date.

As July opened, Lechitsky pushed on westward. The Austrians, who had received reinforcements from the Italian front, made a stand seven miles beyond Kolomea, but were defeated with a loss of over 2,000 prisoners, most of whom, according to the Petrograd communiqué of July 2nd, were drunk. Here the Russians took seven guns. At Tlumacz, twelve miles to the east of Stanislau,

While one Russian soldier was intent upon his laundry, another was engrossed in fishing along the bank of the Stokhod.

Cossacks watering their horses at a river on the eastern front, whence the Austrians retreated before General Brussiloff's hammer blows.

DIVISIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF A RUSSIAN ARMY.
Some Russian officers at Staff work in a residence adjacent to the firing-line. Throughout the war both the strategy and tactics of the Russian Staffs were of the highest order.

Bothmer, now in command of the enemy's troops in this sector, checked Lechitsky and threw him back for some distance. This, however, did not interfere with the main movement of the Russian general, and on the 4th he captured Potok Czarny, only six miles from Delatyn, and fifteen from Kolomea. Bothmer was again tackled both north and south of the Dniester, and this time with success, his forces in this region being overwhelmed and put to flight. Lechitsky's cavalry made a dash for the railway running from Delatyn south through the Jablonica Pass into Hungary, and on the 4th seized the small town of Mikuliczyn and cut the line, thus making it impossible for Austria to transfer forces from the south to this area. On the 5th a score of Cossacks swam the Dniester, took the village of Dolina, and captured over a hundred of the enemy and a gun. A terrific combat took place on the right bank of the big river near Zuyaczow on the same day, and after yet another desperate contest, in which Russian heroism and contempt for death were characteristically displayed, Lechitsky on the 8th occupied Delatyn, an important road centre and railway junction.

This marked an advance of nearly seventy miles from his starting-point five weeks before, and during that period he had fought and won many an engagement, and at least three really great battles. The name of Pflanzer-Baltin now disappeared from the story, its place being filled by that of General Kövess, who with Mackensen had been in charge of the Austro-German campaign against Serbia and Montenegro during the preceding autumn and winter. Bothmer remained in command of such of Pflanzer-Baltin's troops as had escaped westward from Lechitsky, and Kövess was at the head of the rest of the defeated Austrians in the Carpathians and Southern Galicia, who had been reinforced with drafts from the Trentino and Isonzo fronts, as well as part of some Turkish divisions, the balance going to Bothmer. Having compelled Bothmer to fall back at Nizniow to the north side of the Dniester, Lechitsky, with that river on his right and the mountains on his left, was secure on both flanks. In the far south of Bukovina his cavalry were scouting near the Kirlibaba Pass and striking into Hungary in the third week of the month, while fighting for the crests of the Carpathians was going on in other districts.

Russians approach Hungary

As the situation stood, Bothmer, thus deeply outflanked on his right, hunted off the Koropiec, and hearing of the victorious march of Sakharoff and his soldiers on his left, must have withdrawn from the Strypa, on which he still held a front of about twenty-five miles, had it not been the case that Lechitsky was unable to move. For days rain fell in torrents in this region, as in that of the Lutsk Salient, and snowstorms swept the Carpathians, jeopardising his communications and for bidding advance. Both the Dniester and the Pruth were flooded, the former rising ten, and the latter sixteen feet. For two or three weeks Lechitsky was condemned to inaction, but on July 28th he threw the enemy back by a dashing coup in the direction of Stanislau, while the division of natives of the Caucasus charged and captured Jezierzany on the Tlumacz road, eighteen miles east of that city. In the beginning of August Berlin announced some successes for the enemy south of Jablonica in the mountains, an area in which German troops had made a reappearance. The Russians admitted that their advanced cavalry patrols had retired a short distance there. But for the moment the Carpathians interested Lechitsky very little, as his objective lay elsewhere.

Following up his attack along the Tlumacz road and to the north and south of it, he successfully advanced, in spite of the fiercest opposition, on a front of sixteen miles, on August 7th, stormed his way through Tlumacz to Tysmienica, took Nizniow on the Dniester, and entered Ottynia, farther south on one of its tributaries. The ground he gained was about seventy-four square miles in extent, and in these operations and in those of the next day, which gave him Tysmienica, he captured 7,500 men, nearly half of whom were Germans, five guns, and 63 machine-guns. More than that, Stanislau was appreciably nearer. On the 9th his troops occupied the right bank of the Bystrzyca, and took the joint railway-station at Chryplin, only two miles from Stanislau, which held the same position in the south with respect to Lemberg that Kovel did in the north ; in other words, it was of immense strategical significance in that area of the war.

Lechitsky captures Stanislau

The Bystrzyca alone stood between Lechitsky and the town. The enemy had blown up all the bridges, and was arrayed on the opposite bank. There was an obstinate fight, but the Russians triumphed, and on the 10th Stanislau fell into Lechitsky's hands, the Austro-Germans making off northwards in the direction of Halicz in full flight. No fighting actually occurred in Stanislau itself, for the enemy, seeing that the game was up in this quarter, had evacuated the town, which the Russians reported "untouched and in good order," with the exception of some parts of the railway. So, for the third time since the outbreak of the war, Russia held this extremely important Galician town. Fourteen months had elapsed since Lechitsky had yielded it up to Pflanzer-Baltin ; that Austrian general was now in deep disgrace and a broken man, while his rival was in possession of it again. In the first ten days of August, Lechitsky's "bag" was over 10,600 Austro-German officers and men, with nine guns, many machine-guns, and other plunder. Lechitsky next turned his attention to the Carpathians, and on August 12th was pushing Kövess back at Jablonica once more.

With the retirement of Bothmer from the Strypa, as the result of pressure from Sakharoff and Lechitsky on his wings and Shcherbacheff on the centre, Brussiloff's marvellous offensive, as conducted by these three generals and Lesh and Kaledin, reached a definite stage. In seventy days the Russians had advanced on their whole southern front from ten miles in the middle to sixty and eighty miles respectively on the flanks, and, including Bukovina, had reconquered several thousand square miles of territory. Their capture of prisoners was simply colossal, and it was difficult to understand how Austria-Hungary could long survive such losses. According to an official Petrograd statement, which gave the figures up to August 12th, Kaledin and Lesh took 2,384 officers, 107,225 rank and file, 147 guns,

459 machine-guns, and 146 bomb and mine throwers.; Sakharoff took 1,967 officers, 87,248 rank and file, 76 guns, 232 machine-guns, 119 bomb and mine throwers, and 128 powder-carts; Shcherbacheff took 1,267 officers, 55,794 rank and file, 55 guns, 211 machine-guns, 29 mine and bomb throwers, and 129 powder-carts; and Lechitsky took 2,139 officers, 100,578 rank and file, 127 guns, 424 machine-guns, 44 bomb and mine throwers, and 35 powder-carts. The total of prisoners was nearly 360,000 men, and of guns over four hundred, in addition to vast quantities of every description of war material, including twenty miles of light railways. The moral of the enemy was thoroughly shaken, while that of the Russians continued superb, though their wonderful victories were not achieved without commensurate sacrifices. It was estimated that the total losses of the enemy were not far short of a million men. One very great result of Brussiloff's success, coupled with other factors all making in favour of the Entente Powers, was that Rumania, towards the end of that August, threw in her lot with the Allies, declared war on Austria-Hungary, and forthwith invaded Transylvania.

The fall of Erzingan

While Russia was achieving so much in Europe, she also was active in Armenia and Persia, where the Grand Duke Nicholas conducted her operations, his chief executants being General Yudenitch in the one area and General Baratoff in the other. In Asia the struggle was chequered. Russia's conquest of Erzerum and her march west of that stronghold aroused Enver Pasha and the Turkish governing clique to fresh efforts, and in April and May the Grand Duke was confronted by greatly augmented Turkish forces. But he captured Trebizond on April 18th, after winning a two-days' battle on the Kara Dere, in which the Russian Black Sea Fleet gave material assistance.

During May, however, the Turks were strong enough to take the offensive against him, and in the course of that month drove him back at Askala and Mamakhatun. Throughout most of June the Russians stood on the defensive, retiring in some cases from positions they had conquered, and the Turks pressed on towards Erzerum. It was not till July that Yudenitch was in a position to renew the attack. The first intimation of the progress he was making was given on the 12th of that month, when it was announced from Petrograd that he had recaptured Mamakhatun, taken nearly 2,000 prisoners, and was marching on to Erzingan, while the Turks were repulsed in the mountainous region of the Chorokh. A further success was chronicled on the 15th in the capture of Baiburt, midway on the Erzerum-Trebizond road, and ten days later all Russia rejoiced over a more important and striking triumph in the fall of Erzingan itself, a considerable military station and otherwise of strategic value. With the taking of this centre the conquest of Armenia was practically complete, and the Tsar sent a telegram in which he congratulated "with all his heart" his brave Army of the Caucasus on the victory.

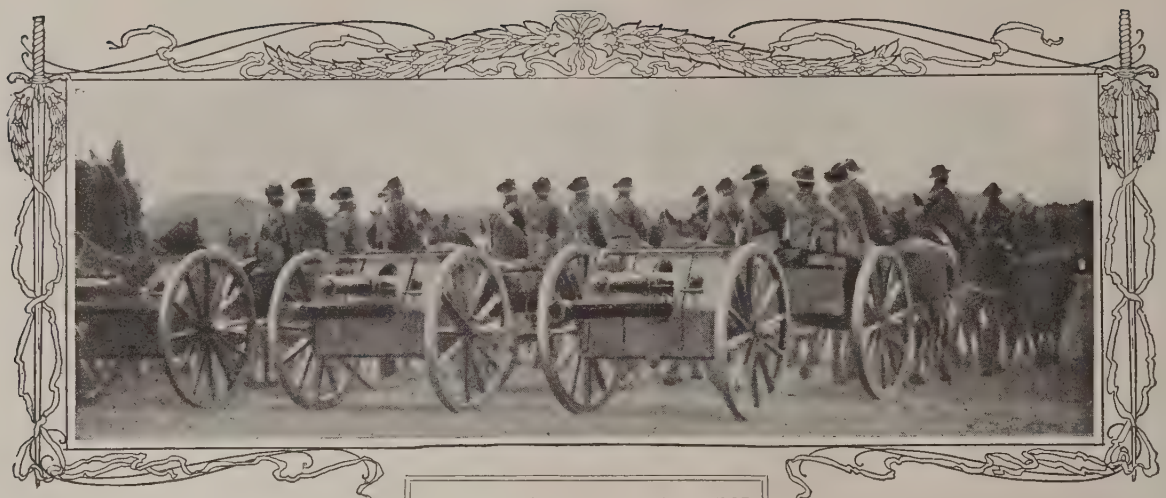
But the Turkish offensive was not thoroughly overcome, for on other parts of Russia's long Asiatic front it was continuing and even making headway. The Turks, in their general plan of campaign, which had been brilliantly worked out for them by a young German officer of talent, struck along the whole of the Russian line. After some success they failed, as was seen, on the Grand Duke's front from the Black Sea to Erzerum, but in the south-east, in the district of Lake Van, they took from him the towns of Bitlis and Mush in the second week in August, and for some time the aspect of affairs in this region was unpromising for the Russians, who also had been forced to retreat from Mesopotamia into Persia. In May it had been thought among the Allies that the Grand Duke, through Baratoff, was in a position to attack Mosul, and perhaps cut off the Turks at Bagdad.

Events utterly belied these anticipations. On June 8th the Russians were defeated at Khanikin, less than a hundred miles from Bagdad, on the Teheran-Hamadan-Bagdad road, and driven across the mountains into Persia. In July they lost Kermanshah, and about August 12th had to evacuate Hamadan. Farther north, on the Teheran-Lake Urmia-Mosul road, they had to abandon Rowanduz, only eighty miles from Mosul, retire across the passes, which were infested with hostile tribesmen, and withdraw to the south of Lake Urmia. These successes of the Turks were somewhat alarming, especially in such a distracted country as Persia, many of whose people were pro-German in their sympathies. But as August went on the situation was once more got in hand by the Grand Duke, who had been reinforced. Mush and Bitlis were captured again, and the Turks checked and caused to turn westward on both of the Persian caravan roads mentioned above. It was to the last degree unlikely that the Turks, in these circumstances, could have anything but the most fleeting success in all this area.

Successes of the Turks

RUSSIAN WOMEN AND CHILDREN RETURN TO THEIR HOMES ON THE TIDE OF VICTORY.

For many months the seesaw-like result of fighting on the east front kept the civil population on the move. According to the fortune of war, the peasants retreated and advanced from and to their own homes. This illustration shows Russian women and children coming back to their villages, which were recaptured in General Brussiloff's offensive.



AUSTRALIAN ARTILLERY UNDER REVIEW BEFORE EMBARKATION.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

THE GLORIOUS RECORD OF THE ANZACS IN THE WAR TO THE SUMMER OF 1916.

By E. C. Buley, Author of "Glorious Deeds of Australasians."

Military and Economic Efforts of the Southern Dominions—Australian Preparedness Justified by the Existing Nucleus of an Efficient Army and Navy—New Zealand Captures Samoa—Australia Captures German New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago—The Australian Navy—Conditions of Service with the Expeditionary Force—Forty Transports Put to Sea, November 1st, 1914—Gallipoli and the Landing at Hell-fire Spit—The Attack Upon Krithia—Sir Ian Hamilton's Cablegram to the Australian Prime Minister—"Anzac"—Enemy Attack on Anzac Cove and Rout of the Turks, May 18th, 1915—Australia and New Zealand Call for More Recruits—"Wallaby Marches" to the Tune of "Waltzing Matilda"—The Landing at Suvla Bay—The Fight for Lone Pine Plateau—Sacrifice and Daring of the Australian Light Horse and the Mounted Rifles of New Zealand—Gallant Behaviour of the 21st Battalion in the Southland, Torpedoed near Lemnos—The Evacuation of Gallipoli—The Visit of Mr. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, to Great Britain in 1916—Anzac Day, April 25th, 1916—Anzacs Transferred to the Western Front, 1916—Reconstitution of the Anzac Force and Transfer of its Base and Training Quarters to England—Anzacs in the Trench Raids on the Western Front—Anzacs on the Somme—The Four Battles for Pozières—Generosity of the Southern Dominions and their Moral and Material Support of the Empire.

THE part played by the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand in the single-minded prosecution of the Great War has necessarily been the subject of frequent and extended reference in this work. It will now be convenient, and indeed necessary, to collocate all the mighty exertions of these two young nations, so that the sum of their effort may be presented in the mass.

How many people realise that out of a population of 6,000,000 Australasia, in the first two years of the war, equipped no less than 300,000 fighting men of the first quality for Europe? The despatch of this force over the longest sea route the world knows—no army had ever before travelled so far to fight—and its maintenance in Europe involved the people of these Oversea Dominions in an expenditure which exceeded, per head of population, the financial burden laid upon the Mother Country itself. Yet this daily-increasing liability was cheerfully borne by the people of Australasia.

THE "SOUL OF ANZAC" IN A NEW ZEALAND CAMP. General Birdwood walking with Sir Thomas Mackenzie, High Commissioner for New Zealand.

These sacrifices indicate but one direction in which the Southern Dominions applied themselves to the task of war-winning, to the exclusion of all else. Their economic effort has also to be known in order to be fully appreciated. Nowhere among the Allies was the concentration of national resources for the one essential purpose so rapidly and thoroughly effected. At the very outset of hostilities the vast food supplies of these countries were laid at the disposal of the Imperial Government in their entirety. The meat, sugar, wheat, wool, and other invaluable commodities at once passed under Government control—a control so exercised that these stores became available for the great cause with the least delay and the greatest possible facility. Steps were immediately taken to extend the production of such necessities as wheat, with the result that in the second year of the war Australasia was able to place 90,000,000 bushels of wheat at the disposal of the friendly European Powers needing it.

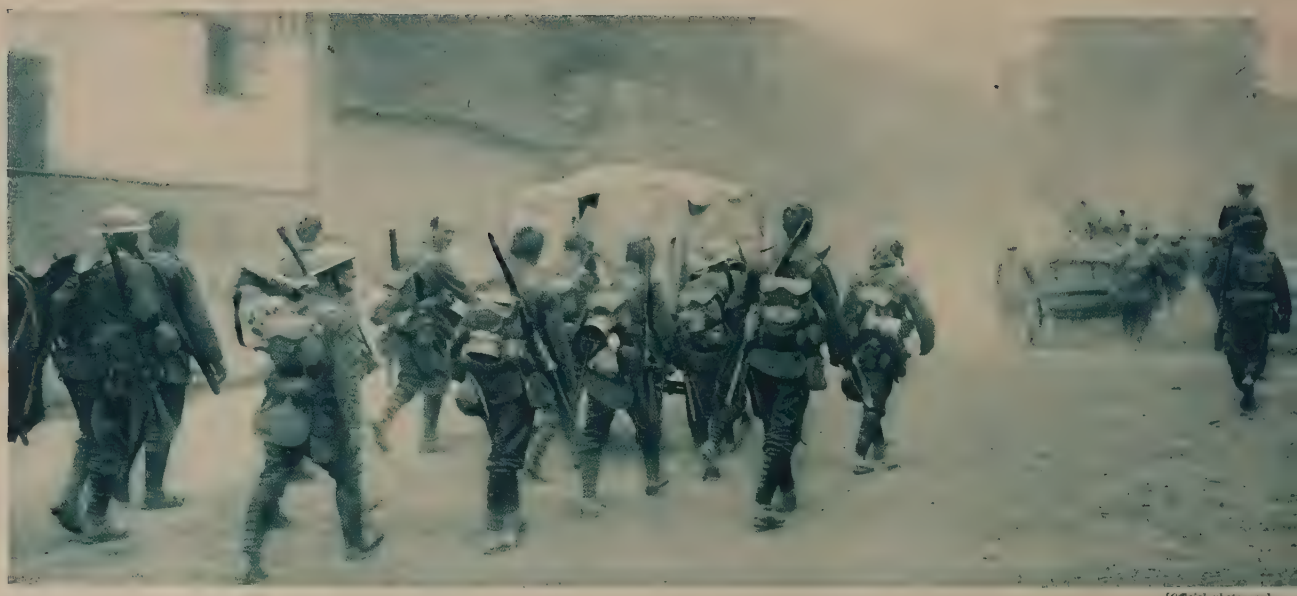
Besides the concentration of its military and economic force, Australasia was prompt to act in other directions. Quick attention

[Official photograph.

Bringing up heavy howitzers during the Somme advance of July, 1916.

[Official photograph.

Big gun on a railway mounting: Ramming home the shell.



[Official photograph.

"Forward, East Yorks!" Camera impression of the British advance.

[Official photograph

London Scottish marching to the trenches on the Somme.

[Official photograph.

Cheering their way to victory: How the Worcesters went forward on the Somme.

Official photograph.

In a trench at Ovillers: On the look-out while his comrades rest.

The hour has struck! British first line of attack taking up position in front of their barbed-wire defences, July 1st, 1916.

was given to the suppression of all trade likely to benefit the enemy in any direction. War charities were organised; thought was taken for the needs of the Empire's soldiers when the war should be finished. Their probable desire to colonise, instead of returning to sedentary occupations, was taken into account and preparation for an influx of soldier immigrants was at once begun.

"The last man and last shilling"

The details of these military and economic preparations, conceived in a spirit of unflinching resolution during the first days of the war, and carried forward with purposeful steadfastness, make the war record of Australia and New Zealand one of absorbing interest.

The brightest moment in those dark days in which the war opened was that in which the Oversea Dominions and Dependencies, without hesitation or division of opinion, ranged themselves in the ranks of Empire. The unforgettable scene enacted in the Commonwealth Parliament when war was declared will live for ever in one comprehensive promise that was made then, and continued to be honoured in the letter and the spirit ever after. It was announced, amid cheers, that Australia had placed her warships at the disposal of the Empire, and had offered an expeditionary force of 20,000 men. Both offers had been graciously accepted. It was then that Mr. Andrew Fisher, Leader of the Opposition, spoke for the Labour Party and the solid, united ranks of the Australian working men. "The last man, and the last shilling," he said, "would be spent by Australia to defeat the tyranny of German militarism." Australia adopted the phrase as its war motto, and never swerved from the pithy promise.

In the New Zealand Parliament the members rose and sang "God save the King" when the Prime Minister, Mr. Massey, announced that New Zealand's offer of 8,000 men as a preliminary expeditionary force had been accepted. Nowhere was any voice raised in criticism or opposition. Both these young nations went to work with a single and unanimous purpose.

Before the war could be carried into the Old World there was much work to be done in their own neighbourhood. Germany's colonising ambitions, a generation before, had inflicted the red, white, and black flag upon several large stretches of territory in the South Seas, in spite of the earnest but useless protests of Australasian statesmen of the time. Samoa, part of New Guinea, and several important groups of islands had been Germanised. There were coaling and wireless stations near at hand, and ports where the German war cruisers could lurk for a dash at Australasian ports.

Forthwith, the Southern Dominions reaped the reward of a preparedness which had at one time involved them in much searching criticism. In both Australia and New Zealand systems of compulsory military training for the youth had been enforced for some years. Australia had a military training college, organised at a place called Duntroon by General Bridges, the efficient soldier who commanded the First Australian Expeditionary Force, and who lost his life at Anzac. There was abundance of trained men and efficient young officers available at once for expeditions against these German settlements.

Australia had more; she had a small but invaluable fleet of modern warships. A few years before, when Europe was shuddering on the brink of war in consequence of the Agadir incident, a German fleet had been waiting within easy striking distance of Australia, ready to swoop upon her great ports and coveted coal supply. Nothing could have saved Australia had war broken out then.

Australia took the lesson to heart. When the crisis again arose, the Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, with their 8·2 in. guns, the Leipzig, Nürnberg, and Emden, all fast cruisers, were again on the spot. They dared not strike. Why? "We did not raid any Australian port, nor sink any Australian shipping," explained one of the officers of the Scharnhorst, after that vessel had been sunk by Admiral Sturdee at the Falkland Islands, "because we knew our 8·2 in. guns were no match for the 12 in. guns of the Australia."

After the war began no British ship was sunk or even attacked in Australasian waters. On the other hand, a large number of German mercantile vessels were promptly captured in and about Australasian ports, and Von Spee's cruiser fleet was impotent to help them. Nor could it interfere with the expeditions that were sent with amazing despatch against Germany's South Sea colonies.

AUSTRALIAN IMPERIAL FORCES HEADQUARTERS STAFF.

Back row (left to right): Lieut. Sherington, Col. Forsyth, Col. Kendall, Capt. Butler, Major Maxted, Lieut. Clark, Capt. Donnelly. Middle row: Col. Anderson, General Sellheim, Col. Johnson. Front row; Lieut. Evans, Col. Millard, Major Miller, Lieut. Murphy.

New Zealand struck the first blow by equipping a force of 1,300 men against Samoa. The work was done with surprising rapidity, and before the war was a fortnight old the Union Jack was flying at Apia, the German capital of Samoa; and on August 29th the place had passed into British hands. A fortnight later the Gneisenau and another warship appeared off the harbour, but they were fugitive vessels before the Australia and the Japanese Pacific Squadron. They had to steam away without firing a shot.

New Zealand's first blow

Early in September, 1914, the Australian expedition was despatched against New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago. The details of the expedition include the capture of Rabaul, Toma, and Friedrich Wilhelmshaven, and the destruction of several wireless stations scattered about the islands near New Guinea. Before the month of September

had expired the work was finished, and at a cost of a few men 100,000 square miles of colonial territory had been wrested from our chief enemy.

The efficient little fleet that made these things possible consisted of one battle-cruiser, the Australia, 19,200 tons, armed with eight 12 in. guns and sixteen 4 in. guns; three light cruisers, the Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane (incomplete at the opening of the war), each of 5,600 tons, with eight 6 in. guns; six destroyers of a modern type, and two submarines—AE1 and AE2.

The Australia, after the island expeditions were completed, joined in the great sweep which drove the German cruiser squadron to its doom at the Falkland Islands. She covered 48,000 miles and, among other services, captured and destroyed a big German liner laden with supplies for Von Spee. Then she joined Admiral Jellicoe's North Sea Fleet, and had the misfortune to meet with a slight accident which prevented her taking part in the Battle of Jutland. In that battle the Dreadnought New Zealand, the gift of the Dominion to the Imperial Navy, played a gallant part.

The Sydney, while escorting the Expeditionary Force to Egypt, encountered and destroyed the notorious German sea-raider the Emden, as recounted in Chapter XLVI. of THE GREAT WAR. Of the submarines, AE1 was sunk in the course of the operations against German New Guinea. AE2 was sent to the Mediterranean, making a record distance for a submarine cruise. After splendid service about the Dardanelles, AE2 was sunk in an attempt to enter the Sea of Marmora, and her company fell into the hands of the Turks.

Compulsory military training

Australia's Naval College, situated at Jervis Bay, on the coast of New South Wales, was the only college of the kind in the Dominions, and afforded instruction to its full complement of one hundred and fifty picked lads, who were trained, kept, and even provided with pocket-money by the Commonwealth while they were being fitted for the fine career of officers in his Majesty's Australian Navy. One could linger over the democratic system on which these boys were selected, and a sketch might be given of the ambitious shipbuilding programme to which the Commonwealth stood pledged. The actual record, however, must be pursued.

The compulsory military training in force in Australasia carried an obligation for home service only, so that it was necessary, before the despatch of an expeditionary force, to call for volunteers to serve abroad. The response to the call was magnificent; so widespread, that in Australia and New Zealand alike, the selection from such a wealth

BRITISH WOMEN AND CHILDREN'S GIFT TO THE AUSTRALIANS.

In July, 1916, the Princess Royal presented to the General Officers commanding the Australian Forces in England a flag and shield, gifts from British women and children. The ceremony took place at Wellington Barracks, under the auspices of the League of Empire. These illustrations show the Princess Royal with Mr. Andrew Fisher.

ANZACS AND POILUS FRATERNISE AT A WAYSIDE STATION.

Before the war Australia must have seemed a very remote country to many Frenchmen. Within two short years the pick of this island continent were fighting shoulder to shoulder with their Latin allies. The men were able to study the characteristics of each other from personal contact.

of fine material was an embarrassment. Conditions of service were liberal, as may be gathered from the following summary of Australian conditions, which differed in no essential from those of New Zealand.

Rates of Pay.—Lieutenant, 21s. per day; sergeant, 10s. 6d. per day; corporal, 10s. per day; private, 6s. per day.

Separation Allowance.—Married members receiving less than 8s. per day—(*a*) for wife living at home, 1s. 5d. per day; (*b*) for each child under sixteen years of age, 4½d. per day. A similar allowance as in (*a*) is paid to the mother of a member who is solely dependent upon him for support.

Pensions.—Payable to widow on death of member of the forces or to a member on total incapacity: Lieutenant, £91 per annum; sergeant, £70 per annum; corporal, £68 per annum; private, £52 per annum. In addition, on the death or total incapacity of a member, for each child under sixteen years of age, £13 per annum. In the case of total incapacity, the wife in addition receives half the rate specified above for the respective ranks.

Within a marvellously short space of time all the men required were in training camps, and the work of fitting transports for them and providing their equipment was proceeding apace. By the end of October all the men and horses were aboard ship, and had kept the rendezvous at the West Australian port of Albany. On November 1st the long line of forty transports put to sea.

Let it be realised that one hundred years before the white inhabitants of these countries numbered a few scanty thousands, and the sense of pride and adventure which thrilled Australasia can be measured. These new lands, which never knew war, were sending a fine army on a journey of 12,000 miles to fight for right against might amid the battle-scarred nations of the Old World. The men were worthy of their mission. The average height of the 20,000 Australians was five feet eight inches, while the New Zealanders surpassed that average by an inch all round. Quite fifty per cent. of the men and the majority of their officers had seen service in South Africa. They were tough, high-spirited, enterprising; a force fitted in every way to initiate Australasia's great adventure.

Men worthy of their mission

The story of that long journey across the Indian Ocean, and of the ocean fight between the Sydney and the Emden, which so gloriously broke its monotony, has been told in Chapter LIII., where are also detailed the reasons which dictated the debarkation of the Australasians at Egypt for training, instead of carrying out the original plan of sending them on to Great Britain for ultimate service on the western front.

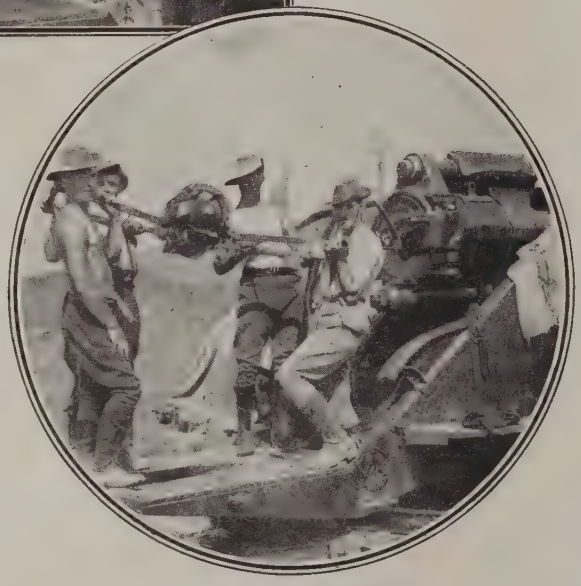
Memorable scene at Colombo

One incident of the journey, however, must be recalled here, since it serves to indicate the spirit in which these crusaders from the South went forth to fight. When the Sydney detached herself from the convoy to engage the Emden there was naturally great excitement among the soldiers in the transports. The occasion was a remarkable one. For the first time a vessel of Australia's maiden navy was going into battle. Twelve hours later the news was spread through the fleet that the Emden had been destroyed, and the jubilation was proportionately great. The fleet proceeded steadily on to Colombo, and anchored there to await the victorious cruiser.

Before she arrived an order was communicated to all the transports. The Sydney was about to arrive, but on board she had wounded prisoners, German sailors who had fought gallantly, and who were now in a critical state from the injuries received. Therefore, Captain Glossop, of the Sydney, begged that there should be no noisy demonstration. Soon the Sydney came steaming proudly through the long double line of ships she had so ably protected. The deck of every transport was crowded with soldiers, who stood, hat in hand, in solemn silence. This mark of consideration overcame the German prisoners when they were made to understand its full significance, as well it might.

STRIPPED FOR THE FRAY.
In France, as on Gallipoli and in Egypt, the Anzac gunners worked stripped to the waist.

Three months of stern training followed the landing in Egypt, and during this period the men gained not only supreme physical fitness, but the invaluable discipline which it was thought they needed when they left Australasia. Early in April, 1915, the infantry of Australia and the whole New Zealand force again embarked for a final course of training on the islands of Imbros and Lemnos. The men knew the day of battle was now at hand, and that they were to form part of the British force which was about to be landed on the Peninsula of Gallipoli in order to assist in the attempt to force the passage of the Dardanelles.



MUSCULAR YOUNG MANHOOD.
The Anzacs were the pick of the manhood of Australia and New Zealand. Their physique was as superb as their spirit.

The spot chosen for the Australasian landing was the most northerly of the British landing-places. It lay in the Gulf of Saros, about a mile north of the hillocky promontory of Gaba Tepe, on which stood an old Turkish fort. Still farther to the north was Suvla Bay, and back from the coast between these two landmarks frowned the hill mass of Sari Bair, reaching the height of nine hundred and seventy-one feet at its highest point in Koja Chemen.

The 3rd Brigade of Australian Infantry supplied the actual landing-force of 1,500 picked men, under Colonel Sinclair MacLagan, D.S.O. These steamed down to the Gulf of Saros on the evening of April 24th, followed by the New Zealanders and three more brigades of Australian infantry in transports. They passed the British fleet in the darkness, and heard the roar of its guns as it bombarded the forts at Cape Helles, preparatory to the British landings there.

Before day broke the men of the 3rd Brigade were in the boats, and the pinnaces began to tow them shorewards as silently as might be. By a piece of good fortune, the tows got off the line laid down for them, and neared the shore at a point considerably north of the selected beach. It was afterwards discovered that the Turks were entrenched in some force at the selected point, and that barbed-wire had been laid under the water in considerable quantities.

At the place where the actual landing was made the beach is a strip of sand some ten feet wide, from which cliffs rise precipitously for forty or fifty feet. On the top of the cliff were trenches held by the Turks with machine-guns. As the boats neared the shore these Turks opened fire upon them, and the fort at Gaba Tepe sprayed them with shrapnel, as did some guns placed in the hills to their left. Rifle fire broke out from all points in the hills, where snipers had been posted, and amid this galling fire the first three boats reached the beach.

The men jumped out into water breast deep, and made for the land by twos and threes. They waited for no orders, but scaled the cliff like goats. More boats beached, and their occupants poured up that upright wall of rock, facing a deadly fire from above. No man waited, each acted on his own initiative. The result was a triumph for Australian daring and enterprise. Troops better accustomed to waiting for the word of command might have been shot down, while pausing to take the regulation order. These raw troops were at the cliff-top before the Turks could realise what they were doing.

When it came to hand-to-hand fighting the Turks could not stand before the picked giants of Queensland, West Australia, and Tasmania. The men made instinctively for the machine-guns and bayoneted the gunners. By order, not a shot was fired, but in a minute a cheer was raised by them that reached the anxious watchers on the ships, and informed them that the landing had been secured.

Now dawn was breaking, and from all the transports boats might be seen putting out for the shore. The other brigades were following the 3rd, and were taking greater risks. The guns in the fort played sad havoc with them; the snipers seemed innumerable, while shrapnel coming from all quarters proved that the hills concealed many guns commanding the bay and the landing-beach. One spit of sand was swept from all quarters at once, yet the boats had to beach there. Before the landing was twelve hours old that spit of sand had received its baptism of blood and the name it now bears of Hell-fire Spit.

The landing at Hell-fire Spit

As the men landed they scaled the cliff and pressed inland through country as rough as any of the wild gullies of their native lands. They drove the Turks over three successive ranges of hills, each higher than the last, and pursued them through winding valleys with precipitous sides, which were covered with a dense growth of holly bushes taller than a man. Here was good cover for snipers, and the impetuous invaders passed many of these, leaving them to shoot them down from behind at their leisure. The valleys were strewn with dead and wounded men, Turks and Australasians side by side. And still they pressed on. They had no artillery support except a few mountain guns of an Indian battery and that which came from the warships. The nature of the country rendered the ships'

guns useless to the men who had worked their way inland, except for the moral effect of their firing, for they all declare that the sound was most encouraging.

The tragedy of that landing soon became apparent to every man among those bold pioneers. They drove the Turks before them like sheep, and with adequate support would never have stayed in their forward progress until they had crossed the few miles that separated them from the Dardanelles. They were, however, too few in number. Turkish troops were hurried up to meet them from Maidos and other camps in the vicinity, and before night fell the Australasians were falling back in little groups, hopelessly outnumbered.

As they fell back, fighting stubbornly and losing heavily, the little scattered bands began to coagulate, and to stiffen with the supports that were still hurrying forward from the landing-places. By dusk they had fallen back to a place from which it would have been dangerous to give ground further. There they dug in, a semicircle of desperate men, with their backs to the sea and the cliffs up which they had climbed, and their faces set against a foe who occupied ground above them in numbers much greater than their own.

All night they fought, consolidating their precarious positions. They had become hopelessly mixed, and fought, not in companies and battalions, but as they found themselves; men from New Zealand with strangers from Queensland and Victoria. It was five days before the Turkish pressure slackened, and the scattered battalions were re-formed. They were sadly depleted in numbers, and almost exhausted from lack of rest and proper food. They had, nevertheless, hung on to the bit of ground they had won, less than a square mile of the roughest portion of the rugged Peninsula of Gallipoli.

Anzac heroism on Gallipoli

In the meantime the British landing at Cape Helles had been followed by stern fighting, which had brought the invaders to the foot of the great Turkish mountain fortress of Achi Baba. Sir Ian Hamilton was determined to press on at all costs, and was mustering all his forces for a grand assault on the strongly held village of Krithia, situated on the very slope of Achi Baba itself. His force was so inadequate to the task that he had recourse to the thin garrison of the Australasian holding, detaching from them the 2nd Brigade of the Australian Infantry and the New Zealanders as well. These troops were embarked in trawlers, in order to join the main British force at Cape Helles.

Thus it came that Australians and New Zealanders were included in the composite army that delivered an attack upon Krithia on the evening of May 8th. French, English, Scottish, and Irish troops were concerned in that attack. A naval brigade took part, and a variety of coloured soldiers, including negroes and Arabs from the French African Colonies, and Sikhs, Gurkhas, and Pathans from India. The Australasians at last were fighting side by side with other soldiers, and their comrades-in-arms included men of many continents and shades of colour.

In the afternoon of May 8th the Australian 2nd Brigade was posted on the extreme left of the British line, supporting a naval division which held the advanced line of trenches. To their right, across the main road to Krithia, were their friends from New Zealand, similarly supporting the 88th British Brigade. Right of them were Indians and more British troops, while on the extreme right of the allied line were the French troops.

Up the slope to Krithia

From the guns of the warships and the field-artillery a rain of shell was being poured upon the Turkish trenches. Suddenly the roar of the guns hushed; it was the signal to go. Australians and New Zealanders, Frenchmen, Irish, and Indians all sprang forward together. Led by their Brigadier, General McCay, the Australians swept up to the front line. "Go on, Australians!" he shouted, and without pause they passed through the sailors and rushed on up the slope to Krithia.

The New Zealanders had reached the first line in the same moment, and had been checked for an instant. When, however, they saw the Australians pressing on so gallantly, they advanced again, racing their neighbours up the bare slope. Six hundred yards away were the positions where they were instructed to dig in, and the way thither led up a slope quite bare of all cover. It was swept by the shrapnel of the Turkish redoubts and by a withering rifle fire from the Turkish infantry, steady as usual in the cover of their trenches.

The spectators in the warships held their breath in view of that glorious rush through the storm of shot and shell that tore down the slope. The Australasian troops might have been performing on the stage of a great theatre, so plainly were they to be discerned on the bare hillside. They could be seen advancing at the double, then checking to a quick walk, only to run forward again with another rush. But they never turned back a yard, or even paused in their rapid advance. Australians and New Zealanders

[Official photograph.

THE HALL-MARK OF FITNESS IN MEN AND HORSES.

Anzac heavy gun on its way to the front in France, drawn by a team of powerful Shire horses. An impressive illustration secured by the official photographer on the eve of the great Somme offensive, July, 1916.

[Canadian Government copyright reserved.

AN INTERNATIONAL MATCH: CANADIANS, AUSTRALIANS, NEW ZEALANDERS, SOUTH AFRICANS, AND IMPERIALS.

were racing for the positions under Krithia village. Groups of men melted away from the hillside under the fire they endured, but the rest went on. The Australians reached their objective first, and threw themselves down on the ground, each man scraping for himself a shelter there in the open. The New Zealanders were hot after them, and they, too, dug in. They stayed until they were relieved.

Perhaps it was "gallery" play; for they knew that the eyes of the world were on them. Away to their right the line lagged hundreds of yards behind. The losses the Australasians incurred were too heavy, even for the object they had in sight. But the reputation of the Australasian soldier was made. He had made good in a public trial; and General Sir Ian Hamilton was able next day to cable to the Australian Prime Minister: "May I, out of a full heart, be permitted to say how gloriously the Australian and New Zealand Contingents have upheld the fine traditions of our race during the struggle still in progress. At first with audacity and dash, then with sleepless valour and untiring resource, they have already created for their countries an imperishable record of military virtue."

Ian Hamilton's eloquent tribute

They returned to the Australasian holding covered with glory, but sadly diminished in numbers. The 2nd Brigade had only 1,600 effectives left of the 4,200 men who mustered for the landing; 2,600 losses in little more than a fortnight's fighting. The New Zealanders had suffered in the same degree. They found on their return that they had on their patch of cliffside not only a local habitation, but a name. The strip of beach they had left was now Anzac Cove.

Under the cliff were piled thousands of cases, holding munitions and stores; and on each was stencilled in bold letters the initials of their title—Australian and New Zealand Army Corps—A. N. Z. A. C. The recurrence of those letters had given an idea to their commander, General Sir William Birdwood, when he was asked to supply a handy telegraphic address. Long before they had left Egypt, cables to their headquarters were addressed to Anzac, Egypt. When the choice of a name for the cove where they landed on Gallipoli was entrusted to the general, Anzac Cove leaped to his mind as a matter of course. In a few more days the whole location was Anzac, and the men who held it were referred to all over the world as the Anzacs.

The title was joyously accepted by the men themselves, even before an interpreter made it clear that the word is good Turkish. That it should mean "wholly just" seemed to them a good omen and typical of their cause. The people who sent them into the arena of battle were equally glad of a word which might take the place of the unsatisfactory term "Australasian." The world's newspapers and headline writers jumped at it, and in a few weeks it seemed that they had always been Anzacs, so general had the use of the word become.

The men did not return from Krithia one day too soon. In their absence the weakness of the little Anzac garrison had been discovered, and violent assaults had been made upon it. General Bridges, the deeply-honoured soldier who had led the Australians across the seas, had been so severely wounded that he afterwards died of his injuries; and General Sir William Birdwood, "the soul of Anzac," had himself been wounded.

Moreover, General Liman von Sanders, the German general who directed the Turkish defence of Gallipoli, was even then preparing for a grand attack, which, in his own inflated words, was to "drive them into the sea." Regiments from the élite of the Turkish Army had been brought up from Constantinople; the observers could see their natty light-blue uniforms in the crowded trenches, contrasting vividly with the mud-stained garb of the troops who had hitherto been opposed to the Anzacs. There was a stir of munition trains, and all the other signs that indicate preparation for a big offensive were discernible.

Von Sanders' inflated boast

The attack was delivered in the evening of May 18th, and its dramatic failure has been described in Chapter LX. The whole Anzac force answered nobly to the emergency, displaying qualities of steadiness under shell fire and in the face of advancing forces hugely outnumbering

their own, which valuably supplemented the reputation for dash and daring that they had already gained.

The brunt of the attack was borne by the 4th Brigade of Australian Infantry, which kept the line from the Bloody Angle through Quinn's Post to Courtney's Post, where the fighting raged most fiercely. The 4th was a brigade despatched from Australia after the departure of the First Expeditionary Force. Commanded by Brigadier-General Monash, it had joined the main force in Egypt, and took its worthy part in the landing of April 25th and the days which followed. The 4th, with the New Zealanders, formed the command of General Sir A. J. Godley, who expressed his opinion of these men in a speech he made to them at Anzac on June 2nd. From it the following words may fitly be quoted:

Anzac ascendancy over the Turk

Yours is a fine record, and one of which you yourselves and the whole of the people of Australia have the fullest reason to be proud. You have made, and are making, the military history of Australia, a history equal to that of any other brigade or body of troops in the Empire, or in the world; and you have performed deeds and achieved successes of which the Commonwealth will surely be proud. Pope's Hill position is named after the gallant commander of the 16th Battalion, which held it so long against such odds; Courtney's Post will for ever be associated with the 14th Battalion, which has defended it against all attacks for the whole period; the most difficult post of all, Quinn's Post, is named after Major Quinn, who died bravely at this post in the service of his country, and who, I am sure, would have preferred no more glorious death. This post will be for ever associated with the name of Lieut.-Colonel Cannon and the 15th Battalion. Nor will be forgotten the gallant behaviour of the 13th Battalion, under Lieut.-Colonel Burnage, who, among many other fine performances, held on for a night and a day in a difficult advanced position which they had stormed, and from which they did not withdraw until ordered to do so in view of the subsequent course of the operations.

The Turkish rout of May 18th-19th gave the Anzacs an ascendancy over the Turk which they turned to excellent account. A request for an armistice was the immediate outcome of that engagement, the Turks finding no other way to accomplish the burial of their dead, which were heaped in hundreds in the narrow lane of No Man's Land that separated the lines at the spot where the battle was thickest. Nor did they again engage in any elaborate offensive move against the Anzacs as long as they remained upon Gallipoli Peninsula.

The invaders wrought incessantly and skilfully to make their holding impregnable. By miracles of energy and engineering skill pieces of artillery were dragged up the steep hillsides and posted at spots that looked impossible. The engineers and miners were constantly at work, making covered ways so that the area of occupation might be furnished with paths proof to the shells which fell every day and at all hours of the day. The inventive Anzacs, by many ingenious devices, emphasised the mastery they had won. One such contrivance was the periscopic rifle, a combination of the service weapon and the periscope, by means of which a good marksman could make excellent practice from the safety of a deep trench. Such skill

SIR IAN HAMILTON INSPECTING ANZACS WHO FOUGHT UNDER HIM IN GALLIPOLI.
Going down the line, he had a cheery word and handshake for each one of them. Above: "Three cheers for Sir Ian!" Men who went through the glorious but ill-fated campaign cheering their appreciative commander.

"PROSPECTING" FOR THE EMPIRE.
Stripped to the buff, Australian pioneers are here seen doing a kind of work of which they had already considerable experience.

was developed in the use of this device that not a Turk ever ventured to show his head. Men landed at Anzac, fought in the trenches, were wounded by shell fire, and left the Peninsula to confess they had lived at close quarters with the Turks for weeks but had never seen one.

During this period the main British force at Cape Helles made several important attacks upon the Turkish lines there. At such times, in order that the Turkish forces before Anzac might not be drawn off to help in the defence, it became necessary for the Anzacs to make demonstrations against them. These operations were carried out with striking audacity, the men leaving their trenches and advancing against the Turkish positions with a daring that may have been their best defence, for the losses incurred were remarkably light when the risks run are taken into consideration.

In this way the weeks slipped by. Spring merged into summer, and the Anzacs met the tropical weather by stripping to the buff, going about their tasks arrayed only in the shortest of "shorts," boots, and pith helmets. They were in magnificent condition, burned a dark brown by the sun, and hard as nails. The stalemate their position implied did not please them. They could not be shifted, it is true; but they felt that they could not enlarge their little holding or fight to any effective purpose.

Cable message from the King

Early in 1915, when it was known that their men had arrived in Egypt, Australia and New Zealand began to look for tidings of their exploits on the battlefield. The first news to reach them was a cable message, graciously despatched by his Majesty the King to the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand after the landing on Gallipoli had taken place. "I heartily congratulate you on the splendid conduct and bravery displayed by the Australasian troops in the operations at the Dardanelles. They have indeed proved themselves worthy sons of the Empire."

This was the first news received of the despatch of their force to the Dardanelles; it was quickly followed by extended cables, relating the miracle of their landing, the glory of their charge at Krithia, the blow they dealt Liman von Sanders when he planned to drive them over the cliff-edge into the sea. The news thrilled the Continent of Australia from its populated coastal regions to the sparsely-inhabited plains of the interior. It ran like wildfire through the flourishing settlements of New Zealand, and all Australasia stirred with pride and consciousness of achievement.

Surely no countries ever entered the lists of war in such a blaze of glory!

There were dark moments for the Southern Dominions as well. In seven weeks the Anzacs had lost 14,000 men—one-half their number. Households that had never dreamed of war and loss by war rested under the dark shadow of irreparable loss. But they wore their mourning with a proud grief in Australasia, taking thought only of filling the gaps in their lines and of doubling the strength of their fighting force.

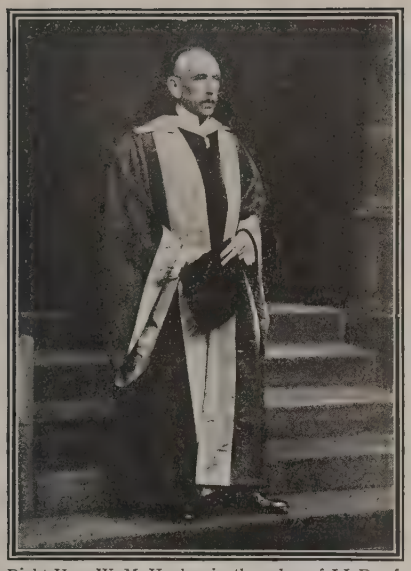
[*Official photographs.*

FOLLOWING UP WITH A "FLYING PIG."
In the course of the summer offensive, 1916, Anzacs loading a trench-mortar, known among the soldiers as a "flying pig."

Their instinct was backed by the warnings of the Imperial Government. The difficulties of the Dardanelles enterprise were now measured, and it was recognised that more men, and more men still, would be needed if the attempt so gallantly begun was to be carried to a successful end. In Australia the call was made to increase their quota for service overseas to 250,000 men, while New Zealand undertook to complete a force of 50,000.

The call for recruits rang through the great seaport cities. It spread beyond the mountain ranges to the agricultural uplands; it ran like a fiery cross to every remote settlement in the far interior. The response was magnificent. The State of Victoria, with a population of something over a million, yielded one thousand suitable men a day for a fortnight. That is only a sample of what was done throughout Australia and New Zealand. The recruiting agencies, operating in the cities and towns, received the best the country had to offer; but the bush gave of its best without the intervention of any agency.

From the fastnesses of the interior there began spontaneous pilgrimages to the sea-coast that were like nothing seen on earth since the days of the Crusaders. They were called "Wallaby Marches," and their course from



Right Hon. W. M. Hughes in the robes of LL.D. of Edinburgh University.

Lord Mayor of Cardiff presenting the freedom of the city to Mr. Hughes on the occasion of his visit to the Welsh capital.

Mr. and Mrs. Hughes chatting to a wounded Anzac at the Australian Convalescent Home, Harefield. On the extreme right is Mr. Fisher, and Mrs. Fisher is seen standing next to the nurse.

Mr. and Mrs. Hughes. A photograph taken after their visit to an Anzac Camp, just prior to their return to Australia.

Anzacs march past before the Right Hon. W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia. No politician ever had the pleasure of reviewing a finer body of soldiers than were raised in the Commonwealth. A number of British officers and the admiring inhabitants of a small French café were also spectators of this interesting event.

THE VISIT OF THE RIGHT HON. W. M. HUGHES, PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA, TO THE MOTHERLAND.

the centre of Australia to the sea was like the gathering of a mighty river from the conjunction of numerous little streams.

Somewhere in the heart of Australia, hundreds of miles from the railway terminus farthest inland, and scores of miles from any road, some young fellow would tell his neighbour—anyone within ten miles is a neighbour in such places—that on the morrow he would take the Wallaby Track. The neighbour, as likely as not, had the same intention. In the morning, with a "swag" containing clothing, blankets, and food for the journey on his back, each man would set out, the pair meeting where the bush track forked to their two holdings.

SEEING FOR HIMSELF.
The Right Hon. Andrew Fisher, who succeeded Sir George Reid, M.P., as High Commissioner for Australia in London, inspecting some of the Anzacs.

A CHOSEN SON OF THE EMPIRE.
General Birdwood decorating Sergeant Watson with the D.C.M. on the occasion of his visit to a New Zealanders' camp in England.

A few miles down the track they would find Bushman No. 3, equipped like themselves for a long tramp. They would swing along the track to the bush road, where a little school, a public-house and a police-station marked the locality of a bush township. Here were a few more adventurous souls; and they would all join forces and move along seawards. By night they slept under their blankets in the open air; by day they pressed on, growing in numbers as they marched forward.

The news of their coming preceded them to the little towns by the road, and more men would be added to their number. The good folk made ready for them, providing the best food and beds the place afforded, and encouragement of every possible nature. Girls on horseback escorted them along their path; and as they tramped they sang the song of the Wallaby Track, which is called "Waltzing Matilda." Matilda, it must be understood, is the Bushman's facetious name for the heavy "swag" he carries on his back; and when he prepares for the Wallaby Track he says that he is about to "waltz Matilda." So they sang:

Waltzing Matilda, waltzing Matilda!
Won't you go waltzing, Matilda, with me?
He sang as he sat by the edge of the waterhole,
"Won't you go waltzing, Matilda, with me?"

And so, in the end, they came to the railroad, a couple of hundred strong, to find a recruiting depot, where they exchanged their bush clothes for the good brown khaki which made them Anzacs and heirs to a tradition already glorious.

Such enthusiasm permitted Australia to have another division training in Egypt by the end of July, and yet further divisions in camp in the Commonwealth. New Zealand's efforts corresponded; and in both cases the new men were of the same high quality as their predecessors. The end of July marked a new era in the course of the Dardanelles operations, for then Sir Ian Hamilton began to act upon his scheme for transferring the main theatre of fighting from Cape Helles to Anzac.

The story of the Suvla Bay landing and of the part played in it by the Anzacs is told in Chapter CVII. It was, perhaps, the greatest of Anzac exploits to hold all the Turks in fight, while the British force was landed unopposed at Suvla Bay, and it was certainly the most costly in life and limb.

Here the 1st Brigade of Australian Infantry came into the limelight. The 3rd Brigade had led the way at the landing; the 2nd Brigade shared with the New Zealanders the honours of the Krithia charge; while the 4th Brigade had made a mock of the grandiose threat of Sanders Pasha. Now the 1st had its hard-fighting chance, for upon this brigade was cast the responsibility of opening the ball by charging the well-nigh impregnable position of Lone Pine. Later, on the western front, the same gallant brigade led the way into Pozières, and fought the Germans up and down the streets amid the ruined houses and into dug-outs fifty feet down in the earth. But the men will say that nothing in Pozières approached the fight for Lone Pine Plateau.

Fight for Lone Pine Plateau

The trenches they charged were roofed over with heavy balks of timber, and when the Anzacs leaped down into the obscurity below, the Turks for the first time stood and fought them with the bayonet, amid the gloom and the reek of their long occupation of these fetid dens. For days the fight lasted. Seven Victoria Crosses were won in that network of trenches, and countless deeds of heroism passed unnoticed. By such sacrifice was Lone Pine added to the area under Anzac occupation.

When they left Egypt for Gallipoli the Anzacs had left their cavalry behind them. It consisted of three brigades of Australian Light Horse and units of Mounted Rifles from the various provinces of New Zealand. The whole formed a cavalry force which, for its size, could not be bettered on the face of the earth. For certain kind of work, as subsequent events in Egypt were to show, it could not be approached. Men and horses alike were of the highest quality, perfect horsemen superbly mounted, and trained to meet any emergency and endure any hardship.

Deathless fame won at Suvla

When, however, the news of the Anzac landing reached them, and when they saw the first of their wounded limping to a Cairo hospital, the horsemen of Australasia were not content to be out of it. They volunteered as one man for trench duty, and their offer was accepted with a promptitude which showed how welcome it was. As foot soldiers they showed themselves the equals of the infantry through the months which preceded the Suvla Bay fight. In that fight they won deathless fame.

Mr. Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia, in one of the stirring speeches which electrified Great Britain during his visit in 1916, immortalised the Australian Light Horse in a passage in which he told of the daring and the sacrifices made by the Australian Light Brigade. The occasion was in the early dawn of August 7th, when the 1st and 3rd Brigades had to attack the Turkish trenches opposite the left of the Anzac line.

The 3rd were stationed on Russell's Top, and had long looked up the slope inland at the series of trenches the Turks had made there. They knew these works, protected by well-posted machine-guns and ranged by artillery; in short, they recognised that under Anzac conditions they were unassailable. Now they were ordered to charge this position. Without hesitation the 8th Battalion sprang over the trenches into a stream of bullets—only one man returned unwounded. The 10th Battalion followed, and lost more than half its number in a few seconds. The Turks were in great force opposite them,

WARRIOR SCIONS OF BRITAIN FROM THE ANTIPODES.

Anzac artillerymen awaiting to embark for the front. In the foreground a number of munition and baggage waggons line the quay ready for the transport. Above: Happy group of the First Australian Contingent, including two motor despatch-riders.

and ready to move off to oppose the British landing. It was no useless sacrifice that pinned them to the spot; and it was the nobler for that.

To the right of the 3rd Brigade the 1st Brigade of Light Horse was duplicating their experience. They charged across Bloody Angle from Pope's Post and Quinn's Post to the Turkish positions on Dead Man's Ridge, and in time came back from untenable trenches they had captured, sorely depleted in numbers. They, too, had gained the end for which they were sent out.

The Mounted Rifles of New Zealand equalled, if they did not surpass, the feats of the Light Horse. They were concerned in the direct attack on the mountain mass of Chunuk Bair, which intervened between Anzac and the road to the Dardanelles and the British objective at Maidos. The Wellington Mounted Rifles stormed a hill known as Tabletop, the angle of ascent being "impracticable for infantry"; but, in Sir Ian Hamilton's words, "neither Turks nor angles of ascent were destined to stop Russell or his New Zealanders that night."

Near by the Otago Mounted Rifles carried a similar stronghold, called Bauchop's Hill. The Auckland mounted men had captured another outpost, and on the next day took a part in the great effort of New Zealand, which won the crest of the great hill and a view of the promised land beyond. That position was lost later in the fight, but not by the men of New Zealand.

Prowess of New Zealand Rifles

The Suvla Bay fighting, which began on August 6th, ended on August 27th with the capture of Hill 60, an operation which established sound communication between Anzac and Suvla Bay, and consolidated the British holding along the sea-coast; but the hopelessness of the operation had now been recognised, and no further attempt to force a path across the Peninsula was made.

During the latter days of August the 2nd Australian Division began to arrive at Anzac from Egypt, and one battalion, the 18th, took a gallant part in the capture of Hill 60. The work which fell to the lot of the 2nd Division was far from being as showy as that performed by their forerunners. They had to sit tight in their trenches and endure the constant and persistent hammering from the Turkish guns, which was part of the daily routine of Anzac. Before the entry of Bulgaria into the war this daily bombardment had been limited by the need for economy in Turkish munitions. Much old and faulty material was hurled upon the area, the old-fashioned weapons in the Dardanelles forts expending their ancient shells in this fashion.

"Beachy Bill's" deadly fire

When the railway communication between Berlin and Constantinople was restored by the perfidy of Tsar Ferdinand of Bulgaria the Turkish bombardment assumed a more serious aspect. The modern weapons, which had been deprived of half their sting by lack of munitions, were now dangerously effective; and shrapnel and high explosive were showered upon Anzac from all quarters.

One battery, concealed in the mangrove swamp beyond the fort of Gaba Tepe, acquired a sinister reputation among the Anzacs, to whom it was known as "Beachy Bill." Scores of attempts were made to silence these guns by cruisers, which turned their heavy guns on to the emplacements. Sometimes they would do enough damage to keep "Beachy Bill" quiet for two or three days; but invariably the damage would be repaired, and he would begin to talk again.

[Official photograph.

A SYMBOL IN SILHOUETTE: ANZAC SENTRY ON GUARD FOR THE EMPIRE IN FRANCE.

He ranged the greater part of Anzac Beach, and aroused enmity in the minds of all by his interference with sea-bathing, a necessity there because of the waterless nature of the area. An Anzac statist made an estimate of the casualties due to this battery, and set the figure at over 1,500. "Beachy Bill" retained his effective measure of the beach until the very last day at Gallipoli.

This was only one among many quarters from which shell was rained upon Anzac. On the Asiatic shore, near Chanak Fort, was a battery of big guns which changed ground every day, the weapons being moved along a light railway. From this source came the "Sunrise and Sunset Hate," which were part of the Anzac daily round. Quick-firers were also posted about the hill mass of Sari Bair, so that there was little respite at any of the Anzac posts.

As the autumn advanced the sanitary conditions deteriorated notably. The soil became thoroughly infected, and an epidemic of dysentery afflicted the men. It was spread by the swarms of flies, which did more than anything else to make life intolerable and all food suspect. The lack of water, always a notable hardship, was felt the more keenly as the few wells the place boasted had to be condemned. When the torrential rains that ushered in the winter began to fall, the trenches got the drainage from the high ground above them and became almost untenable. Amid all these disadvantages the newcomers held on tenaciously and uncomplainingly, proving themselves to be of metal as good as their comrades who had preceded them to Anzac.

One battalion of the 2nd Division—the 21st—added to the fame of the Anzacs by an exhibition of discipline and steadfastness in extreme danger which has justly been compared to the glory won by the troops in the Birkenhead. On the last Monday in August, 1915, the 21st sailed from Egypt for Gallipoli in the transport Southland. At this time German submarines were very active in the Ægean Sea, and as the officer in command of the division, General Legge, and his Staff were also on board, special precautions were taken against attack. Boat and lifeboat drill occupied a good part of each day of the voyage, and this care on the part of the commanding officer of the battalion, Colonel Hutchinson, had its reward in the sequel.

FIVE PROVED FIGHTING MEN.

Anzacs leaving London on their way back to the front after short leave granted to some sixty of their number in appreciation of a dashing raid into German trenches on the western front.

Parade on sinking transport

On Thursday, four days after sailing, the Southland was nearing Lemnos, and the tension on the ship's officers was beginning to relax. Many of the men were on deck, preparing their equipment for the landing. Suddenly a voice called, "God! Is that a torpedo?" Many caught sight of the weapon just before it struck, blowing a hole thirty feet in diameter in the side of the Southland. Above all the din that resulted the ship's siren could be heard blowing the signal, "Abandon ship."

The men of the 21st behaved as though at one of their daily ship drills. They lined up on deck as if on parade, every man calm and collected, not one missing from his place. They watched the men from the engine-room rush on deck and lower boats, without any apparent concern. Their own business was to stand at attention, and wait for a lead from their officers.

General Legge and his Chief of Staff, Colonel Gwynn, were standing together, chatting and surveying the scene with apparent interest. The general, booted and spurred in the ordinary way, was smoking a cigarette. Their men, who were recruited from country farms in Victoria, only knew as much about boats as they had learned in boat drill, and many of them could not swim. But every man scorned to betray any more emotion than the general was showing.

Discipline preserved to the last

They showed to less advantage, perhaps, when they were set to the work of lowering boats and launching life-rafts. They were just as cool as ever, but the work was new and unfamiliar. One or two boats were upset as they were lowered into the sea, and what lives were lost were mainly lost through such mishaps. Among the dead, unfortunately, was the brigadier of the 6th Brigade, Colonel Linton, who was upset into the water, where he died of heart shock.

The captain of the Southland and his officers had behaved with wonderful promptitude and presence of mind in the face of the mishap. The magnificent steering of the captain enabled the wounded ship to escape the second torpedo launched at her, while the engineers at once saw to the closing of bulkheads and portholes. While the Anzacs were busy with boats and rafts the captain conceived the hope that his ship might be navigated to Lemnos under her own steam, and resolved to make the attempt.

He made a call, therefore, for volunteers from among the Anzacs to replace his stokers, most of whom had already left the ship. The response was so splendid that he was able to select, from among some hundreds, men who could claim previous experience in stoking. With the help of his officers and these volunteers he succeeded in beaching the Southland upon the island of Lemnos. The men who were in boats and rafts; and those swimming in the sea, were picked up by hospital ships, destroyers, and other British craft which hastened to answer the wireless call made by the operator of the Southland when the vessel was struck.

The Anzacs preserved to the last the discipline and cheerfulness which had marked their conduct from the moment the vessel was hit. As soon as all were again collected, General Legge issued an order congratulating them in high terms upon their conduct in this emergency.

Their arrival at Anzac was followed by a commendation from General Birdwood himself, worded as follows:

On behalf of all the comrades now serving on the Peninsula, I wish to convey to the Australian unit concerned our general feeling of admiration for the gallant behaviour of all ranks in the Southland. All the troops of the army corps have heard with pride of the courage and discipline shown at the moment when the nerves of the bravest

[Official photograph.

AUSTRALIAN CHEERS AND SMILES FOR THE KING IN FRANCE.

On one of his visits to France in 1916 the King had a full-hearted greeting from some Australian troops. The men were lined up by the roadside and cheered him enthusiastically, to the evident pleasure of his Majesty.

are liable to be so highly tried. Not only was there not the slightest confusion on the part of the troops, who quietly fell in and prepared to meet whatever fate might be in store, but later, when there was a prospect of the Southland being able to make way under her own steam and stokers were called for, the men at once came forward and successfully helped in getting the Southland into port.

The supreme courage displayed by the 21st in the face of imminent danger was shared by the whole Anzac force—a statement warranted by the behaviour of the men when the risky business of the evacuation had to be faced.

Quarrel of the "Diehards"

The steps by which the decision was taken to evacuate Gallipoli, and the success attending that remarkable operation, have been detailed at length in Chapter CVII. The most delicate part of the whole scheme had to be entrusted to the Anzacs, for they held the extreme outposts of the British area on the Peninsula.

One little mistake would have involved the men who held these advanced posts to the last in a rearguard action, in which they would probably have been called upon to sacrifice themselves to ensure the safety of the scheme. The men selected for this danger were known at Anzac as the "Diehards," and there was a great deal of heartburning there, because only a limited number might aspire to the honour. Men who had landed on the first day, and who were still at the post of duty after eight months of continuous danger, went to their commanding officers with tears in their eyes, to urge their claims to this distinction. The men quarrelled about it as they had never quarrelled before; for every Anzac wished to be a "Diehard."

The sacrifice they offered was not called for; for it is now a matter of history that the miraculous evacuation was accomplished without any loss of life whatever. So the Anzacs turned their back upon the place where they had won so much glory, as well as a title which will abide with them for all time. If they had any regret in leaving a place where they had endured so much to such little direct purpose, it was centred in the lonely plot of ground which held the mortal remains of their gallant dead; but they took comfort in the thought that the graveyard on the rugged Gallipoli hillside would be respected by a foe of whose chivalry and honour they had formed the highest opinion.

Among the many great services rendered by Australia and New Zealand to the Empire during the Great War, none will do more to strengthen the warm sentiment that unites the scattered Dominions than the forbearance from criticism or complaint in this moment of trial. Through no fault of theirs, the first great warlike enterprise in which they were intimately concerned had ended in ghastly failure, and the sacrifices they had made had come to naught. The total number of Australians and New Zealanders lost on Gallipoli may give some measure of the extent of that sacrifice. The figures are:

Australia:						
Killed	Officers	350	Ranks	6,750	—	7,100
Prisoners	,,	6	,,	52	—	58
Sick and Wounded	,,	—	,,		—	30,000
Total Australian Casualties						37,158
						37,158
New Zealand:						
Killed	Officers	116	Ranks	2,625	—	2,741
Prisoners	,,	—	,,	22	—	22
Sick and Wounded	,,	210	,,	4,691	—	4,901
Total New Zealand Casualties						7,664
						7,664
Grand Total of Anzac Casualties						44,822

The Empire waited for Australasian comment upon the evacuation, and thrilled to the unanimous voice of both Dominions. "It is a blow, but it will only serve to nerve us to greater efforts." Whatever criticism may have been hurled at the conception of the Dardanelles adventure, and whatever comment may have been passed upon its execution, no word of the kind was heard in the Antipodes. Later, when the High Commissioners of Australia and New Zealand were invited to sit upon the Commission of Inquiry into the operations in the Dardanelles, there were voices raised in protest from Australasia. The people of "Down Under" did not wish to appear as questioning in any way the Imperial authorities, to whom they entrusted their share of the direction of the war with supreme confidence.

The genius of Mr. Hughes

The debt of the Empire to Australia was augmented by the war services rendered by the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, the Rt. Hon. William Morris Hughes, P.C., during a visit paid to Great Britain in the spring of 1916. The mission which brought Mr. Hughes to London was of vital Imperial importance. He came, in the first place, to represent the feeling prevailing in all the Dominions Overseas that, just as they had borne

their full share in the prosecution of the war, so were they entitled to be heard with attention when the time should come for the consideration of terms of peace.

Another object he had in view was the re-establishment of the Australian industry for producing the baser metals, which had been in German hands until the outbreak of the war. The decisive steps Australia had taken to close all business dealings with the enemy had put an end for ever to this profitable connection for Germany. Mr. Hughes succeeded in re-establishing the industry on an Imperial basis. He had other objects as well, such as the provision of cargo vessels to carry the abundant wheat of the Commonwealth to the Allies' markets in Europe.

His coming aroused a moderate amount of interest and enthusiasm, which he rightly attributed to the reputation the Anzacs had won on the field of battle. "I feel," he said, in one of his first speeches to a British assembly, "that I stand before you to-night in the reflected glory of the Australian soldier." But the man himself, his fiery earnestness, his singleness of purpose, and the eloquent gravity of the message he had to deliver soon captured attention. In a few days his words were on the lips of the people, and were accepted with approval and gratitude as the sentiments of the average British citizen.

Mr. Hughes made vocal the uneasy feeling that most men cherished, not as to the result of the war, but as to the course of events after the war should be ended. He said what everybody was thinking vaguely and formlessly; he crystallised the national resolve that Germany should never again enjoy the easy tolerance which had reared her into the most stupendous danger that civilisation had ever encountered.

An Imperial warning

From the capture of London, Mr. Hughes turned to a triumphal tour of the provinces. Great and ancient cities competed for the right to entertain him, and to present to him their prized civic freedom. Honours were showered upon him by the seats of British learning; he went from place to place advising, warning, and prophesying. He was invited to take a seat at the historic Economic Conference of the Allied Powers in Paris, and helped to draft the solemn resolutions which, if faithfully carried out, doomed Germany to the position of a second-rate trading Power for generations to come.

After that conference had concluded its labours, Mr. Hughes returned to take up his arduous task in the Commonwealth, leaving the Motherland stimulated and cheered by the evidence he had given of the zeal and unshaken resolution with which the Southern Dominions were animated.

Before he left he was able to visit a great Australian training camp on Salisbury Plain, where a new Anzac division was already quartered, and where accommodation was provided for training as many men again for service on the western front. For more than a year the Anzac soldier, with his slouched hat, lean, brown face, and wiry, athletic figure, had been a familiar figure in the streets of British cities. His appearance dated back to the days that followed the first Gallipoli landing, when the wounded Anzacs were sent to Great Britain for the period of their convalescence. After the Suvla Bay fighting they came in their numbers, and at one time during the latter months of 1915 there were twenty thousand wounded Australians and New Zealanders recuperating in England.

Twenty thousand wounded Anzacs

Their presence necessitated the establishment of military offices, hospitals, convalescent camps, and training establishments by both Dominions in London and the neighbourhood. The men were the recipients of a hospitality they would remember all the days of their lives, a hospitality acknowledged by them so warmly in their letters home that it formed the subject of gratified comment throughout Australia and New Zealand. They were invited to British country houses and treated as honoured guests; friends they had never before seen called at their hospitals with motor-cars and took them out to see the sights; they were given free seats in the theatres, and the best seats at that; finally, when Christmas came round, any man of them might have eaten a dozen Christmas dinners had he felt so disposed.

The men themselves strove hard to live up to the high standard imposed by their new title of Anzac. They displayed an attention to smartness of appearance and correctitude of behaviour which surprised and gratified even their best friends. Their officers had always a strong hold upon them by appealing to the good Anzac spirit, the heritage they had won so gloriously and were to keep unsullied for Australasia.

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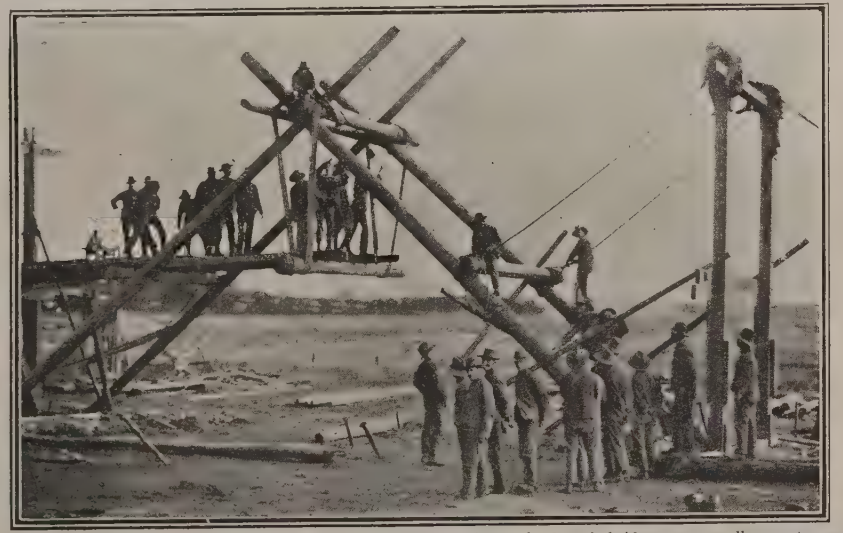
AUSTRALIANS RETURNING FROM THE TRENCHES THROUGH LANES OF BROTHER ANZACS.

Anzacs distinguished themselves by their dash and initiative in trench raiding. They showed equally praiseworthy steadiness and endurance under the torment of bombardment from heavy howitzers to which their own trenches were frequently subjected.

The pontoon bridge is the only one which is carried with an army. All other forms have to be constructed by the Engineers. These two photographs show a tidal ramp rise bridge in the making to enable troops to cross over on a tide.



Left: Building a bridge for heavy material. The maximum load such bridges are usually constructed to bear is five hundredweights per lineal foot for infantry, and four and a half hundredweights for field-artillery with two horses per gun. Right: Making thin wire rope.

AUSTRALIAN ROYAL ENGINEERS IN TRAINING IN ENGLAND: LEARNING TO BUILD BRIDGES AND SPIN ROPE

Their crowning debt to the sympathetic Mother Country was incurred when April 25th came round, and Australia and New Zealand celebrated their new and solemn holiday of Anzac Day, a day to be observed for ever by the young nations who were first tried and found worthy of their nationhood on that day. It was a day set apart to the memory of the Anzac dead, when all work ceased throughout Australia and New Zealand, and the citizens met in concourse to mourn with a sad pride that was half exultation.

The Anzacs in England wished to hold a celebration also, and cast about for some means. They found the way made marvellously easy for them. Westminster Abbey was lent them for the asking, a noble setting for their memorial service to their fallen heroes. More than that, London, which had given its streets up to no warlike demonstration since the day when war was declared, made an exception in their favour, and cleared its main streets of traffic that they might march through them to the Abbey.

Homage to the great dead

It was a memorable scene when the veterans of Anzac passed through the cheering London crowd on that glorious spring morning. The sun washed the grey streets of London with lavish gold, and the men, only two thousand all told, gloried openly in the flowers that were thrust upon them and the loud praise that was shouted at them. They were joined in the Abbey by the King and Queen, by Mr. Asquith and Lord Kitchener, by their Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Hughes, and by their trusted leader, General Sir William Birdwood. Those who had lived both in Australasia and the Motherland recognised that the boundless sympathy displayed with the Anzacs in their solemn celebration of the first Anzac Day was another symbol of the indissolubility of the great Empire bond.

By that time the transfer of the Anzac infantry to the western front, decided upon early in the year 1916, had already been accomplished. The men, rested fully after their arduous experiences in Gallipoli, were already pining for action again. Their ambition had always been to fight against the Germans and by the side of the Canadians, South Africans, and other troops from overseas. The wish was an easy one to gratify, and in April, 1916, the transfer of the infantry began.

A notable feature of the journey to Marseilles was an address delivered by General Sir William Birdwood to three thousand men in one of the transports, the text of which was afterwards communicated to the whole Anzac Force. It ran as follows:

Now that we are proceeding to France, I am republishing Lord Kitchener's message to the troops of the British Expeditionary Force, which was originally issued to the Australian and New Zealand Forces before their departure from their homes in October, 1914. I feel that it is hardly necessary for me to emphasise to all ranks how sincerely I trust that they will bear in mind all that Lord Kitchener says, and do their utmost to live up to the ideal which he has placed before you.

Since the Australian and New Zealand Forces left their respective countries you have made for yourselves a national reputation as good fighters, which has earned for you the esteem of your comrades, alongside of whom we will shortly be fighting. The training that you have had will, I hope, enable you to utilise your fighting qualities to advantage. But, in addition to these two qualifications, there is still a third which is essential to success—discipline; and it is the greatest of the three, for without discipline the best fighting troops in the world will fail at the last to achieve success.

You will undoubtedly be faced with temptations in France, for we shall probably have to pass through and be billeted in densely populated French villages. Drink will, I am afraid, be obtainable, while villages will mostly be full of women and children whose fathers, husbands, and brothers are fighting for their country in the trenches against our common enemy. That you will respect the women I have not the slightest doubt, because I well know how absolutely repugnant the idea of any offence against a defenceless woman is to every Australian and New Zealander. It is against drink, however, that I particularly wish now to warn you, and to implore you to take hold of yourselves, and in the case of every man absolutely to make up his mind and determine for himself that he will not give way to it, and that he will remember that the honour of either Australia or New Zealand is in his personal keeping. In saying this you all know that I am only referring to a very small proportion of your numbers. The great majority of you want no such warning, for I know you will already have made up your minds on the subject, and all such I earnestly beg to do what is in their power to look after their comrades who may not have the same strength of mind as they have.

Remember that a few black sheep can give a bad name to a whole flock; so let there be none such among us, and let us make up our minds that the Australian and New Zealand Forces are going to prove themselves second to none in the way of discipline, as they have already done where sheer hard fighting was concerned.

See to this, boys! You know you are capable of it, if you will only determine that it shall be so, and if you will do this you will be able to return to Australia and New Zealand after peace and victory with an unsullied reputation, which will go down for all time in your home.

[*Official photograph.*

WHERE THE PERISCOPE WAS INDISPENSABLE.

Turkish snipers were deadly on Gallipoli, and the Anzacs made good use of the periscope, which they were the first to adapt to the service rifle.

Early in April, 1916, the first bands of Australians began to arrive at Marseilles, where they were received by the French citizens with a cordiality which gave them an ineffaceable impression of the strength of the bond by which the Allies were united. They made the journey north by train, through the wonderful Rhone Valley in all the beauty of its spring verdure. Many of these men had never before gazed upon the landscape of an Old World country. After the sombre foliage of Australia and its sun-baked plains, the yellow desert sands of Egypt, and the scrub and mangrove of Gallipoli, the smiling vineyards and green fields afforded a memorable contrast. "What a country to fight for!" was the remark by which they translated their sense of its beauty and fertility.

France smiles on Anzac

Some of them had the honour of passing in review before General Joffre himself and of fraternising with the Russians,

STRENGTH AND TENDERNESS.
Transferring a patient from an emergency sling to the regulation stretcher of the ambulance-waggon.

who arrived at nearly the same time. Then they settled down in their new quarters in the neighbourhood of Armentières. It must be understood that a reconstitution had been effected while they were resting in Egypt. The 4th Brigade, formerly attached to the New Zealanders, was now to form the nucleus of a fresh division, known as the 4th. This, with the 1st and 2nd Divisions, which had served on Gallipoli under General Sir William Birdwood, constituted the First Australian Army Corps.

The New Zealand infantry had been augmented to form a division, and with the 5th Australian Division, which had been in training in Egypt, and the 3rd Australian Division, then on its way from Australia, made a second Anzac corps, commanded by General Sir Alfred Godley.

Men from each battalion were selected for special training to form trench-mortar sections, etc.; and every care was taken that each brigade, in equipment and fighting capability, should conform to the high standard of the British Army. One practical step, attended with excellent results, was the distribution, where possible, of the veteran fighters of Gallipoli among the men of the new and inexperienced battalions. This, and the admirable training many of them received in France at the famous "Bullring," ensured that the Anzacs, when they again took the field, were a fighting force equal to the task of maintaining the high reputation they had already earned.

Anzacs reinforce new battalions

The transfer of the Anzacs to the western front involved the shifting of the Anzac base and infantry training quarters from Egypt to England. The Imperial authorities put at the disposal of the Australian and New Zealand Governments a number of camps on Salisbury Plain, and the new drafts of troops were sent by direct route from Australia and New Zealand. Australia was fortunate in the selection for the post of Commandant of Commonwealth Troops in Great Britain of Brigadier-General Sir Newton Moore, a former Premier of Western Australia, who had been for some years Agent-General of that State in London.

When the convalescent men from Gallipoli had first been sent to Britain, he had organised and created for them a training depôt, and his firmness and understanding of the men had been instrumental in the success which attended these preliminary measures. The establishment on a much larger scale upon Salisbury Plain was evolved with a similar success, the men of the 3rd Australian Division settling down there automatically upon their arrival from Australia. The administrative work of the Military Office in London, which had been ably organised by a civil controller, Mr. H. C. Smart, now passed into the hands of General Sellheim, and after him into those of General Anderson.

At the same time New Zealand stepped into training quarters and a London Military Office, the whole establishment being controlled by General Richardson, a very distinguished New Zealand soldier. From the very outset New Zealand could point to its camps as models of order and efficiency. Thus England became the base of Anzac military operations, and the Anzac soldier, with his distinctive uniform, became an established street figure in the Old Country.

TRAINED SKILL AND INGENUITY IN THE FIELD.
The Anzacs included a notably fine corps of mounted ambulance men. One is shown here rendering first-aid to a wounded man while his comrades turn a saddle blanket into an emergency sling.

The Anzacs quickly signalised their presence on the western front by their prominence in those dashes upon the German trenches which characterised the British fighting in the days immediately preceding the "great push." The object of the raids in question was twofold—the capture of prisoners, so that the regiments in the opposing trenches could be identified, and the assertion of a mastery in fighting which was maintained throughout the subsequent offensive with such excellent results.

The typical raid was preceded by an artillery bombardment, which ensured, among other effects, that the barbed-wire protections should be broken and made negotiable. Then the trench-mortars were brought into play, demoralising the Germans still further. Working on a carefully-prepared time-table, the raiders dashed forward, covered the stretch of No Man's Land at top speed, and for eight minutes busied themselves with the enemy in his own trenches. Prisoners were seized and rushed back

to the British lines, and war material of any kind was picked up and removed. Everything was done at top speed, for at the end of the eight minutes the artillery was due to recommence its bombardment.

This was work which appealed to the Anzac soldier. The men laid themselves out in the most painstaking manner for its performance, considering every trifle that might make for efficiency. The finest athletes in each battalion were selected as raiders, and they trained for the work as though for an athletic meeting. They sprinted over hurdles, developing their leaping capacity so that such trifles as standing barbed-wire might not check their rush. They were rubbed down and dieted with strict care, and when the night came for the actual raid were as fit as hands could make them.

Then, with blackened faces and the minimum of equipment—though each man carried a revolver—they sprinted across the No Man's Land on their audacious errand. One of the first successful raids was carried out by some of the men of the 7th Brigade, who came back without the loss of a single man, and brought six German prisoners with them. When they burst into the German trenches the enemy, terrified by their blackened faces, set them down as Australian aborigines, and the legend of Australian coloured troops persisted in the German papers for long afterwards. The raid of the men of the 7th Brigade was the model for many succeeding raids, carried out with the best results.

Unflinching under heavy fire

In the trenches in the neighbourhood of Armentières the Anzacs made acquaintance with many aspects of trench warfare to which their Gallipoli experience had not accustomed them. They proved themselves unflinchingly courageous on many occasions under the torment of a heavy bombardment, directed upon some section of trench from the heavy howitzers which were the mainstay of the German artillery.

One notable instance was that of the 11th Battalion, one of the veteran regiments concerned in the initial landing on Gallipoli. The steadiness of this battalion under a shell fire which caused over three hundred casualties in a few hours was the subject of special commendation in an army order issued by General Birdwood in the month of May. Such visitations were not at all uncommon, and the experience was repeated by other battalions in the weeks which followed. On every occasion the Anzacs showed a steadiness and endurance corresponding to the dash and initiative they displayed in such work as the trench raids.

On the Somme front

Early in July the First Australian Army Corps, consisting of the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Divisions, was entrained for Amiens, and during the next three weeks moved by forced marches to various points in the neighbourhood of the Somme front. At the end of this period of final training they found themselves near Albert, the point from which the British troops started upon the offensive movement which began in July, 1916. From Albert they moved up to a position known as "Sausage Valley," opposite the village of Pozières, then strongly held by the Germans.

Northward was the village of Thiepval, the strongest point held by the Germans along that portion of the Somme front attacked by the British. Thiepval was strengthened by the famous Leipzig Redoubt, and its stout resistance was delaying the whole British advance. A necessary preliminary to its envelopment was the capture of Pozières, which had resisted five successive attacks by British troops. South of Pozières was another stronghold, Guillemont, afterwards brilliantly taken by British troops; while the road from Albert ran straight through the village of Pozières over the highest ridge in the Somme Valley to Bapaume, ten miles farther on. It was for an attack upon Pozières that the Anzac mobile column had been moved from Armentières.

The attack upon Pozières was opened from the south-west by the Anzacs, and from the north-west by some British troops (London regiments), in the early morning of July 23rd. The heroes of Gallipoli, the 1st Division

[*Official photograph.*

THE ROAR OF THE LION'S CUBS: AUSTRALIAN GUNNERS IN ACTION.

Stirring scene on a sector of the line on the Somme held by the Anzacs—Australian battery galloping up to a point where one of their heavy guns was already bombarding the enemy.

of Australian Infantry, were chosen to open the ball, and after a bombardment from the British artillery, which exceeded anything the Anzacs had ever before known, they went out along the Contalmaison road to the assault of the first German line. A second wave charged beyond this to the second line, which ran along a light railway the Germans had built before the village.

Successes in the "Great Push"

This position was carried by assault, and further waves of Anzac braves rushed beyond it to the storming of the village itself.

In two hours from the initiation of the movement the Anzacs were digging in along the Bapaume road, on the north-easterly edge of Pozières. North of them, but some three hundred yards away, the British troops had also established themselves. By midday the Anzacs had consolidated the positions they had gained, and by night were enduring a heavy bombardment from the German guns. These had been moved over the ridge beyond Pozières, but as the British airmen permitted the enemy flying men to make no observations, the shell fire was not entirely effective. More damaging was the enfilading fire from the direction of Thiepval, and during the ensuing days the Anzacs suffered heavy casualties from this source.

At Pozières the Anzacs made acquaintance with some of those remarkable dug-outs constructed by the Germans on lines that rendered them impervious to the worst shell fire. These constructions were thirty feet and more under the earth, spacious and well furnished, giving an air of permanence never hitherto encountered in trench warfare. They had to be captured one by one, and as many of them were connected by underground passages, the Anzac bombing-parties spent many exciting hours in the smoking-out of this rabbit-warren. In this work they found their gas bombs, charged with innocuous but vile-smelling fumes, of the greatest assistance.

It was long before they exhausted the wonders of those subterranean dwellings. Several had periscopes, similar to those in use on submarines, so that the occupants, lying snug thirty feet down, could see what was going on upon the surface of the earth. More than one had an automatic lift, for the purpose of moving machine-guns and other heavy things up and down. All were well stocked with luxuries, including abundance of liquid refreshments; some were papered with wallpaper; and in one, at least, was found a large walnut wardrobe full of women's attire, with other signs to show that the occupant's wife shared the dangers of warfare with him at the very front of the German line.

Having once got their feet in Pozières, the Anzacs remained proof against a series of German counter-attacks which were made on the place. Indeed, a week after its capture, the 2nd Australian Division was sent forward against the German trenches below the ridge, and carried them after a stiff fight, in many respects more protracted and stubborn than that by which the position was gained. This success was followed up on August 5th by the 4th Division, which carried the Anzac lines to the flank of the high ridge.

A week later the ridge itself was taken by another great assault, the fourth battle the Anzacs had fought in the neighbourhood of Pozières in three weeks. When it was over they had the ridge won. In the distance they could see the German guns which had been bombarding them for twenty days retreating down the slope, far away in the neighbourhood of Bapaume. Before them was the village of Martinpuich, a German stronghold that had still to be attacked, while far on the left they could discern the British lines drawing in around Thiepval.

Those four battles for Pozières and the ridge were the greatest battles in which the Anzacs had ever fought. "I do not know," wrote Mr. C. E. Bean, the official historian of the war for the Commonwealth of Australia, "if it is realised what tremendous fighting all this is. The series of battles now being fought by the Australians is the biggest in which our troops have ever been engaged, and they have fought in a manner beyond all praise. It is sufficient to say that it is becoming recognised by their fellow-soldiers here that the reputation won by the troops of the Anzac Corps in Gallipoli was not exaggerated."

ON LEMNOS: AN ISLE OF GREECE HENCEFORWARD LINKED WITH THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALASIA.
In April, 1915, the infantry of Australia and the whole New Zealand force arrived at Lemnos and Imbros for final training before landing on Gallipoli. Off Lemnos the 21st Battalion won immortal honour by its courage and discipline in the torpedoed Southland.

The tremendous nature of the fighting was indicated by the Anzac casualty lists. In a few weeks they had lost more men by far than the total number of their Gallipoli losses. The proportion of serious wounds, however, was much lower than that to which their first experience of fighting had accustomed them, and, like the British troops everywhere upon the western front, they found their mortality appreciably reduced by the steel helmets they wore.

Splendid in attack or defence

In the days that followed their consolidation of the position they had won upon the high ridge the British took Guillemont upon their right, and began, with the French, to close in upon Combles. This movement the Germans sought to stultify by desperate efforts to recover the lost ridge. In the incessant counter-attacks they were called upon to meet, the Anzacs had once more the opportunity to show that they had endurance as well as dash, and that they could hang on to position as well as carry it by assault.

Other battalions were moved from Armentières to assist in carrying on the movement so splendidly initiated, and among them the celebrated New Zealanders. They,

March-past of an Australian battery on the occasion of a review of the Anzacs by the King on Salisbury Plain, September, 1916.

His Majesty receiving C.O.'s and Staff officers after the review of the Australian and New Zealand troops on the historic Wiltshire plain.

THE SPREADING HOSTS OF ANZACS UNDER ROYAL REVIEW ON SALISBURY PLAIN.

too, set the seal on the fame they had won on the crest of Sari Bair by their exploits between Pozières and the German lines, shining by their valour in three desperate fights for Mouquet Farm, afterwards won and held by the Canadians. Enough had already been done to make the name of Pozières as closely associated with the prowess of Anzac troops as Ypres is with the undying glory of the Canadians.

Having raised by voluntary effort a force of some 350,000 men, Australia and New Zealand were still anxious to accelerate the great effort they were putting forward, in common with the rest of the Empire, to secure victory and an honourable and speedy peace. The example of compulsory service abroad, set by the Mother Country in the early months of 1916, was held before the eyes of these patriotic young nations, and New Zealand first decided to follow it. With very little opposition or comment the principle was adopted and put in force by the Dominion in June, 1916.

New Zealand decrees conscription

In the Commonwealth action was delayed by the absence of Mr. Hughes in Great Britain; but immediately upon his return the question engaged his attention and that of his Cabinet. The proposal for compulsory service abroad encountered more opposition in Australia than in New Zealand, and it is noteworthy that the opposition was well represented in the Labour Ministry, at the head of which Mr. Hughes stood. The formulation of a scheme involved long and anxious consideration by the Cabinet as well as a secret session of the National House of Representatives.

In the end it was announced that the final decision of the question would be left to the people. Arrangements were made for taking a referendum of the nation upon the subject, special interest and importance attaching to the fact that the men already serving with the Colours were given an opportunity of voting, as well as the adults of both sexes who had remained in Australia.

It has to be borne in mind that the whole cost of these extensive and far-reaching military operations was borne by the Dominions themselves. Local war loans provided a very gratifying proportion of the huge sums that had to be provided, the citizens of Australia and New Zealand shouldering the cost in the same cheerful spirit as the home-keeping British people.

The remarkable generosity shown in the support of all war funds was characteristic of the Australasians. In the first two years of the war the benefactions of the Commonwealth population reached the total of £6,000,000 in cash, in addition to valuable gifts in kind, a system initiated in the first days of the war, and steadily maintained throughout its course. New Zealand, as usual, bettered Australia in proportion to population, and in two years provided £1,500,000, in round figures, for war charities.

One heard a great deal of the great sympathy for Belgium shown by the United States since its occupation by Germany—a feeling crystallised in the oft-repeated phrase that "America has fed the Belgians." It is interesting to note, in the light of this belief, that every New Zealander gave six shillings to the Belgian Relief Fund, and every Australian nearly five shillings. The total of the American benefaction, if spread over the population of the United States, shows that each American citizen subscribed but sixpence to this fund.

Such is the record, in brief outline, of the service rendered to the Empire and the allied cause by Australia and New Zealand in the first and second years of the war. Some emphasis was laid in the opening paragraphs upon the readiness and preparedness of these two Dominions to begin the fight; but time and disappointment had no effect upon the stern resolve with which the Southern Dominions entered the lists, except to stiffen them to greater effort and higher resolve. It was no momentary enthusiasm, expending itself by its own vehemence, but the sturdy, continuous manifestation of a deep conviction, shared by two nations unanimous in their opinion.

Australasia's noble record of service

The moral support derived from this attitude of two of the greatest of our self-governing Dominions was only second to the material support they gave from the first day of the war, and steadily increased throughout its progress. The inspiriting promises made in August, 1914, by the leaders of Australasia were honoured beyond all conception then formed of the amplitude of their meaning. That is their record of service—a noble chapter to be set alongside others equal in grandeur, and headed Canada, South Africa, and India.

A TEMPLE AMONG THE ROCKS: AUSTRALIANS AT SUNDAY PRAYERS ON GALLIPOLI.

Religious services were held regularly wherever possible on Gallipoli, under the shelter of any hill or heap of rocks, often with shells and bombs dropping near by.

BATTERY OF "75's" ENGAGED AT VERDUN.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

THE CLOSING VICTORIES AT VERDUN AND PREPARATION FOR THE SOMME COUNTER-STROKE.

By Edward Wright.

Falkenhayn as the Grand-Vizier of the Teutons—His Personal Struggle against Hindenburg and Bethmann-Hollweg at Verdun—Position of France under the Tremendous Strain—General Joffre's Marvellous Patience and Tenacity—M. Briand Frustrates Intrigues against the French Staff—Terrific German Flank Attacks End in a Decisive French Victory—Rise of General Nivelle and the Glorious Defence of Dead Man Hill—Three Frenchmen Defeat Thousands of Germans—Extraordinary Swarm Attacks Broken by French Fire—Germans Lose a Hundred Thousand Men in One Day—General Mangin Recovers Douaumont Fort and Relieves Pressure on Dead Man Hill—New Direction of Enemy's Storming Attacks—Struggle in the Ravine of Death—Immortal and Incomparable Defence of Vaux Fort—Its Effect upon French Opinion and the Directing Power of the Parisian Mind—French Provinces at Last Convinced and Confidence in the Government Fully Restored—Germans' Drive Through Thiaumont into Fleury—Superb Recovery of the Thiaumont Garrison—More than Half the German Forces in the West Lost in the Furnace of Verdun—Decisive Difference between the French and German Handling of Infantry—Every Dead Frenchman Takes Three Germans With Him—General Nivelle Recovers Thiaumont and Intimidates the German Staff—His Threat to the Lorraine Ironfields Assists the Franco-British Operations on the Somme.

IN Chapter CXIII. Lord Northcliffe has given a description of the struggle around Verdun up to the close of March, 1916. Much that he knew at the time of writing he could not reveal to the public; but now that the tension at Verdun has been relieved by the Franco-British offensive on the Somme, it may be admitted that the peril to France and her Allies during the German thrust at the Meuse was extreme. General von Falkenhayn robbed all his fronts of men and shell in his endeavour to break a path by Verdun. The great eastern offensive, which Hindenburg and Ludendorff had arranged, was not merely postponed; it had to be abandoned owing to Falkenhayn's desperate persistence at Verdun. Ludendorff at last resigned his position as Hindenburg's Chief of Staff, and implored Hindenburg also to retire from active command in the German Army. But the old Field-Marshal grimly remained at his weakened and useless post. No doubt he foresaw the swift approach of the day when he would be avenged upon Falkenhayn and Falkenhayn's puppet, the Crown Prince, with General Mudra and Field-Marshal von Haeseler and all the other supporters of Erich von Falkenhayn. Falkenhayn was using up the German reserve with terrible speed in a supreme endeavour to retrieve the grand mistake in his strategy.

GENERAL NIVELLE.
In June, 1916, General Nivelle (on the left) took command of the Army of Verdun, General Pétain having been appointed to the command of the armies of the centre.

The German commander had made no mistake in selecting Verdun for attack. In May, 1915, six of the largest industrial and agricultural associations in Germany demanded that Verdun should be captured. They pointed out that this strong salient in the French front was a great menace to the ironfields of the Briey basin, from which Germany was obtaining nearly eighty per cent. of the steel required for guns and shells. The Briey mines were scarcely twenty miles from the fortified line of Verdun, and France had been allowed to retain them after the Franco-Prussian War because the iron was of such poor quality as to be practically worthless. An English invention, however, made the ore of high value, and for this reason the strongest German army under the Crown Prince

THE FRENCH HERO OF FORT VAUX IN GERMAN CAPTIVITY.

Major Raynal (marked with a cross) photographed with his adjutant after their capture. The defence of Fort Vaux was one of the sublime achievements at Verdun. When thirst compelled Major Raynal to surrender, June 6th, 1916, the French Government appointed him Commander of the Legion of Honour.

co-operated with the army of Metz in springing upon the ironfields in the early days of the war, and securing twelve million additional tons of steel for the manufacture of guns, shells, tractors, and rails. The conquest of the Briey basin was the chief economic factor which made it possible for Germany to continue the war. The Germans expected that France would launch her supreme offensive movement towards the Briey basin. Therefore, General von Falkenhayn erected a semicircle of monster guns round the ironfields and, anticipating a French advance, tried to hack his way into Verdun. As we have seen, he was caught and held round Douaumont, and he could not then break off the battle because the German Emperor had, with extreme rashness, deeply involved the military prestige of his Empire in the aborted Verdun operations.

Falkenhayn's personal pride was also implicated in the affair. Besides having an embittered rival in Hindenburg, the Chief of the Great Staff had a formidable opponent in the Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, who wished to subordinate all large military questions to certain political views. Supported by many of the principal German industrial and financial magnates, who were thinking of the huge task of reconstructing German foreign trade after the war, Bethmann-Hollweg had some very serious differences with General von Falkenhayn and with Falkenhayn's men on the Great Staff. Bethmann-Hollweg would have been glad to help Hindenburg and Ludendorff to get supreme control over all military operations. Falkenhayn, of course, was well aware of this, and it was one of the motives that induced him to keep hammering at Verdun until he lost more than half a million men. Success at any cost would enable him to maintain his position, and prevent the military policy of the Great Staff from being subjected to political control. First as Minister of War and then as Chief of Staff, Falkenhayn outplayed Bethmann-Hollweg and had overthrown the tradition established by Bismarck, who had repeatedly restrained Moltke. The power of the Great Staff became practically despotic, and so long as Falkenhayn could manage the Kaiser he was in a position similar to that of one of the old fighting Grand-Viziers of the Ottoman Empire. He controlled the lives of all the men of the Germanic Empires and all their resources that could be used in war. So, for personal as well as dynastic and national reasons, this hard, desperate, brilliant courtier-soldier fought against the enemies in his own house by flinging lives away by the hundred thousand at Verdun.

Feud among German leaders

We must think of the position of Falkenhayn before Verdun when we sadly ponder the mistakes made by Great Britain and France in the early phases of the war. Large, loose, half-organised modern democracies, governed by committees of orators, tend to compromise over grave military difficulties instead of driving quick and straight towards some solution. They often move slowly when time is of the essence of success, and they hesitate when quick decision is needed. There have been occasions when Great Britain could have retrieved her great mistakes if only she had strongly and swiftly persisted, when by sheer stubbornness she might have made her errors good. This is the reason why the republicans of ancient Rome put themselves under a Dictator when their national life was in great danger, and it is reported that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain used to think that the loose democracies of the British Empire could only weather a great Continental war by following the old Roman model.

But from the case of Falkenhayn we can now see that the unity of decision and control of all human and material resources, which is the chief source of strength of a temporary or permanent military despotism, has special weaknesses of its own, which tend to balance the weaknesses of the Parliamentary system of managing a war. A German Cabinet, responsible through Parliamentary representatives to the German people, might have broken off the attack on Verdun in time, as the British Cabinet broke off the attack on the Dardanelles. The grounds of the quarrel between Falkenhayn and Hindenburg would have been ventilated, and though the Great Staff would have lost some of its power, it would not have been at last overthrown completely by a man of such low general calibre as the wooden idol of Berlin.

Weakness of despotism

This point is one of supreme and lasting importance. Germany's main advantages were derived from the fact that she possessed the most efficient system of despotic control known in history. She was the practically perfect incarnation of all the political, social, economic, and financial forces of despotism traceable elsewhere only in plutocratic Trust systems without military power, in military tyrannies without great economic strength, and in social systems of caste lacking an emperor behind them. Germany combined, in a strongly modernised form, all the elements of despotic power. Even her sham revolutionary working classes were chained to the vast war-machine of the Great Staff of which Falkenhayn was in single-handed control.

Falkenhayn was himself a miracle of adjustment. He had such soldierly qualities as made him the choice of the able military experts of the Great Staff, and when at last he fell no eminent German could be found of such proved

On the field before Douaumont: French officers watching artillery fire.

"Fall 'midst the ruins rather than surrender!" Motto of Fort St. Michel, Verdun.

Shattered houses along the Meuse: Verdun Cathedral in the background.

Effect of German long-distance bombardment on the ancient part of Verdun.

French soldiers testing respirators before advancing to the first line.

Field kitchen hidden among the pines in the environs of Verdun.

A maelstrom of the Meuse: French infantry debouching to attack a flaming ridge near Douaumont.

ability as was this man of Austrian stock. But in addition to his soldierly qualities Falkenhayn possessed a remarkable power of personal charm, which subdued the Dowager Empress of China some years before it mastered the Crown Prince and the Kaiser. Vivacious, amusing, subtle, and diplomatic as beseemed an Austrian nobleman, Falkenhayn was also a general of the grand school, eclipsing the younger Moltke, Haeseler, Heeringen, Hindenburg, Kluck, and other northern Germans of some renown. He was likewise a statesman, thought by the Great Staff and by the Prussian aristocracy to be better than Bethmann-Hollweg. And in so far as his plans for the reconstruction of Europe were carried out by him at the point of the bayonet they were certainly realisable. But the trouble was that this extraordinary man, exercising a combination of military force and industrial power unimagined by any other despot from Hammurabi to Napoleon, was an underling and not a born war lord. At each step he had to justify himself by success. He could not withdraw from Verdun, or Hindenburg and Bethmann-Hollweg would have overthrown him. Yet, owing to the immense power that had been given to him, this persuasive, influential, intriguing upstart could go on sacrificing large armies, month by month, in an endeavour to maintain his position.

France in the balance

The ordeal of France during the frantic explosion of German energy that Falkenhayn directed was terrible and tragic. Every French hamlet had to send forth men to die at Verdun. The German Chief of Staff transformed the struggle into an incomparable test of the staying power of the German and French races. On all fronts there was a great pause, while Gaul and Teuton rocked in slow, deadly wrestle on the Meuse. The Russians attempted a movement of relief on their southern front, but it was little more than a demonstration. Not only did it fail to carry any enemy trenches, but it convinced the Teutons that Russia was still too weak to do anything. The British Army did not move, the Italian Army remained practically stationary, and the Franco-British force at Salonika attempted no diversion. Falkenhayn, therefore, was able to concentrate his strength on the narrow sector of Verdun. German troops were taken from various points on the Russian front, and there replaced by Austrian troops. Siege-guns were moved even from Serbia towards Verdun, and except for the store of shell which the Austrians were accumulating in the Trentino, and the diurnal numbers of rounds needed for defensive purposes on all fronts, the grand stream of shells and guns from the Germanic war factories poured into the rail-heads near the Meuse.

There was no art or science in the desperate attacks that Falkenhayn prepared from his Staff Headquarters at Charleville on the Meuse. His method was plain, simple, and brutal. It was the method of the bull rush. He massed his guns first on one point and then on another, sending out the Germans to die in divisions so that he might put the French out of action in brigades. He sacrificed three Germans to kill one Frenchman. His idea was that France would not stand the incessant strain. No doubt his spies in France informed him that certain sections of the French race were beginning to weaken. A few French Socialists, who remained in touch with the treacherous leaders of the German democrats, arranged to meet some of the Germans in Switzerland and discuss a European peace. An agreement was signed in Switzerland by certain French and German Socialists. In the French Parliament there were intrigues against M. Aristide Briand, the Premier, who was personally responsible for launching the expedition to Salonika and thus apparently wasting a large, fine French force that was bitterly needed at home. M. Georges Clemenceau, the notorious breaker of Ministries, was one of the men who wished to recall the French troops at Salonika. Among the French peasantry there were grumblings about British slackness in not coming to the assistance of the hard-pressed army of General Pétain.

FOR VERDUN THE GLORIOUS.

Decorations of seven Powers for Verdun. At the top: Cross of St. George (Russia). Left to right: Military Cross (Britain), Legion of Honour and War Cross (France), For Military Valour (Italy), For Military Bravery (Serbia), Cross of Leopold (Belgium), Gold Medal Chilitch (Montenegro).

France certainly felt the strain. Russia seemed to be too much weakened to assist her. Indeed, the Russians could not apparently hold the main Austro-Hungarian Army and relieve the pressure against the Italians in the Trentino. Great Britain had been boasting to all the world about her five million recruits and her enormous new munition plants; but Sir Douglas Haig, who in the previous autumn had relieved the pressure against the Russians by his offensive at Loos, remained strangely quiet, while Germany, who was maintaining an output of nearly 400,000 shells a day, bent all her forces to the task of annihilating France.

Had it not been for General Joffre, an influential part of the French people might have lost faith in victory. Thanks, however, to the reputation he had won on the Marne after a period of horrible anxiety, General Joffre exercised, without speaking, a marvellous ascendancy over the soul of his heroic commonwealth. Despite the intrigues in Parliament against the Premier, despite the intrigues in Switzerland against the future of humanity, and despite the vague, wide grumblings against the mysterious policy of the egotistical Britons, and the general feeling of despair in regard to Russia, France as a whole stood as firm as a rock, because of her confidence in her quiet Commander-in-Chief.

Joffre restores French confidence

General Joffre's immediate plan was very simple. It was to hold out. As was afterwards revealed, much to the satisfaction of the French people, Sir Douglas Haig had placed himself completely at the service of the French Commander-in-Chief, and had suggested that he should use the British Army to weaken the thrust at Verdun.

But General Joffre had refused the proffered help. No man knew better than he what his country, with its exceedingly low birth-rate, was suffering on the Meuse. He had but to send a telegram to British Headquarters, and a million Britons, with thousands of heavy guns, would fling themselves upon the German lines and compel Falkenhayn to divide his shell output, his heavy artillery, and his millions of men between Verdun and the Somme. But General Joffre, instead of sending the telegram in question, merely despatched officers to British Headquarters to assure and calm the chafing Scotsman commanding the military forces of the British Empire.

In the matter of tenacity of character, it may be doubted whether any ancient commander has shown the power of General Joffre. There have been many great captains to inspire fighting races to struggle to the death rather than give in. But has there been any other leader in war who has watched his fellow-countrymen fall by the hundred thousand and ordered them to go on falling, when he could have saved them by allowing a million foreign soldiers, all passionately eager to help, to join in the struggle? No such leader can be found in history. Up to the present time every race, however honourable and chivalrous, has in a period of dire national necessity been moved by national egotism. It has faithfully combined in operations with allies, as British and Dutch did in the age of Louis XIV., as British and Prussians did in the age of Frederick the Great and Napoleon. But every country fought for its own immediate interests, and, except where protected by sea-power, entered into negotiations for peace when left single-handed to face the shock of an overwhelming attack. This was what Erich von Falkenhayn relied upon. He felt sure that he had only to persist in massing his entire forces around Verdun and hammering

THE DESERTED CITY.
Ruins of Verdun. Much of the débris was arranged alongside the roadway.

A DEVASTATED VERDUN STREET.
A German onslaught on Verdun was always a foregone conclusion, but no citizen could have visualised its enormity, and no war expert could have foretold its abject failure.

there for months in order either to induce France to make peace or to bring the British Army also into the furnace of battle.

General Joffre's position was very difficult. He did not possess any such despotic power over his country as Falkenhayn possessed over Germany and Austria-Hungary. No dynastic and caste interests were involved in the stand he was making. Yet he could not reveal to his fellow-countrymen at large the reason why he used only Frenchmen to resist the tremendous German pressure. He represented an alert, expressive, cultivated democracy that liked to think out things for itself, and keep its Government strictly in the position of an executive of its ideas and desires. During the ten years before the war several powerful groups of French workmen had been breaking away from State control and developing an intensified form of particularism based upon a new guild system. Neither in ancient Athens nor in mediæval Florence was the spirit of personal liberty so highly developed as in the French Republic of the twentieth century. Yet these Republicans, with their fine intelligence, their passion for reasoning out everything and actually governing themselves, had to submit to fall at Verdun without understanding why they fell. And it was because they could not understand why General Joffre did not ask Sir Douglas Haig to help them that the Chamber of Deputies became restive, and strange rumours about the intentions of Great Britain spread and grew embittered as they spread.

Public opinion mystified

General Joffre had to resist considerable pressure from his own countrymen while withstanding enormous pressure from the enemy. Yet this wonderful man—surely the supreme flower of modern European democracy—displayed on his bluff, quiet, fatherly face no shadow of anxiety. At various times he had made three plans for a general

THE MARK OF THE BOCHE.
French soldiers amid the ruins of a thoroughfare at Verdun.

[French official photograph.

WANTON DESTRUCTION BY THE ENEMY.
Beaurepaire Bridge and Place Chevert, Verdun. Several houses of business were shattered here. In the distance is seen the Bell Tower of the Hotel de Ville.

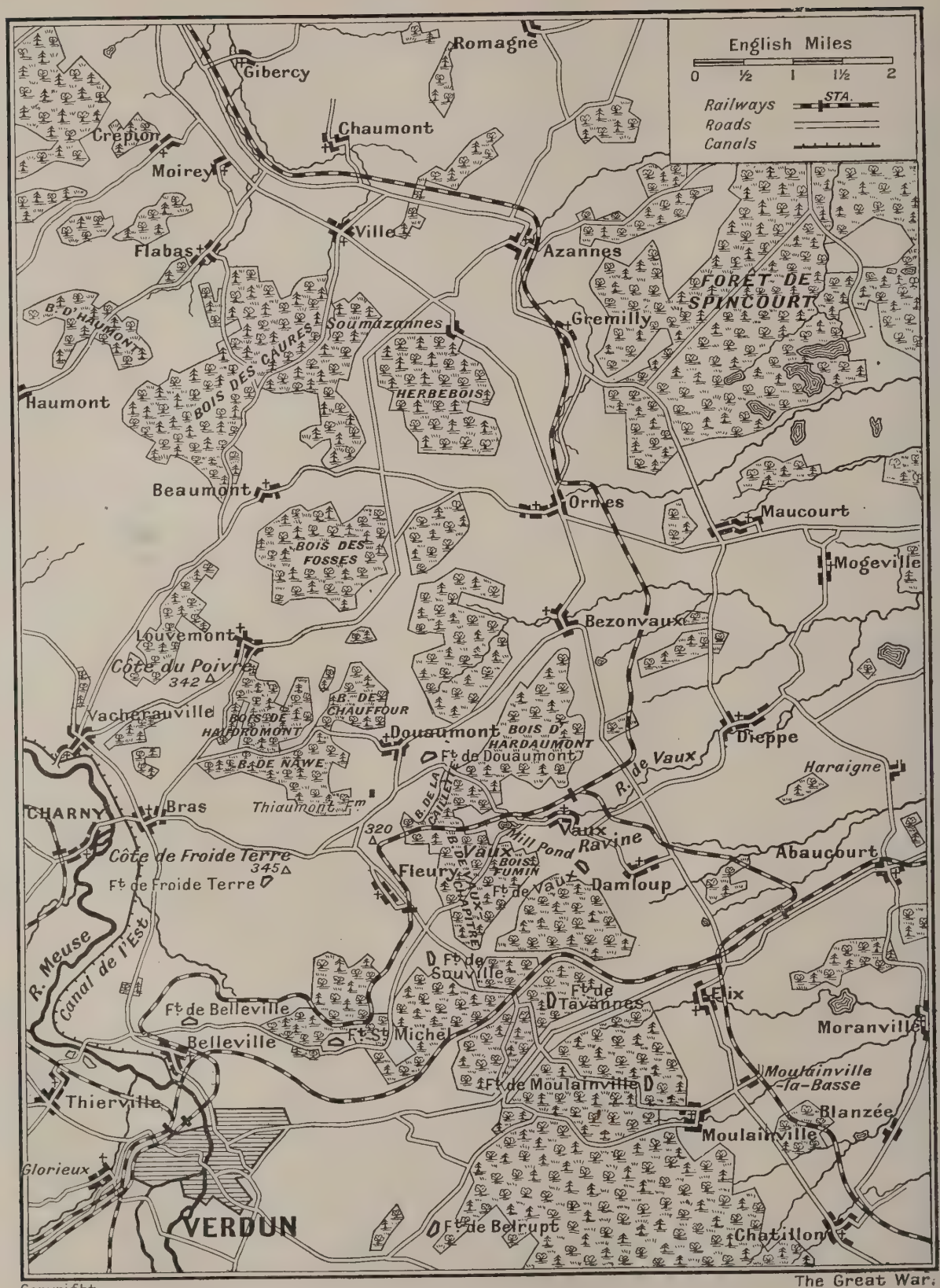
offensive movement by all the Allies. First, he had sent his right-hand man, General Pau, to Italy, Serbia, Rumania, and Russia to arrange for a simultaneous movement against the Central Empires. Pau's arrangements fell through owing to the Russian retreat. Then in February, 1916, under General Joffre's directions, General Castelnau had collected the finest French forces under a new general of the young school, General Pétain, as the French spear-head in a general allied attack planned in December, 1915, to take place in the spring of 1916. This attack Falkenhayn had again frustrated by employing on the Meuse the same terrific hammering tactics as he employed on the Dunajec and Biala. General Pétain's force had to be diverted to Verdun, in order to prevent the Germans from breaking through.

There then remained to the hand of General Joffre, as an instrument for a third attempt at a general allied offensive, the great new British Army, under Sir Douglas Haig. And this Army, General Joffre was determined, should not be diverted from the task to which he had assigned it. The French people murmured, the British people chafed, but General Joffre remained inflexible.

Britain's inexplicable inaction

In Russia a powerful body of politicians and courtiers began to despise the New Army of Great Britain that did not come to the help of heroic and desperate France. Certain Russian newspapers openly jeered at the sorry part which the Britons seemed to be playing. They attributed selfish designs of a most sinister cast to the British Cabinet, and advocated that peace should be made with Germany and Austria, in order to prevent the British from standing at last victorious over the exhausted Germans and French, without having struck one great blow on land during the struggle. All the neutral Press in Europe that did not sympathise with the Allies was full of calumnies about the cold, serpentine, egotistical strategy of the British Empire. By many subtle channels the French were informed that unless they accepted a fragment of Southern Alsace and made a friendly peace with Germany, strong, idle, selfish "England," who was continually accumulating men and munitions, would become master of the world without the trouble of striking a blow.

Happily, in this turmoil of battle and intrigue, General Joffre and his Staff did not stand alone, as did General von Falkenhayn and his Staff. The French Premier, M. Briand, brought the most valuable assistance to General Joffre during the critical period when General Pétain's army was absorbed in the Verdun struggle. M. Briand knew very little about military matters. He had entered on his political career as a Socialist, with much of Mr. Lloyd George's old passion for despoiling the rich in order to help the poor to attain a decent standard of life. But, like Mr. Lloyd George, the French social reformer was a man with a remarkable open mind and a remarkable gift of persuasion. In other words, he was a born diplomatist, and after becoming convinced of the necessity for a very strict combination of all the allied forces, he set himself to win over Italy and Russia to the third French plan for a combined movement. The British Staff seems to have been in the happy position of needing no persuasion in military affairs. It was at the service of France, and it had followed her even when it thought she was wrong, as at Salonika—where, as a reward, it was afterwards found that she was brilliantly right. In regard to a combined economic policy, which was part of M. Briand's far-reaching plan of co-operation, the British Cabinet of Free Traders and Tariff Reformers was harder to convince. But M. Briand succeeded in burying some of the dying Free Trade traditions, and making the British Empire the supreme



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ENVIRONS OF VERDUN: SCENE OF GERMANY'S GREATEST EFFORT IN THE WEST.

Map of the east bank of the Meuse, indicating the towns, villages, ridges, woods, and forts involved in the German attempt to capture Verdun. Within a few days the enemy had swept all before him up to Douaumont and Vaux, an achievement fully commensurate with his stupendous preparation and sacrifice of effectives. Then came the glorious French defence, loss, and recapture of Douaumont, where the Bretons saved the day, and the equally splendid effort at Vaux, lost and regained several times. From March, 1916, what progress was made by the Germans cost them losses fatally disproportionate to the territory occupied, though at one time the French Staff did not consider the fall of Verdun impossible.

factor against the Teuton idea of a tariff union of Central European States.

Then Italy, who was linked to Germany by industry and finance, and inclined to confine herself in her own way to a struggle against Austria, was won over by M. Briand in March, 1916, and excited to generous emulation in all allied matters of co-operation by the gallant vehemence with which the Russians, under General Brussiloff, relieved the pressure of the Austrian advance in the Trentino. In order to assist the Italians, the Russians undertook a grand offensive some months before their process of re-armament was completed. This superb example of fidelity to the common interest of the Allies deeply moved the Italians, and made them incline in magnanimous mood to the advances made by their old rivals in the Mediterranean, the French.

To all her Allies France could say: "Consider Verdun." Single-handed the French were resisting the entire attacking forces that Germany could bring to bear against all the Allies. Naturally, the Allies recognised the incomparable self-sacrifice that France was making in the common interest. By the end of April, 1916, General Joffre's new plan was accepted. Great Britain was not to move, but to conserve her men and accumulate shells and guns. Italy, in spite of being hard-pressed in the Trentino, was to make a grand attack against Gorizia, in order to compel the Germans to use more of their reserves in helping the Austrians against the Russians. The northern Russian front was to remain idle like the British front. Then when Falkenhayn had exhausted himself at Verdun, the British Army was to move together with a fine French force that General Joffre was withdrawing from Verdun and holding in reserve. Nevertheless, it was agreed that, despite all this successive outbreak of strong and interlocked activity on the part of the Allies, there was to be no general offensive during the summer of 1916. In a general offensive the enemy's lines are assailed practically everywhere. He is entirely held by an attacking movement, even in places where no decisive break through is attempted. Nothing of this kind was arranged by the Allies. Their plan was to imitate Falkenhayn's action at Verdun, and select two or three weak spots in his western, eastern, and southern lines and hammer methodically and persistently at each of these sectors with a million or more men. The idea was to exert a general pressure, until the reserves of Germany and Austria-Hungary were exhausted. Only when complete exhaustion was evident was the real general offensive to take place. No date for it was, therefore, fixed. It depended entirely upon the course of events and the progress of munition-making in Great Britain and Russia.

Masterly French plan

As Lord Northcliffe explained at the time, the French Staff did not consider it impossible that Verdun would fall. Of one thing only they were certain—which was that the enemy would have to pay a fearful price for the capture of the positions along the Meuse. The French soldiers took as their battle-cry the now famous phrase: "Ne passeront pas!" (They shall not pass!). But the French High Command, while inspiring their soldiers with an incomparable spirit of valour, recognised that the Germans might pass across the Meuse if they sacrificed everything. Towards the end of March, 1916, Falkenhayn imposed upon his local commanders a new plan of attack. He had first tried to pierce the French front on the north-east of Verdun, and then he had endeavoured to drive in both the French wings. After the failure of these two manœuvres on a grand scale, the German commander tried a third method, and, instead of launching the great simultaneous attack, he began a series of local assaults.

Minor German successes

These were generally conducted by the effectives of a single division, with the object of dividing the French reserves and securing advantageous positions for another general offensive. The Germans carried the remains of the original first French line on the left bank of the Meuse, at Malancourt, Haucourt, and Béthincourt, these three hamlets lying below the northern slopes of Hill 304 and Dead Man Hill (le Mort Homme.) They also captured Avocourt Wood, which gave them a line of attack towards the rear of the principal French line of defence at Hill 304 and Dead Man Hill. Then, on the right bank of the river, they won a part of the Vaux Ravine and a patch of forest, Caillette Wood, commanding one of the slopes of the ravine. But the Avocourt, Vaux Ravine, and Caillette Wood positions were recovered by superb French counter-attacks in the first week in April, leaving the enemy little to show for the loss of hundreds of thousands of men since the last week in February. "Nibbling" having proved unsuccessful, the enemy returned to the method of flank attacks in force.

EASY MOMENTS FOR MEN WHO KNEW NO FEAR.
French infantry for the first-line defence of Verdun resting to the rear of a temporary aircraft hangar before proceeding to the terrible scene of conflict.

A vast mass of men, with some thousands of guns, was concentrated among the forested heights on the left bank of the Meuse, from Cumières Wood to Béthincourt Wood. The French lines were scarcely more than nine miles long. They were drawn around Dead Man Hill, rising a hundred feet above the woods occupied by the Germans, and around Hill 304, the summit of which was only sixty feet above the highest part of the wooded ground held by the enemy. Between the two principal heights round which the French were established there ran a valley road southward to the hamlet of Esnes. This valley dipped about a hundred feet between Dead Man and Hill 304. The German siege-guns bombarded the nine-mile front with unparalleled fury, the tempest of shell being more terrible than that which swept away the first French

AT THE MOMENT OF FIRING.
Type of French cannon that helped to hold the enemy from Verdun. The numerous woods and ridges in the region of Verdun afforded ample cover for batteries defending the fortress.

defences at Verdun in February. Then, on the morning of Sunday, April 9th, 1916, some forty thousand Germans came out of the woods of Béthincourt and Malancourt, and stormed up the long western slopes towards Hill 304. The grey figures advanced in dense and very deep formation, by columns of companies, the intention being to choke the French guns by sheer numbers.

But the wonderful French quick-firer, which was used like a machine-gun by General Pétain's soldiers, broke every German column within a hundred yards of the French trenches. Then as the grey flood ebbed from the western slopes of Hill 304, a stronger German attack was launched against Dead Man Hill on the eastern side of the nine-mile front. Here the Germans had only seven hundred yards of ground to take, in order to reach the high northern boss which the French used as an observation-post. Another forty thousand German troops charged from the woods in dense columns, but General Pétain, working on his central telephone control system, turned hundreds of guns upon the grey masses, smashed them up completely, and followed them into Crow Wood (Bois des Corbeaux) and Cumières Wood until the entire force went to pieces. The German commander then brought up a fresh force that crept over the water meadows between the Meuse and the slopes of the Goose Crest (Côte de l'Oie) and tried to rush the ruins of Cumières village. Advancing along the open field of fire by the grass flats, the Germans were caught in a terrible way by shrapnel, machine-gun bullets, and musketry fire, and smashed back with very heavy loss.

In the afternoon two more masses of forty thousand men each were launched westward against Hill 304 and eastward against Dead Man. Towards the end of the day a German brigade managed to take some trenches near Avocourt, but the position was recovered in the twilight by a French counter-attack. On the eastern side the enemy won five hundred yards of advanced trench at the base of the Dead Man, and succeeded in retaining this unimportant bit of low ground for some days. It had cost Falkenhayn the best part of a hundred thousand men to take five hundred yards of advanced French trench. His losses were as heavy as those the British Army had incurred during its entire operations at Loos, yet the Germans had not made the least impression upon the French defences. It was one of the greatest defeats in the war, and in a special Order of the Day General Pétain informed the soldiers of Verdun that they could now be confident that victory was achieved.

The battle of April 9th was practically decisive, in that it proved that the forces of the French defence were very much stronger than the forces of the German attack.

All the elements of General Pétain's new system of resistance had been tested to breaking-point, and it was the Germans who were broken. General von Falkenhayn could not for some time maintain an ordinary amount of pressure against Pétain's lines, for the German reserves before Verdun were exhausted. But instead of letting the battle die down, General Pétain began to force the pace of it. He pressed the Germans back at Douaumont, and in answer to his pressure two fresh German divisions were brought from another part of the front and launched in a general attack between Douaumont and the river. The French guns and machine-guns broke the attack in a scene of ghastly slaughter, and all that the Germans won was a small French advanced position in Chauffeur Wood. The Teutons also made a strong local attack on Dead Man, where they were again defeated. The Battle of Verdun was clearly won, and at the beginning of May General Pétain relinquished his command to one of his

General Pétain's counter-attack

brilliant subordinates, General Nivelle, and took over the control of all the French centre from Soissons to Verdun.

Pétain had proved himself equal in genius to Foch, and was entrusted with power similar to that of the man who broke the German centre on the Marne. Foch controlled all the Belgian-British-French front down to the Aisne, while Pétain controlled the great and important armies on the Aisne Plateau, the rolling downs of Champagne, the forests of Argonne, and the eastern and western banks of the Meuse. The southern French forces from Toul to Alsace apparently remained in the command of the tried and victorious commander, General Dubail. General Castelnau, at the head of the French Staff, directed the larger elements of strategy and co-ordinated the efforts of Foch, Pétain, and Dubail. General Joffre harmonised all the French efforts, including that at Salonika, and acted as the leading strategist of the Grand Alliance on the Board of Strategy which directed the combined movements in France and Flanders, in Italy, Greece, Rumania, and Russia.

General Nivelle was, like General Pétain, a colonel at the outbreak of the war. Married to an English lady, he was, indeed, in July, 1914, staying at a southern English watering-place, where some of his children were being educated. After ably commanding the 5th Infantry, he was promoted brigadier-general in October, 1914, and divisional commander in December, 1915. He came to Verdun at the head of the Third Army Corps, and there distinguished himself so greatly that General Pétain selected him as his successor. A man of sixty years of age, trained at the Ecole Polytechnique, he had the advantage of having been in the artillery before he was given the command of an infantry regiment. He was able to assist General Pétain in organising all the guns around Verdun into one mighty instrument for battle by means of telephone communication. Both the British and the German Armies appear to have anticipated the French in the establishment of a system linking thousands of guns together by a central telephone exchange. But General Pétain and General Nivelle worked out, first in Champagne and then at Verdun, some important refinements in this new method of handling massed parks of artillery, and they made the French gunner at last a wonder and a dread to the Germans.

Nivelle's rapid promotion

Annihilation by telephone

For a month Falkenhayn kept his thirty battered divisions at Verdun engaged in little local attacks and little local counter-attacks. General Castelnau was able to get Pétain and Nivelle to give up their finest body of troops, the Twentieth Army Corps, under General Balfourier, which had broken the first great German attack on the Douaumont Plateau and saved Verdun. Although neither the Germans nor the peoples of the Grand Alliance knew it at the time, the position around Verdun had become one of secondary importance. Though the losses among the defenders had been heavy, they were much less than the Germans estimated. The Germans were inclined to think that, if they had suffered most terribly, their opponents with a smaller population had suffered at least equally. This was not the case. Only in the

[French official photograph.

WAR MATERIAL IN RESERVE AT A DEPOT OF THE MEUSE SECTOR.

French transport arrangements to and from the region of Verdun were a marvel of organisation, and contributed in no small measure to our ally's success. A network of light railways as well as scrupulously good roads disgorged everything needed to carry on the great defence. Depots, such as the one seen in this illustration, were never allowed to run short of barbed-wire and other necessities of trench construction.

THE CROWN PRINCE MOTORING ON THE VERDUN FRONT.

The disaster of Verdun will ever be associated with the Crown Prince, who was nominally in charge of the colossal operations. For his lack of success after the greatest numerical losses of any one failure in military history the Hohenzollern heir was awarded the Oak Leaves of Merit.

battles of February, 1916, had the French lost men in as great a proportion as their enemy. After General Pétain re-established the French lines and greatly increased the French gun-power, France had saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of her children by means of an enormous expenditure of shell. The French infantry in the fire-trenches were always comparatively few in number, well dug in and armed mainly with hand-grenades and machine-guns. In General Pétain's system the rifle became for the time almost obsolete. The work of the bullet was done by the machine-gun, and the work of the bayonet by the hand-grenade. The "75" French quick-firer, that could send its shell in a curve with something of a howitzer-like effect, was used in the manner of a super-machine-gun. It was hidden in batteries on the slopes of hills behind the front French trenches, and by indirect fire at short range it broke up the German infantry masses. Machine-guns cannot fire over a hill, but the French quick-firer could spout shrapnel and high explosive over Dead Man Hill and Hill 304. It, therefore, became the supreme weapon of the French trench defence, and smashed up the grey German masses, while the heavy howitzers beat down the fire of the German batteries, which were trying to put the French field-guns out of action, and also kept up a curtain fire in the German front line and the German support line and over the German communications.

At the beginning of the war the French had thought that their quick-firer, by far the best of its kind in the world, would prove an incomparable instrument of attack. It was, however, beaten by the slower but longer-ranged heavy artillery of the enemy. Even at the Battle of the Marne the French suffered very seriously from a lack of mobile, heavy guns, and it was because the army of Paris, which tried to turn Kluck's flank, lacked the heavy pieces with which Kluck defended himself that the army of invaders was saved from a rout. France had to construct hundreds of very heavy pieces of artillery before she could thrust well into the German lines. By the spring of 1916 the French output of heavy shell was nearly fifty times as large as the output in August, 1914. The output of heavy guns was about thirty-five times as much as that at the beginning of the war. Yet the manufacture

"75" fails for attacks

of French light field-guns also increased in a remarkable manner, the number of "75's" being twenty-three times as great as that obtaining when the Germans made their abortive rush on Paris. This extraordinary increase in 3 in. guns was due to the fact that their terrific rate of fire, combined with their handiness and their semi-howitzer effect, made them master instruments in defensive warfare. In attacking trenches the new quick-firing mortar, that pitched a big mass of high explosive for a short distance, was more useful than the "75." But for breaking up either massed columns of men or drenching with shrapnel attacking lines of men in open order, the "75" remained a most murderous weapon, as it could be employed in hilly country where machine-guns, with their direct fire, had only a very limited range.

In local attacks, such as those by which the French recovered all Dead Man Hill on April 22nd, 1916, the innumerable "75's," pumping up fountains of fire from hidden slopes southward, forced the German infantry to keep under cover until the French infantry arrived with their hand-bombs. Machine-guns could not produce this effect, because every machine-gun that could be brought into play was situated on the northerly slopes of the rounded boss of Dead Man, and clearly exposed to the direct fire of hostile artillery. At the beginning of May, 1916, the French made an evening attack on the German positions south-east of Douaumont Fort and captured five hundred yards of trenches. This was a masterly example of the semi-howitzer effect of the "75." The flame of the light guns could be clearly seen through the darkening air, but as many of the pieces fired from hollows, only a German airman could have marked their positions for attack by the 12, 15, and 16·5 in. guns at Spincourt. One of the first things General Pétain had done when he arrived at Verdun was to recover the mastery of the air from the enemy, so that the Germans usually had to go by direct observation from heights and from captive balloons far in their rear in order to trace the position of French batteries.

French aerial ascendancy

Hill positions had lost nearly all their old military importance. Neither side entrenched a large force of infantry along the crest of a hill in order to shoot down an attacking host. Hill-tops were occupied only by artillery observers, sitting in a deep hole at the end of a periscope and a telephone wire. French observers on Dead Man Hill, and the line of Charny Ridge some miles south of Dead Man, watched every movement of Germans near the Meuse, and brought howitzers by the score or by the hundred to bear upon the moving target. Dead Man, rising nine hundred and sixty-eight feet above sea-level, was the dominating French observation point. Eastward it overlooked all the German positions facing the Douaumont front, and northward it dominated all the woods occupied by the Germans from Forges to Cuisy. But it was the eastward outlook, on the German attacking positions immediately north of Verdun, which made the Dead Man an objective of the highest importance to the German commander. He could not make a frontal attack on Verdun with any chance of success until he had captured the Dead Man and had thrown back the

numerous French batteries that enfiladed from across the Meuse every German advance on the Pepper Hill (Côte du Poivre)-Thiaumont-Douaumont line.

So all through May and the greater part of June, 1916, Falkenhayn, through his subordinate commanders, directed a series of terrific attacks at the Dead Man Hill. Some assaults were made directly against the long undulating plateau rising northward in the round boss above Béthincourt. Other attacks were planned to turn the Dead Man Hill positions by flanking movements westward. For three days and three nights all the ridges and slopes for miles around Dead Man Hill were swept by heavy shell fire, and on Sunday morning, May 7th, a mass attack was delivered on a two-mile front between Dead Man Hill and Hill 304. The hillsides and the mouth of the valley between the crests glimmered with advancing grey waves. Some five brigades tried to storm the heights, but they were broken one after the other before the cross-fire of the French batteries and machine-guns, and when evening fell only one communication trench on the west side of the valley had been won by the Germans. This trench was dominated by higher French positions both east and west, so that, costly as it had been to win, it was still more costly to hold. In the night the French recaptured it, and then held and smashed up every counter-attack. When dawn broke the French still held their recovered trench, and the Germans had only tens of thousands of dead and wounded to show as the result of the fourth great battle for Verdun.

The fatality of "Dead Man"

On the east of the Meuse a Prussian division tried to break through the Thiaumont Farm on the Douaumont Ridge, while the French enfilading forces around Dead Man Hill were held up by the direct assault made upon them. The Prussian division advanced with admirable steadiness, and though battalion after battalion was shattered, a few hundred survivors succeeded towards the evening in taking five hundred yards of the French line. But, courageous as the Prussians had proved themselves, they were no match against the French in scientific warfare. The victorious remnant of the division was pounded all Sunday evening by hundreds of French guns, and then, by certain means, a small fresh French force was brought through the curtain of fire the Germans maintained around Thiaumont, and in a swift counter-attack nearly all the lost ground was retaken. The Germans had spent nearly a month in the preparation of this new offensive movement, yet after expending millions of shells, wearing out guns by the hundred, and losing men by the thousand score, they

TO AND FROM THE INFERNO OF VERDUN.

Wounded German infantry on their way back from a fruitless attack on Verdun. They were about to be transported to a base hospital. The smaller illustration shows a group of first-line German troops lined up for inspection in a French village street before being ordered to the attack.

ALL THAT REMAINED OF MURMURING TREES AND LUXURIANT VERDURE.

Corner of the Caillette Wood, near Verdun. Little of the original landmarks survived the deluge of conflicting shells. In fact, many of the woods along the Meuse Valley, so prolific in timber and foliage, were transformed into rubble heaps, a few gaunt trees shorn of their branches emphasising the melancholy of the scene.

won nothing. As a French officer sardonically remarked: "The cost of ground around Verdun was rising."

Under the explosions of innumerable shells the north and north-western slopes of Hill 304 were churned into a chaos. All the northerly slopes of Dead Man ridge were likewise ploughed up. The French infantry sheltered on the southern slopes, the summits being defended only by crossing fires from French batteries. Thereupon, the tide of battle was turned by Falkenhayn still farther westward. He had begun by attacking Dead Man in order to turn Cumières Wood; then he had attacked Hill 304 in order to turn Dead Man, and on May 10th he attacked the height west of Hill 304 in order to turn Hill 304. The attacked height, known on the map as Hill 287, and called by the Germans White Ant Hill, is an elevation with gentle slopes lying midway between the main French position and the westerly woods occupied by the Germans. It was enfiladed by French batteries in Avocourt Wood in the same way as Avocourt Wood could be enfiladed by French batteries in the next westerly sector. All the French positions interlocked, so that any German frontal attack upon one or more of them came under a cross-fire. Yet two German divisions endeavoured to storm White Ant Hill. One advanced from the western woods and another from the northern valleys. The western division was caught on two sides by gun fire, and broken before it arrived at the French trenches. Sections of the northern division reached one of the slopes held by the French, only to be driven out by a counter-attack.

Splendid artillery positions

This waste of the forces of an army corps was followed by another pause. The Germans replaced their worn-out guns, and filled out with young drafts their wasted infantry forces. Then on May 17th, after another long, terrific bombardment, a general attack was delivered against the French line on the left bank of the Meuse from Avocourt to Cumières. Avocourt Woods, from which the French guns had enfiladed the assault on White Ant Hill, were first attacked by strong German forces at six o'clock in the evening. The struggle raged with extreme fury all night, the successive waves of German infantry being thrown back with terrible losses. Towards dawn on May 18th the French commander felt the enemy weakening, and suddenly launched two charges, one against a German position north of White Ant Hill and the other against a fortified post on the north-east slope of Hill 304 held by Pomeranian troops. Both of these German positions were captured. The defeated enemy commander, therefore, moved his point of attack towards the Dead Man, and, under a hurricane of shell, sent two fresh divisions forward. These, however, were broken by French gun fire, their only gain being a small position by White Ant Hill near the road leading from Haucourt to Esnes. Thereupon, Falkenhayn resolved to overwhelm the French with shell fire. For two days and two nights the boss and the plateau

Germans await reinforcements

SHATTERED BUT UNCONQUERED: FORT SOUVILLE, WHERE THE GERMAN DESIGN FOR A FINAL GENERAL ASSAULT ON VERDUN WAS CHECKMATED.

Fort Souville occupied a dominating position overlooking the plateau of the tableland of Vaux. The stream of attack which the Germans were planning against this strong though dismantled fort was checked by General Nivelle's men who, on June 30th, 1916, rushed and recovered the outflanking Thiaumont Work. This feat marked the final passing of the initiative in attack from the Germans to the French.

of Dead Man smoked and flamed under the concentrated fire of hundreds of heavy German and Austrian howitzers. When the north-western and north-eastern slopes of the Dead Man had been made uninhabitable, two swarms of German infantry attacked on either side in an endeavour to envelop the salient height.

Shattered by flanking fire

The eastern division, that came from Crow Wood, swept over the remnant of French machine-gun sections who valiantly tried to hold the fire-trench, and in large numbers climbed up to the French second line. But on the height they were met by flanking counter-attacks from the French lines at Cumières. Though the German commander flung another division into the battle, he could not make any headway. The French forces by the Meuse continued to take the Germans in the flank with gusts of artillery fire, machine-gun fire, and bayonet and bomb attacks. All the spear-heads of the German thrust were cut off and destroyed.

On the western slopes of Dead Man Hill, however, the enemy succeeded in winning a position round the dominating boss of the hill. The boss itself was swept by the fire of French and German guns, and transformed into a No Man's Land, the French garrison being driven down into the shallow depression on the plateau. The French trenches were wiped out, and all the ground on the height for a depth of nearly two miles was covered by a curtain fire from the German batteries. Yet French reinforcements, coming up in motor-lorries, pushed through the tempest of death, and leaping forward from shell-hole to shell-hole, arrived at the ruins of the first-line trenches. There the fresh French troops, sadly diminished in numbers, broke back two waves of enemy sharpshooters, and then held up the driving massed columns of double companies, by means of which the German commander tried to conquer the lower southern ridge of Dead Man Hill. As the German columns were held by rifles and machine-guns, the flanking French batteries caught the checked, grey masses and mowed them down in ghastly swathes.

Soon the Germans had ramparts of their own dead to serve as cover in their rushing mass attacks. On both Dead Man Hill and Hill 304 the grey piles of dead, wounded, and stunned men formed barriers some yards in height. In their counter-attacks the French took prisoners from these stacks of corpses. For it often happened that men who had not been hurt were knocked down and buried under the falling wall of their slain or wounded comrades. Most of the men thus recovered seemed to be dazed, partly by shell shock but largely by a drug mixture of ether and alcohol. A good deal of Dutch courage was thus combined with the remarkable iron discipline, under which mass after mass of German infantry climbed up the slopes to die. Still, there was something sublime in the absolute disregard for death displayed by the Teutonic swarms. Their cohesion and drive, under appalling losses, exceeded

Alcohol and German courage

THREE GREAT FRENCH SOLDIERS.
General Joffre with General Fayolle, who planned the French offensive on the Somme, and General Balfourier, whose Bretons trapped the Brandenburgers at Fort Douaumont.

all old Prussian records of tenacity in attack. But the brutal manner in which Falkenhayn's commanders sacrificed their men did not shake the spirit of the thin, advanced lines of French infantry that clung to shell-holes and fragments of trench in a noble spirit of alert and intelligent self-sacrifice. Each Frenchman could see what a tremendous price the Germans were paying for every yard of ground they won, and he, therefore, knew that his steady individual effort would not be wasted by his commanders, even though he fell in one of the wild swarm attacks made by the enemy.

Innumerable were the deeds of heroic initiative performed by French non-commissioned officers and privates. The machine-gunners especially were magnificent. Only a remnant of them survived each great bombardment that ploughed up nearly every front dug-out. But those who did survive fought until they received the order to retire. To one patch of wood, which was thought to have been conquered by the enemy, no order was sent, and the three Frenchmen who remained alive in it beat back every attack and saved the position. The French did not need to be drugged in order to carry on to the edge of doom. Their keen intelligence, the finest example of democratic culture in history, nerved them to a high-conscious individual effort, against which the mob-like, semi-collectivist spirit of the Teutons broke in vain. At the end of the battle the French still held the southern slopes of the Dead Man Hill, where they were solidly entrenched, and their positions ran in a horse-shoe curve round the eastern and western slopes.

Three great machine-gunners

The Germans had won a salient on the northern face of the height, but could not get any farther. Communication trenches, running across the Esnes Valley, connected the French organisations on the Dead Man Hill with their system of trenches on the western slopes of Hill 304. On this height the French positions now formed a salient in the large horse-shoe curve which the Germans had won round the base of the hill. The crest of Hill 304 was still held on May 23rd, 1916, by our ally, in spite of the fact that the Germans in their official communiqués claimed to have conquered it. As a matter of fact, the enfilading fire of the eastern French batteries at Cumières had become a greater obstacle to the German advance on Dead Man than the batteries south of Hill 304. Cumières and the woods around it formed the extreme northern point of the defending armies around Verdun. As the guns in the wood were linked by telephone to the central exchange in Verdun, as well as to the army exchange on the left bank of the Meuse, their fire could be directed against the Bras-Douaumont front as well as against all German movements on the eastern slopes of Dead Man Hill. Cumières, therefore, became the main objective of Falkenhayn's next general attack.

On May 23rd the French line was again buried in shell and cloaked in smoke. French airmen, sent out to reconnoitre the movements of German infantry, flew perilously near the ground but could see nothing. A great cloud of smoke, six hundred feet thick, blanketed the scene. The smoke was so dense that the flame of the high explosives could not pierce it, and into this hell of death and torment the German commander sent his waves, lines, and columns of cannon-fodder. His main attack was delivered on the centre at Hill 304 and Dead Man Hill and on the right wing at Cumières.

Falkenhayn's suicidal persistence

But the smoke was not all German smoke. Every French gun and howitzer that could bear maintained a barrage of fire over the German positions and the No Man's Land between the trenches. It was not until the evening that the German infantry could get through the curtain of high explosive and shrapnel and reach the French trenches between Dead Man Hill and Hill 304. Having at last got within striking distance, the Germans brought up a detachment of flame-throwers, and with torrents of liquid fire burned the French out of their lines as twilight was falling. Just before nightfall the French returned, and in a charge of terrible fury stabbed and bombed the flame-throwers and the supporting enemy troops out of the lines and recovered all the position.

Liquid fire is like poison gas. It is calculated to frighten savages, but when used against an army of disciplined civilised men it rouses them to such a pitch of fury that they overthrow all the calculations of their enemy. In half an hour's nocturnal fighting the Germans lost all the ground they had won at the cost of tens of thousands of men, and only a small remnant of them escaped back to the trenches from which they had advanced. But on the wing at Cumières the German effort was more prolonged and more successful. The ruins, lying in the great loop of the Meuse, were bombarded for some hours and then attacked by waves of infantry. The small French garrison armed with machine-guns held out in cellars and shell-holes until May 24th, but then some Thuringian regiments, by means of a long, violent alternation of battery and assault, broke through the village and stormed along the water meadows of the Meuse towards the railway-station at Chattancourt.

This was a very important advance for the enemy. It brought him a mile behind Caurettes Wood, in which the French batteries were sited, and south-east of Dead Man Hill. But the French commander had the situation well in hand. All the low land by the river which the Germans had won was under the fire of French guns on either side of the river. A tempest of shell was poured upon the Thuringians, and a fresh French force, brought up in the night, was launched in a counter-attack.

By the river the Germans were pushed back a mile to Cumières village, and then from Caurettes Wood they were assailed by another French force. When day broke on May 25th one point of the French pincers was thrust into the cellars and rubble of the village eastward, and another point of the pincers closed westward on the Germans above Caurettes Wood. The enemy commander had then to free his trapped and half-scattered force, and by hammering for the greater part of a week against the left point of the pincers he compelled the French force in Caurettes Wood to loosen its hold on Cumières.

It is, however, to be observed that the French commander controlled the situation from the night of May 24th to the morning of May 31st. All this time he held the survivors of the Thuringian regiment in a vice, and compelled the enemy to launch from the northern wood mass after mass of infantry against the terrific fire of the French guns. The original French garrison of Cumières was very small, and though the counter-attack was made by a larger force, its first victory was won at no great loss,

Enemy's compulsory sacrifice

and the enemy was then forced to sacrifice his men in divisions during a week of tremendous gun fire defence.

By this time the French had brought out a new missile of attack against the line of German observation balloons that dominated the hills on either side of the Meuse and directed the fire of thousands of German guns. A new kind of French bomb destroyed the floating "sausages," and left the German gunners in a condition of great disadvantage. The French airmen were masters of the air, and were able to trace the direction of the flow of German ammunition and German reinforcements, spot for their own guns, and protect their own observation balloons. Meanwhile, General Nivelle was in a position to make his preparations in secret, and when Falkenhayn was bringing all his available forces to bear against Dead Man Hill and Cumières a surprising answering move was delivered by the French commander on the other side of the Meuse.

Here the main French positions had scarcely altered since the Twentieth Army Corps flung the Brandenburgers back on Douaumont Fort. The fort was a ruin hemmed in by new French trenches and dominated by French howitzers. But as the German Emperor had staked the military prestige of his empire on the possession of the fort, General Nivelle selected this point for attack, with a view to lightening the enemy pressure against the French positions across the Meuse. His direct object was to relieve the pressure against the Dead Man Hill by compelling the Germans to bring large reinforcements across the Meuse. A single French division was assigned the task of making a diversion, but it was a famous division—the 5th—under a famous commander, General Mangin, who with his men had broken all the attacks made by the enemy the previous April on the Douaumont-Vaux sector. In their first Verdun battle the troops of the 5th Division had killed or captured every German who reached their trenches, and had stormed every position they were set to attack. "You march under the wings of victory," said General Mangin in April, when he gave his men a furlough for a month while the division was being strengthened with new drafts.

Under wings of victory

In the third week in May the troops came back from their homes, with their ranks brought up to full strength,

CONTRAST IN TRANSPORT: WHEEL-LESS TROLLEY AND HORSELESS CARS NEAR VERDUN.

Simple but effective water-cart in use near Verdun. It would be difficult to imagine a better illustration of the contrast between the old and the new than this horse-drawn trolley without wheels halting beside the wheeled vehicles without horses.

FIRE AND DESOLATION IN VERDUN.
The town of Verdun suffered terrible material damage in the epic siege, and many fires raged in its forsaken residential quarters.

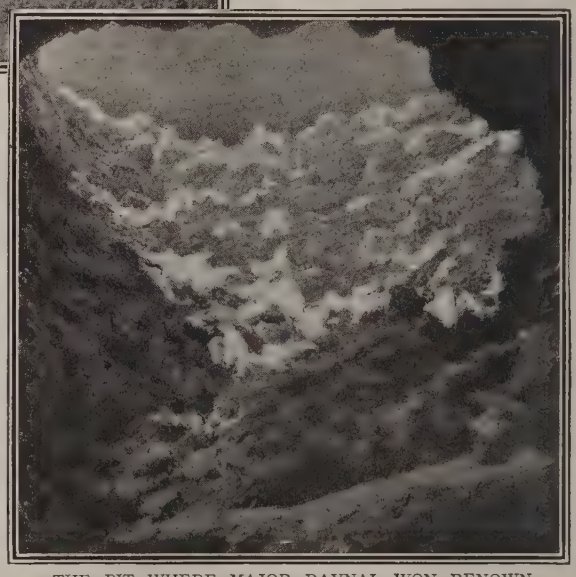
and at dawn on May 22nd Douaumont Fort looked like a volcano in eruption. The French artillery was completing its methodical bombardment, and as soon as the air brightened a squadron of pilots flew over the lines and exploded six of the German observation balloons. Having thus "bandaged the eyes of the Boche," as the French soldiers put it, the 5th Division began to advance from shell-hole to shell-hole at ten minutes to twelve in the morning. One regiment skirmished forward through the Caillette Wood towards the right side of the fort. Another regiment made a frontal attack in the centre, while the third regiment converged on the left near Thiaumont Farm. The Germans, divining their danger, drenched all the ground with shrapnel, but the veterans of France went through the hail of lead and over three lines of German trenches.

Just at noon a French aerial pilot reported by wireless that a Bengal fire was burning on Douaumont Fort. It had taken the 129th Regiment a little under eleven minutes to break into the fort. Bengal fires also appeared on the western side among the shattered masses of concrete, indicating that the 36th Regiment was succeeding in its flanking attack on the west. When the north-western and northern angles were reached, machine-gun sectors and sappers began to move about the ruined masonry, constructing redoubts against the coming counter-attacks. But the French thrust from the Caillette Wood, in which the 74th Regiment was engaged, was shattered by a flanking fire from some German communication trenches. This check prevented the swift enveloping movement from being completed, with the result that the north-eastern angle of the fort remained in the hands of the Germans. Nevertheless, the two victorious regiments bombed their way into nearly three-quarters of the entire position, and in half an hour captured more than a hundred prisoners.

French checked at Caillette

General Mangin had remarked to his men before the operation started: "If we do get in, we must look forward to having not a moment's rest." But the veterans of the 5th Division had fought in the labyrinth of Artois, under General Foch, long before they came to fight under General Pétain and General Nivelle at Vaux and Douaumont. They understood what would happen to them if they captured the fort about which the German Emperor had boasted clamorously to all the world. Under a blasting shell fire of three-quarter-tons and half-tons of metal and high explosive they dug deeper into the caverns the Germans had made, watched by their telephones and periscopes, and sought for rest from the monster guns at Spincourt by closing with hand-grenades on the remnant of the German garrison in the north-eastern corner of the fort.

But in the night came the furious mass attacks of the disconcerted and frightened German commander. His position was already menaced by the surprising French success. If he could not hammer the 5th Division from the fort the position of Falkenhayn himself would not be safe. In fact, the Hohenzollern dynasty



THE PIT WHERE MAJOR RAYNAL WON RENOWN.
Vaux Fort as the Germans received it from Major Raynal when thirst at last compelled him to capitulate.

was vitally concerned in the matter, as General Nivelle had calculated. An enormous number of infantry was collected east of Haudromont Wood, and by sharp bombardments alternating with mass attacks the French line in front of Thiaumont and east of the fort was slightly pressed back. But in the fort itself the 129th Regiment resisted in a marvellous manner. Instead of giving ground, its men somewhat increased their gains. At dawn on May 23rd the German fire on the fort became appalling. The trenches had for months been battered by heavy French shells, and now that the Germans again turned their parks of artillery upon the ruins, tearing the concrete into more murderous splinters and excavating the ground to an extraordinary depth, it seemed that nothing could remain alive amidst the choking, smoking poison fumes. But the masked men of the 129th Regiment, though falling in hundreds, continued to break up every charge. Some of their grenadiers went berserker, ran out to meet the German attacks, bombed their way round the fort, broke into the German lines, and came back unhurt. The miracle was how the regiment managed to save any machine-guns and bombs in their front lines during the terrific bombardments,

seeing they had had only a few hours in which to prepare their position against the very heaviest shell fire. When the regiment was relieved in the early morning of May 24th it had not lost a yard of the ground it had captured. But afterwards two fresh Bavarian divisions were launched through the broken remains of the first great counter-attacking force, and by the evening the ruins of Douaumont were recovered by the enemy.

Nevertheless, the operation was a telling success for General Mangin and his chief, General Nivelle. By employing only 12,000 bayonets in an abrupt, unforeseen attack upon the most ticklish point in the enemy lines, the French commander had compelled Falkenhayn to bring at least four times the number of bayonets for a counter-attack. Falkenhayn had been collecting a large general reserve, which he intended to use in a grand, decisive frontal attack on Verdun as soon as he had won the positions round Dead Man Hill from which General Pétain had enfiladed all his previous frontal attacks. He thought that he had at last reduced the French Army to a condition of grim, passive resistance; but General Mangin's alarming thrust into Douaumont Fort taught him that the offensive spirit of the French infantrymen was still as violent as ever. The French had been able to advance under heavy fire in open order, after standing the strain of more than ninety days' resistance in the trenches. On the other hand, even the best German troops were beginning to break and falter unless they were kept in a terribly expensive, close formation. In short, the French people, whom Falkenhayn was attempting to daunt, were at last clearly seen by him to be wearing better than the German people under the superhuman strain of four months' incessant slaughter. No German attack in open order by a single division produced any marked result, whereas one French division in artillery order threatened to shake the entire fabric of Falkenhayn's plan.

In these circumstances, the German Chief of Staff determined to make a general attack on Verdun itself, and press it with hundreds of thousands of men while he still remained master of life in the German and Austrian Empires. The French Government had published the news that General Pétain had been given the command of all the armies in the centre, and from this fact Falkenhayn no doubt concluded that another strong spear-head French force was preparing to break into his lines. The Press Bureau of the German Staff fed the German public with news about the utter exhaustion of French reserves, but we may fairly suppose that the German Intelligence Department was under no illusion in the matter. The mistake it afterwards made was in concluding that General Pétain, the hero of the last campaign in the Champagne sector, was placed in control of the Champagne front and the sectors east and west of it in order to make another thrust towards Vouziers. This seems, indeed, to have been the impression the French Staff desired to create by publishing the news of General Pétain's promotion.

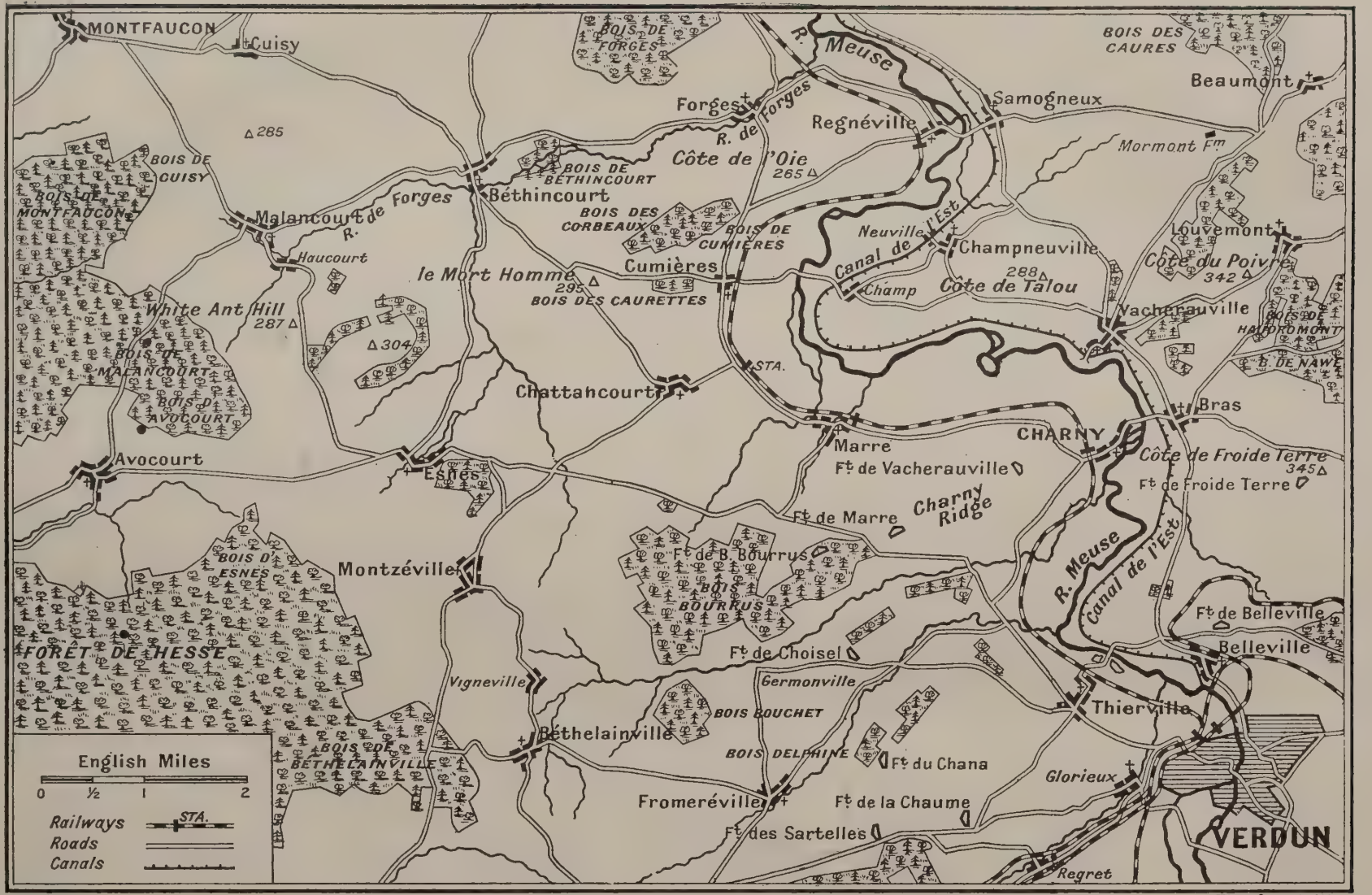
German Staff misled

It will be remembered that one of the reasons why Falkenhayn attacked Verdun in February, 1916, was to anticipate and divert a forward movement by General Pétain's First Army. This army had been diverted to the defence of Verdun, as Falkenhayn intended, and towards the end of May the desperate and distracted German Chief of Staff spent his last available forces in an endeavour once more to attract to Verdun the fresh troops which he supposed General Pétain designed to employ in Champagne.

By a fateful miscalculation the German commander withdrew two divisions from the Sixth Army facing General Foch's army on the Somme, and weakened the reserve at Cambrai, near the British front, by taking two more divisions. Another fresh division, making five in all, was obtained from the Champagne sector. Heavy guns by the hundred were also shifted towards the left bank of the Meuse, and, after a bombardment, the first of the new divisions advanced from Crow Wood on Dead Man Hill in the evening of May 28th, 1916. Broken by

VIEW FROM FORT SOUVILLE.
Devastating shell fire was poured on Fort Souville at the end of June, 1916, but the position remained in French hands.

COMPOSED DIGNITY IN THE MIDST OF DESTRUCTION.
The shattered Rue Jeanne d'Arc in Verdun. The decent orderliness in which the debris was arranged gave the street a quiet dignity of its own.



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The Great War.

AREA OF THE TERRIBLE DUEL ON THE WEST BANK OF THE MEUSE.

When the initial German onslaught on Verdun received a check at Douaumont and Vaux, the enemy began an equally vigorous offensive on the west bank of the Meuse. Béthincourt, Cumières, and Le Mort Homme were scenes of the most fearful carnage in the great struggle. Later heavy fighting took place at Avocourt, the French, however, always making the Germans pay a ruinous price for every inch of ground occupied.

the French curtain fire, the division fell back, re-formed, and attempted another advance at midnight, which was again shattered. Finding that the preliminary bombardment had not weakened the French defence, the German commander marked the hundredth day of the Battle of Verdun by an unparalleled storm of heavy shell fire.

For twelve hours the nine miles of front from Avocourt to Cumières were subjected to a bombardment far exceeding in violence that which had first broken the French front north of Verdun. Then by terrific blows of massed brigades the French positions from Dead Man Hill to Cumières were hammered in with fearful waste of life. The French trenches were erased along the high-road running from Béthincourt past Dead Man Hill to Cumières, but the advanced French forces retired to the high-road and there resisted every hammer-blow. The German infantry could not get through the French artillery fire. The position was indeed an extraordinary one. Practically the whole of Dead Man Hill had been conquered by the German gunners, who kept two hundred and fifty heavy howitzers playing on this small stretch of high ground. Very small French forces of infantry were holding out in shell-holes and broken trenches on some of the east, west, and southern slopes. It seemed to require only one charging German regiment to take and occupy the position. But though the enemy commander sent out divisions instead of regiments, his troops could not sweep up the ruins of the French position. The guns of France dominated the field of struggle. Far from being the queen of battles, the German infantry could no longer complete the work of the German artillery. Hill 304, against which a fierce assault was also delivered, remained impregnable, and on the left bank of the Meuse the French were still holding out on their old lines on July 1st, when the Franco-British offensive on the Somme opened.

Falkenhayn's new move

As General von Falkenhayn failed to push back the French positions on the left bank of the Meuse, which enfiladed across the river all his frontal drives against Verdun, he had to abandon the short road towards the fortress town. He turned away eastward, towards the right wing of the French defences at Vaux. Here there was a natural line of attack which had allured Field-Marshal von Haeseler during the first phase of the Verdun operations. From Vaux a great ravine ran from east to west as far as the village of Fleury, providing cover for a large attacking force directed against the last fortified heights around Verdun. On the north of the ravine was Caillette Wood, which the French had captured on March 31st and lost on April 2nd. South of the ravine was the broken mass of Vaux Fort, empty of its guns and defended only by a small force of infantry with machine-guns and grenades. It was only four miles from Vaux Fort to Verdun, and owing to the long ravine a considerable part of the distance was sheltered from direct fire and ordinary observation. The French heavy guns on the left bank of the Meuse could give practically no assistance against an attack along the Vaux ravine, and the wonder is that Falkenhayn did not concentrate continually against Vaux, instead of wasting men by the hundred thousand on the enfiladed Douaumont front and on the impregnable and secondary western Heights of the Meuse.

East of Douaumont Fort the Germans had possessed for months, in Hardaumont Wood, an excellent means of approaching to the ravine, for a number of smaller ravines ran from the wood down into the long, deep gorge. But the French were so firmly established from the south-east of Douaumont to the Vaux gorge that the area of attack was practically reduced to the mouth of the ravine. On May 31st a grand bombardment began on ground already churned and pitted by months of fierce artillery fire. Strong German detachments, which had been working round the flanks of Hardaumont Wood, made raids to test the defences of Vaux village, and piled the French barricades with their dead. The woods up the slopes on the left became alive with crawling foes, while the hostile artillery continued to shell the village. Then, when the strain upon the defenders had become intense, two fresh German divisions made a terrific rush attack. Each mass took a side of the ravine. One division on the left won a footing on the slopes of the promontory occupied by Vaux Fort, while another division on the right drove through the French barricades in the valley, carried the church and the group of houses round it, and stormed the larger part of the long street. This result was due largely to the skill of the German artillery observing officers watching the struggle from the northern slopes. They brought their gun fire down in hammer-strokes, with terrible precision, on the houses and gardens

[*Official photograph.*

MR. LLOYD GEORGE IN FRANCE.

Mr. Lloyd George paid many visits to France during the war as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Minister of Munitions, and Secretary for War. This photograph shows Sir Douglas Haig explaining to him a point made by General Joffre, while M. Thomas, French Minister for Munitions, lent an attentive ear.

where the French tried to make a stand. But there were French observing officers on the southern side of the gorge, and when their infantry was driven from the village to the mill-pond the French heavy guns then smashed up what remained of the village. The French infantry, who were fighting with machine-guns behind an old mill, then charged back with amazing dash and pluck, recapturing the village street, and pushing the Germans back to the ruined church at the eastern end. All day and all night the small band of Frenchmen, after their wonderful recoil against the blow of an entire army corps, fought like men possessed and broke every charge made by the enemy.

For three days and three nights the awful struggles at the mouth of the gorge went on, and as the German commander threw fresh divisions into the shamble of ruins, the fight swayed up and down the village street till the

little brook in the ravine ran red and the living fought behind mounds of dead. On the south-east of Douaumont Fort the French Alpine troops broke every German attempt to get at Vaux village from the rear. On the glacis of Vaux Fort a Saxon division, which had made the first mass attack on the left, came upon a sunken line of barbed-wire entanglements which had been missed by the German shells, and were there held and slaughtered by the thousand. The steep slopes of the promontory were covered with a mass of writhing figures unable to advance and unable to escape. The French had a long field of fire down the incline, and with bombs, musketry fire, machine-gun fire, and a curtain of shrapnel they caught the Germans, front and rear, and annihilated them.

Saxon division annihilated

Half-way between the fort and the village there was one small trench held by the 101st French Infantry Regiment, and only forty yards away were the German entrenchments. The French trench was smashed up by salvos of 11 in. shells, and by maintaining a continual fire with packets of ten of these shells the Germans prevented the position being repaired. But the weakened regiment held out and stopped an enemy advance through a neighbouring wood, and then, cut off from food and water, fought on all night and all the next day and broke an enemy charge in the evening. An order was then given to send up a rocket, asking the French gunners to put a curtain fire over the retreating Germans. But, unhappily, the rocket burst before it rose, and set fire to all the stock of rockets. The trench filled with fire and smoke, and French artillery observers on the height above thought that the enemy had conquered the position by a liquid-fire attack. At the end of two hours the flames were got under and the stock of grenades prevented from exploding. Sixteen pints of water were then got through the German curtain fire to the survivors of the regiment, enabling each man to have one mouthful.

In the darkness of the early morning of June 3rd the Germans made another attack in force. "Let us be more patient this time," said the captain who remained in command. "We were too quick before." So the Germans were allowed to get within fifteen feet from the trench, and were then shattered by hand-bombs and rifle fire. Soon afterwards it began to rain, much to the relief of the defenders. Spreading out canvas, tins, and other receptacles, they at last obtained a good drink of water. As the torture of thirst had troubled them much more than the shell fire and the infantry charges of the enemy, they became more confident. A rain of smaller shells, 4 in. and 5 in., fell upon them like tropical showers. Some Germans, hanging on to the slopes by Vaux Fort, enfiladed them with a machine-gun on the right, and another party of Germans who had got into Fumin Wood brought a machine-gun against them on the left. Then, after being sprinkled with shells of all sizes for six hours, they were attacked by wave after wave of grey figures. Yet once more they threw back every attack.

All night they were again bombarded with extreme violence, and just before dawn the German troops again attempted to rush the shell-holes in which the battered regiment was sheltering. But when the relieving-party managed to get through the German fire on June 5th the enemy was still held off the north-west slope of Vaux promontory. It was an extraordinary defence.

And so was the defence of Vaux. The torn and twisted fort had been pounded with heavy shells since March, 1916, an average of eight thousand shells falling on the ruins every day for nearly three months. The entrance was blocked up, and only one wicket in the north-western corner remained for bringing in supplies and keeping up communications. The trench held by the heroic 101st Infantry Regiment had protected the movement through the north-western wicket-gate; hence the extraordinary resistance which the men there maintained for five days. Within the fort was a tiny garrison of one hundred and fifty men under a fine French officer, Major Raynal, who had been twice badly wounded, and came out of hospital unfit for service in the field. He applied for the command of Vaux Fort in May, pointing out that his injuries would not impede him in directing the defence of the ruined mass of concrete. Sleeping in a cavern and hobbling among the broken masonry, the gallant major so arranged his machine-guns and stock of grenades that the fort, which was absolutely useless as an artillery position, became a magnificent machine-gun post.

It rose in the north-eastern angle of a little tableland, stretching eighteen hundred yards above the great gorge. On the eastern side the plateau was cut by another ravine that ran towards the south-east. On both these steep sides the little garrison, with its machine-guns and hand-grenades, had a tremendous advantage over the attacking forces; and though outnumbered often by a hundred to one, they rolled the Saxon division down the crest, two hundred yards from the wall of the fort, and broke another division that climbed up the south-eastern ravine. As the Germans had proved at Douaumont, a modern fortress of armoured concrete when hammered into absolute ruin makes a superb machine-gun position. It needs only a small garrison, who have profound caverns in which to shelter; and long periscopes help to make the work of observation safe against anything except a direct hit by a heavy howitzer shell.

A German death-trap

Vaux Fort, however, was more than a machine-gun redoubt defending two of the principal ravines of the Verdun district. Owing to its position on the edge of the plain stretching to Metz, it was the principal observation-post of the Eleventh French Army. It overlooked the lowland eastward and north-eastward of Verdun, and afforded such information of the enemy's movements as no balloon observer or aerial scout could obtain. Major Raynal had only a hundred and fifty men with him as a garrison on May 31st, but the next day some four hundred wounded troops, caught in the terrific rain of German shells, retired into the fort for shelter. This was the chief reason why the fort fell, for there was not enough water for five

FLEET OF AMBULANCE CARS PRESENTED BY LLOYD'S TO THE ARMY OF VERDUN.

Twenty ambulance cars, costing over £40,000, were presented by members of Lloyd's, the great British association of marine underwriters, to the French Army. King George inspected them at Buckingham Palace before they were despatched on their beneficent mission behind Verdun.

hundred and fifty men. Practically nothing could be got through the wicket-gate after June 2nd, even despatch-bearers being brought down by the enemy's fire. The shower of rain that saved the 101st Regiment, holding the trench between the fort and the ravine, was of little use to the garrison. They were too furiously busy fighting on all sides to make arrangements to get water for half a battalion. They had to contend against liquid flame, poison-gas shells, and innumerable assaults. There were eight or nine attacks in force every day, with only one pause on June 3rd, after four divisions had been broken in the ravine and round the promontory.

On June 4th, however, the German commander made a new concentration of his guns, drawing on Metz and increasing his fighting power on the Woevre Plain. He drove an advanced French force back from its dangerous position on the edge of the plain at Damloup, south of Vaux, and then, with an enormous crescent of guns firing north, north-west, and east of the promontory, he smashed up all Major Raynal's outer defences, and ringed the entire fort with an incessant fire.

WITH THE FRENCH ARTILLERY NEAR FORT DOUAUMONT.
Two "75" guns in action immediately to the rear of Fort Douaumont and working on a revolving emplacement. These guns proved most effective in defence. Every battery was connected with Headquarters by telephone, and the whole mass of artillery could be concentrated on one point at the general's command.

Surrender of Vaux Fort

Then it was that the handful of heroic Frenchmen began to weaken from thirst. A few daring men succeeded in getting in with a tiny supply of water, but all outside attempts made to get a large supply into the fort failed. By an encircling movement the German infantry won the wall of the fort and tried to rush across the courtyard, but were shot down. They climbed on the shattered roofs and, with a rope, lowered baskets of high explosives through the windows, dropped in time-fuses, and swung the charges against the French sharpshooters in the rooms. Still the garrison fought on. But, owing to lack of water, the situation became hopeless on the morning of June 6th. One private, Vanier, a stretcher-bearer who had worked nobly among the wounded and gone out continually to fetch water for them, was told that the remnant of the garrison would have to surrender. "I would rather die than be taken prisoner by the Boches," said Vanier. And with some of his wounded he crawled through the German lines, and though several of his companions were killed, Vanier led the others into the distant French trenches. Major Raynal then surrendered with his handful of exhausted men. Even the Teuton was moved when he saw how small and how enfeebled by thirst was the force that had for a week resisted the attack of his great army, and Major Raynal was allowed to retain his sword. By the French Government the defender of Vaux Fort was created a Commander of the Legion of Honour, and, in special recognition of his historic feat in delaying the German advance for a week, the insignia of his new rank were conferred upon his wife at a review in Paris.

In an ordinary way the fall of the valuable observation-post at Vaux might have produced upon the French public as staggering an effect as the fall of Douaumont Fort. But in the extraordinary circumstances in which Major Raynal, with one hundred and fifty men, broke tens of thousands of Germans, the final surrender of Vaux thrilled France with heroic resolve. It illustrated vividly the military gospel of the French High Command—that the enemy was paying a terribly excessive price in man-power for every yard of ground he won. The French peasantry, who controlled the master current of general opinion and often went strongly against the official view obtaining in Paris, became convinced that, in spite of the sacrifices they were making at Verdun, France was gaining in power upon her eternal enemy.

Ever since 1870 the Press and the leaders of opinion in Paris had been robbed of all real powers of national control by the French peasantry of the provinces. Paris in vain tried to continue the war of 1870; the people of the provinces would not accept her leadership in the matter. By compelling her to make peace they brought about the insurrection of the Commune, and after sternly putting it down, kept the Parisians under control for forty-five years. Paris under the Third Republic ceased to rule. All the excerpts from the leading Parisian newspapers which appeared in our Press during the early phases of the present war were often indicative only of the minority opinions of the leaders of the dethroned metropolis. The flight of many well-to-do members of the Parisian population just before the Battle of the Marne did not tend to augment the directive power of the capital. The French peasant, the most alert and intelligent man of his kind in the world, continued to follow his own train of thought, and give the governing quality to the national cast of opinion. His frame of mind was as grimly resolute as that of an ancient Roman farmer; but under the first shock of the breaking of the northern lines at Verdun he seems at times to have thought about trying to recover something from the wreck. In short, Paris—indomitable, resilient, incomparable Paris—seemed again to be rising to a greater height of soul than the provinces that had abandoned her in the last generation. But as the awful struggle at Verdun went on the ancient heart of France, by means of thousands of subtle veins of radiating emotion, poured her intensity of spirit through the provinces.

Power of French peasantry

When the attack on Vaux began the French Chamber of Deputies was in a condition of extreme agitation. There was a strong party forming, apparently, against the French High Command and moving for an immediate inquiry concerning Verdun. Alongside this dangerous movement against General Joffre and General Castelnau and their Staff, which was largely inspired by opinion in the provinces,

A CORNER NEAR SOUVILLE.
Fragments of a shattered ammunition-waggon. The recovery of Thiaumont Works outflanked the German attack on Souville and saved the position.

there was a movement of one section of the French urban working-class Socialists towards resuming friendly relations with the treacherous leaders of the German Social Democratic party. No doubt Teutonic intriguers, working by hidden and devious means, had some influence upon these agitated currents of opinion. The Frenchman is a born sceptic, and his personal knowledge of the losses incurred among his people during the stupendous effort to put out of action half a million Germans made him distrust the estimate of comparative losses given by the French Command.

The great episode of Vaux reassured him, and in the first secret sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on June 16th, 1916, the sombre movements of agitation were stilled, and finally, in both the Chamber and the Senate, confidence was fully restored, and the position of the Government and the Staff strengthened and well assured. In other words, the chief aim of all General von Falkenhayn's operations and intrigues from February to June, 1916, was completely frustrated; for he had mainly intended to produce an overwhelming moral effect upon the French public. He could not stagger and dishearten the French Commander-in-Chief and the French Staff. They would have withdrawn the army of Verdun across the Meuse and continued the struggle with cool and deadly skill, knowing they were exhausting the general German reserve and winning advantages in the common interests of the Grand Alliance. Yet they had to contend against a natural feeling of depression among their own people, and it was for this reason that they held with superhuman tenacity to Verdun.

Falkenhayn's intrigues frustrated

With the fall of Vaux, however, all the tension was relieved. For while the struggle was raging around the promontory on June 3rd, 1916, General Brussiloff's armies began that marvellous Russian advance in Volhynia and Bukovina which broke the main forces of Austria-Hungary, brought Rumania into the Grand Alliance, and compelled Germany to divert troops, guns, and shells to the assistance of both Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. Thus, all that General Joffre, General Castelnau, and the French Staff had striven for at Verdun was attained. Nevertheless, General von Falkenhayn made one desperate, tremendous effort to snatch a tactical local victory from his general strategic defeat.

After vainly battering along the ravine from Vaux to Fleury, which the French soldiers had named the Ravine of Death, the German commander made a thrust northward at Thiaumont. The Thiaumont Works lay on a long ridge connecting the Douaumont Plateau to the height of Froide Terre, rising by the Meuse immediately north of Verdun. On the right of the Thiaumont ridge was another height, Hill 320, that dominated the eastern end of the Ravine of Death, the gorge being also commanded by two wooded promontories known as Vaux Chapitre Wood and Fumin Wood. On June 12th the Germans drove in on Thiaumont on a front of three miles with three divisions, and after dreadful losses they got a footing on the slope west of Thiaumont. There followed a long pause of eleven days, that clearly showed the condition to which the three attacking divisions had been reduced. It almost looked as though Falkenhayn, perplexed by the break-up of Austria on the Russian and Italian fronts, was about to abandon the attempt to reach Verdun. As a matter of fact, the long pause of the German commander was indicative of the labour required to bring up the enormous forces he was concentrating at Thiaumont. And on June 23rd he made his supreme attempt with six divisions of infantry, launched in dense columns like incessant battering-rams, against the

Germans rush Thiaumont

SHELL-WROUGHT HAVOC IN CAILLETTE WOOD.
Caillette Wood, north of the ravine between Vaux and Fleury, was the scene of terrific fighting in the Battles of Verdun. In circle: Heap of French shell-cases collected near Souville.

Thiaumont ridge. The ridge was carried with its earthworks, after a Rhenish division had been thrown back from the western slopes of the ridge, for a Prussian reserve corps simultaneously pushed down eastward from Douaumont and, after hours of fighting, reached the Thiaumont earthworks and pierced the French line.

To avoid being cut off by the forces closing on it eastward and westward, the small French garrison fell back rapidly on Fleury village by the end of the ravine coming from Vaux. The victorious Germans stormed into Fleury village, but again there was seen the surprising and magnificent power of recoil of apparently beaten French troops. Fugitive and seemingly routed, the defeated garrison of Thiaumont turned in the village, smashed the Prussians out of the houses they had won, and then chased them northward up the road to Bras.

A STEEL-HELMETED FRENCH CAVALRY REGIMENT ON THE MARCH.
One heard little of cavalry in the long period between the Battles of the Marne and the Somme. Recurrence of mention of their employment after the great advance that began in July, 1916, was hailed as indicative of the turn of the tide in the Allies' favour.

Thereupon the German commander threw in his last reserves, making in all a hundred thousand men launched on a sector only three miles wide. In a fierce hand-to-hand struggle with bomb and bayonet the French were again pushed out of the northern end of Fleury village. French forces, however, still occupied the southern promontories of the Ravine of Death running from Fleury to Vaux, and a small wood south-east of the fort was also held by our heroic allies against all attacks. Every line of approach from Verdun was crossed by converging fires from powerful hidden French artillery positions. All the German attacks coming from Fleury, for example, were taken in flank by tempests of shell directed from the observation-post at Fort St. Michel, while attacks coming from Vaux were taken in flank by a tempest of fire coming from Fort Tavannes. Then directly facing the enemy was Souville Fort on the right of the line, a dominating position overlooking the plateau of the tableland of Vaux and about equal in height to Douaumont. None of these French forts was an artillery position. The old 6 in. guns had been removed, and far more powerful howitzers, with quick-firing action, were concealed around the southern slopes of the heights. As in the case of Vaux, the old battered forts were merely observation-posts and machine-gun redoubts, manned by a couple of hundred men. The main French forces sheltered in large caverns and moved into action by way of tunnels and deep communication-trenches.

German prodigality of man-power

The design of the German commander was to press a converging attack upon Souville Fort, eastward from Vaux and northward from Thiaumont. In four months' operation he had captured a mile and a quarter of ground, at the price of 400,000 men. He was now faced with the problem of capturing nearly four miles of ground, across which ran two strong defensive lines, for each of which the French asked the same price. He began by attempting to drive in towards the river against the Pepper Hill and Froide Terre defences. But this seems to have been only a demonstration, for the French army across the Meuse still clung to the slopes of Dead Man Hill and enfiladed any direct assault on the northern sector of Verdun.

Towards the end of June, General von Falkenhayn ordered demonstrations against General Pétain's forces in Champagne and General Foch's forces in Artois, while he was accumulating another great store of shells round Fort Souville for a fresh general attack on Verdun. By this time, however, the French Commander-in-Chief was completely in control of the entire situation on the western front. He had withdrawn his best force from the great Lorraine fortress and placed it under the command of another new general of the hurricane-fire school, General Fayolle, who with skilful secrecy was planning an offensive on the Somme River. In addition to the network of light railways winding everywhere into the French front, the French Staff had been enormously developing the quicker, more flexible, and disconcerting weapon of transport—the motor-lorry—which had saved Verdun. Round the Lorraine fortress hundreds of miles of new narrow-gauge railways had been built since February, 1916, and there was thus less strain upon the French motor organisation. Tens of thousands of lorries were now available for moving an army with great secrecy and expedition, the lorries being able to run almost into the lines. At night they discharged troops, ammunition, and the lighter weapons of war. The light railways, when relieved of much of the ordinary traffic at the busiest sector, became tracks for gigantic new howitzers that fired from the rails and moved up and down as occasion required. The general effect was that these new monster guns could come abruptly into action along the tracks where nothing unusual had been seen the day before by enemy aerial scouts.

British offensive begun

All the chief elements of surprise were, therefore, in the hands of the Western Allies, while Falkenhayn was still doggedly and blindly reorganising a new battering attack on Verdun. In the last week in June a thing he had long expected happened. For ninety miles the British front flamed and thundered by night as well as by day, indicating that the untried new armies were about to make an attempt to attack. The Chief of the German Staff was not alarmed at this prospect, for it had all along been one of his objects to provoke a British offensive by continuing his pressure on Verdun. He considered that native British stubbornness might have served Great Britain well if her new recruits had fought on the defensive, and for this reason he had been averse to assailing her. On the other hand, he considered it impossible that her amateur artillerymen could work their new heavy guns with the minute precision and

PONTOON COMMUNICATION NEAR VERDUN.
Leading horses over a pontoon bridge connecting the east and west zones of fighting.

TERRACES OF DUG-OUTS ON THE HILLSIDE BEFORE VERDUN.
High explosive was responsible for an extraordinary development of trench architecture and subterranean town-planning, brought to the highest point of perfection by the Germans, but practised by all the belligerents. Above is a remarkable photograph of the hillside dug-outs of the French army before Verdun.

stop-watch exactness in timing which were necessary in a grand, modern offensive. He confidently expected that her hastily-trained new armies would display a rash, impetuous, and unorganised degree of courage which would result in such enormous casualties—at a comparatively slight loss in lives to veteran German defending troops—that her extraordinary military effort would prove to have been undertaken in vain.

It is not extravagant to say that Falkenhayn was cheered by the news that Sir Douglas Haig had opened a hurricane bombardment preliminary to the advance of large infantry forces. Not a single division at Verdun, brought from the general reserve at Cambrai, seems to have been hurried back towards the neighbourhood of the British front. The German corps already arrayed against the British were large, and included at least two divisions of the Prussian Guard. In Falkenhayn's view the quality of his choice veterans would outbalance the quantity of the half-trained British recruits.

Towards the middle of the week of the British bombardment the French guns from the Somme to the Aisne lengthened the line of thunder and flame until nearly one hundred and fifty miles of the German front was veiled in the smoke of heavy high-explosive shell. This might have been merely a strong artillery feint, intended to support the coming British thrust by inducing the Germans to scatter southward some of their materials and forces of defence. The enemy Staff, however, appears to have discovered by Secret Service work that France, though apparently exhausted by her tremendous efforts at Verdun, was still capable of undertaking an offensive movement in co-operation with Great Britain.

156 miles of gun fire

The German Secret Service, however, did not fully penetrate into the design of the Allies. Apparently, it was known from London that the British attack would come from Albert, and the Prussian Guard and other veteran corps were concentrated between Arras and Albert. In this matter, however, London gossip was somewhat misleading, and owing to the flexibility of the British feeding motor service, the main thrust was delivered, still with some surprise effect, to the south of the principal German concentration. In regard to the French offensive, the enemy was completely misled. He expected the blow to fall against his sector around Roye; but the troops he massed at Roye had to be brought back in hasty confusion to Péronne. And this was only one of two great surprises which General Castelnau and his Staff prepared for the enemy in the last week of June. In the morning of June 30th, 1916, the local German command before Verdun made a violent effort to turn the flank of Hill 304 by a general attack all along the line to Avocourt. Terrific shell fire, storming masses of infantry, and liquid-flame attacks produced absolutely no impression upon the French lines, a small piece of ground on Hill 304 being recovered by the French counter-attack. But while this ferocious struggle was proceeding on the left bank of the Meuse, General Nivelle's men on Froide Terre and the height near Fleury advanced at ten o'clock in the morning, and by a magnificent piece of fighting recovered and held the fortified works of Thiaumont that barred the great ridge of Douaumont-Froide Terre. This extraordinary forward leap of the army of Verdun had great consequences, for the Thiaumont Works outflanked the German point of advance at Fleury, thus turning the stream of attack which the enemy was organising against Fort Souville.

It was essential to the Germans that they should immediately regain the Thiaumont Works. They battered the lost position with hundreds of guns and launched column

after column of infantry in a pincer-like movement from the north and from the east. In the afternoon some Prussian troops again reached the works, but the French counter-attacked in the evening and once more won back all the ground. In the night the Germans renewed their storming attacks, which had to be delivered through a stupendous curtain fire of massed French parks of artillery. The French lost only some advanced positions on the slopes, the dominating position of Thiaumont remaining in their possession.

Recapture of Thiaumont

Altogether the recovery of Thiaumont was the most successful of all the French recoils at Verdun. It showed indeed a degree of resiliency unparalleled in modern siege warfare. The fact was that General Nivelle had at last a definite object of high importance in making a leap forward. In his former swoop back to Douaumont Fort he was moved only by a consideration of local tactics and a vaguer policy of general strategy. His immediate object then had been merely to relieve the German pressure against Dead Man Hill on the opposite side of the river, by proving to the German commander that his line was perilously weak at Douaumont. In so doing he had also shown the German Staff that it must always take into consideration the potential offensive power of the army of Verdun. This had only been thrown out as an indefinite hint. But the fiercer and stronger leap back to Thiaumont, one day before the opening of the Franco-British offensive on the Somme River, was an act of downright intimidation.

The Germans had three thousand or more guns at Verdun, and an army of at least 600,000 men. More than a million Germans had been brought into action at Verdun on either side of the Meuse, nearly half of whom had been put out of action, the losses falling on the most useful arms—infantry, engineers, and artillery. General Pétain and General Nivelle had gradually built up around Verdun a French army equal in artillery power to the German, superior to it in engineering power, and balancing it in infantry power. As a matter of fact, the French infantry holding the heights around the Lorraine fortress was deliberately kept inferior in number to the German attacking infantry, with a view to opposing less men to heavy gun fire than the Germans exposed. But the French infantry made up in highly developed defensive engineering and very skilful cross-firing combinations of position for its wise weakness in mere numbers. Also, the French forces generally available for the defence were quite as large as the German attacking forces. The difference resided in the fact that each French division was kept fresh and full of spirit by being employed only in a short shift and then withdrawn for a rest. The famous Iron Division, for instance that had saved Verdun in February, soon recrossed the Meuse and stayed for some time available as a support, but then the men were allowed to return to their homes for a month's holiday. Coming back to depôt, the division was brought up to its establishment by fresh troops of a young class, and these were then trained in company with the refreshed veterans and solidly embedded in the fighting strength of the most glorious body of fighting men in the world. In other words, the great division was never worn down and changed in composition, in spite of the terrible heavy fighting continually thrown upon it. With its sister division forming the Twentieth Army Corps, the Iron Division emerged from Verdun stronger, if possible, than it had entered the most intense furnace of battle.

In the German Army, on the other hand, the divisions were kept in the terrible furnace of Verdun until they melted away. Seldom or never were they withdrawn after a sharp bout, when they could have absorbed and transformed the lads available to fill up their ranks. Falkenhayn used his divisions as the Americans use their machinery. He kept them going until they were worn into scrap. It was only the broken remnant that was afterwards employed in building up another fresh force.

Reckless use of divisions

The German Staff had too mechanical a conception of infantry building. It had come almost to despise infantry and to rely chiefly upon guns and machine-gunners. These it was able to preserve in a fairly unbroken system of

MORE MEN TO HOLD THE FOE AT BAY: NEW TROOPS MOVE FORWARD AT THE CRITICAL HOUR.
Reinforcements for the French front before Verdun marching through a village to the strains of the national hymn. This illustration was secured just after the great blizzard which raged in the first days of the fearful struggle and helped to impede the German advance.

development, by a flow of half-trained drafts who were hammered into men of experience by more numerous veteran comrades and skilful commissioned and non-commissioned officers. For in artillery duels, even with thousands of guns on either side, counter-battery firing remained secondary in importance to high-explosive hurricane attacks upon entrenched hostile infantry and shrapnel storms against enemy troops advancing to attack or coming up as reinforcements. The general result was that casualties among German gunners were less in proportion than those among German infantrymen. As the German Staff no longer considered the infantry to be the queen of battles, they used up divisions of bayonets with little or no regard for the wealth of experience embodied in the rank and file. Very often a shattered division that retained the fighting strength of a brigade was sent into action as a brigade the day after its defeat, simply because it was immediately available on the field of battle and Falkenhayn and his commanders wished at all costs to maintain an unremitting pressure.

False military economy

It was the old Prussian mistake of endeavouring to rectify by a violent effort of will an error made in a matter of judgment. The Prussian had fought his way up, from the command of a couple of counties to the control of two great empires and a bid for the hegemony of the world, mainly by a remarkable driving force of character. The larger insight into human nature and affairs had never distinguished him, though he was careful and methodical, and often recognised the warlike value of intellectual power displayed by Teutons and Teutonic Jews of more flexible mind attracted to his service. He was incarnate will-power, in a degree surpassing that of the ancient Roman or the modern Anglo-Celt. The consequence was that, in the heat and fury of battle, when both commander and private were fighting on instinct and on the intuitions of instinct, the Prussian tried to conquer by sheer force of will. He held his wasting divisions to the work of incessant attack in a blind hope that the opposing French force might be nearing breaking-point and liable to give way if the assault were pushed to extreme desperation.

The French, on the other hand, fought with their fine intelligence sharpened to its keenest point. All that lucidity of intellect and quick reasoning power, which since the eleventh century have made France the directing mind of Christendom and the principal organiser of the entire range of European culture, were concentrated upon the task of Verdun with a general degree of intensity hitherto unknown in war. The will-power of France during this supreme clash of Gaul and Teuton was at least as vehement as that of Germany. The historic battle-cry " Ne passeront pas ! " expressed a force of national character as great as that of the Spartans who held the pass against the Persian host, or—to give a parallel from French history—as great as that which the Franks showed at Roncesvalles. But the indomitable will of the French was animated and directed by an intellectual power both subtle and comprehensive.

" Ne passeront pas ! "

The French gave ground continually in cases where the Germans would have vainly fought to the death. But seldom was the ground from which the French withdrew immediately lost to them. Their advance forces of infantry merely retired in order to facilitate the work of their artillery. And when the victorious Germans were shattered by a closing storm of heavy shell, the French infantry made a counter-attack, and in an epical hand-to-hand struggle showed their surprised enemy that there was a finer form of tactics than the blind, brutal, wasteful bull rush. Except in the first week of the Verdun campaign, when the weak forces of General Herr were half annihilated by parks of monster German siege-guns, the average losses of the French in the operations around the Lorraine fortress were much less than the losses of the Germans. For some months every Frenchman that fell took with him two Germans, and the proportion of casualties was seldom less than that.

The consequence was that General Nivelle possessed an available force of French infantry superior in number to the wasted German forces. Had the general strategical situation of the Allies so required, he could at last have reversed the situation at Verdun and opened a prolonged driving attack against the Crown Prince's army. This design, however, was abandoned by the French Staff through lack of monster guns and shells. The best of General Nivelle's forces were withdrawn from his command when the victory of Verdun was definitely gained. No country could at the time carry on simultaneously two long hurricane-fire offensives. Even Germany had been compelled to leave the Russians and the British in comparative peace in order to maintain an attack against Verdun on a front seldom more than nine miles broad. All the cannon factories, high-explosive works, and heavy-shell plants of Germany could not do more than maintain the pressure alternately on the left and right bank of the Meuse at Verdun.

France, with most of her ironfields and coalmines in the hands of the enemy, could not do more than maintain an offensive along a front of about ten miles. In other words, she could not get sufficient guns and shells to attack on the Somme and on the Meuse. When, therefore, the Franco-British operation on the Somme opened, General von Falkenhayn began to withdraw men and guns from Verdun. He lightly reckoned that he would, henceforth, need on the Meuse only sufficient forces to maintain a defensive against a comparatively small French army. It was to check this German withdrawal that General Nivelle made his fierce and astonishingly successful return to the Thiaumont Works between Douaumont and Froide Terre. Thereby he distinctly showed that it was his intention to go on recovering at a comparatively slight cost the ground which Falkenhayn had spent half a million men in conquering.

Nivelle's clever counter-attacks

Throughout the allied offensive on either side of the Somme the French army of Verdun exercised a persistent pressure against the German forces on either side of the Meuse. It was known to the French and British Staffs that German troops were being brought from Verdun to assist in the stand near the Somme. But General Nivelle saw to it that Verdun was not robbed of Germans in order to strengthen Péronne. He fought a long, persistent, detaining action. Naturally, he never launched a general offensive movement. His object was merely to intimidate the enemy and continually test him in small actions and counter-battery duels in order to see if he was growing weak at Verdun. So long as the German commander there retained his great arcs of guns and sufficient reserves of infantry to make counter-attacks after every small French advance General Nivelle was content. He pushed the enemy out of Fleury, and towards the middle of September, 1916, he recovered some of the woods above the Ravine of Death and established his forces near Vaux. By this time it was clear that the initiative in attack rested entirely with him, and that if the French High Command enabled him to accumulate a big store of shells, a great attacking force could quickly be thrown by light railway and motor transport into Verdun for a push towards the Lorraine ironfields. The German Staff, of course, was well acquainted with the main facts of the situation. Indeed, it was General Nivelle's principal task to keep it alert to the possibilities of the Verdun scene of operations, and though his local attacks were feints, any marked success could quickly be developed into a strong and alarming thrust. For all practical purposes, therefore, the French were masters of the field. They had won the greatest victory in defence known to history, and, with their Allies, they retained all the advantages of the terrific struggle.

Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief of Battle-Cruiser Fleet.

[Russell.

Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, O.M., G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet.

Rear-Admiral Sir Robert K. Arbuthnot, Bart., K.C.B., lost with his flagship the Defence.

[Weston & Son.

Admiral Sir Cecil Burney, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., Second-in-Command of the Grand Fleet.

THE GLORIOUS BATTLE OF JUTLAND BANK. PART I.

How Germany Prepared for "The Day."

By H. W. Wilson and Edward Wright.

Supreme Ambition of the Kaiser to Obtain Command of the Sea and Become Lord of the World—Opposition of the Bismarckians and Intrigues of the General Staff to Overbear the German Naval Department—Pressure by France and Russia Compels Germany to Concentrate her Productive Energy on the Land War—Intensification of British Warship Construction and Augmentation of the Strength of the British Navy—Von Tirpitz Attempts to Redeem his Early Mistake of Producing Dreadnoughts Rather Than Submarines, and Contemplates Attrition of the British Capacity for Action by Submarine Piracy—Reasons for Von Tirpitz's Dismissal—Appointment of Reinhold von Scheer to the Command-in-Chief of the High Sea Fleet—Von Scheer and the "Nelson Touch"—Changed Conditions Since Nelson's Day—Adaptation of the Art of Making Preliminary Sacrifices in Order to Secure Superiority at the Crisis of the Battle—Rear-Admiral Hipper and his Battle-Cruiser Squadron—The Raids on the East Coast and "Tip-and-Run" Tactics—The German Submarine Flotilla near the Little Fisher Bank—The German High Sea Fleet Steams Out for Action, Wednesday, May 31st, 1916—Its Disposition and Use of Zeppelins—Blindness of Sir John Jellicoe's Fleet Owing to Lack of Long-range Rigid Airships—Approximate Strength of the Opposing Fleets—The Respective Odds as Calculated by the Law of the Numerical Square—Secondary Armaments and Relative Manœuvring Power of the Two Fleets—Choice of Time and Place in the German Favour—Why the British Command, with a Great Superiority in Force Available, Exposed Only a Fraction of the Grand Fleet to the Enemy's Concentrated Force—Sir John Jellicoe and his Plan for the Control of the North Sea—Admiral von Scheer and Sir John Jellicoe Playing the Same Game—Calculation of Time the Key to Victory.

ON the afternoon of Wednesday, May 31st, 1916, William II. of Germany learnt what the supreme achievement of his reign was worth. Grandson of a Queen of Great Britain, he was the first Hohenzollern to appreciate the value of sea-power. Against the advice of his military leaders and against the judgment of his principal expert in foreign affairs, Holstein, the disciple and supplanter of Bismarck, the Emperor held steadily along the path of his ambition to become Admiral of the Atlantic. He saw that, with the command of the sea, he could become lord of the world.

In vain did his best men counsel him to concentrate on the conquest of the European Continent before openly setting out to build a stronger fleet than the British Empire possessed. Holstein, the principal force behind the passing figureheads of State Chancellors, resigned his work as Bismarck's successor, and died in a mood of despair, because of the Emperor's disastrous policy. He published his judgment that the premature rivalry in naval construction with Great Britain would end in Germany being crippled.

Holstein's prophetic view

Bethmann-Hollweg, who nominally succeeded Bülow, but actually succeeded Holstein, adopted the idea of the dead Bismarckian. By intriguing with the General Staff, which was bent on attacking Russia, he deprived Grand-Admiral von Tirpitz of the funds needed for shipbuilding. The famous war levy of 1913 was spent on the Army. The Emperor William ceased his efforts to build a stronger fleet than the British, and strove only to keep this country neutral in the great land war for the dominion of Europe. He was indeed convinced, from the faltering attitude of the Liberal-Radical Cabinet, that Great Britain was too cowardly to fight, and that in the end he could absorb the British Empire peacefully, as he was absorbing Austria-Hungary.

His men of the new school both flattered and restrained him by the theory that, in making Germany the second greatest naval Power in the world, he had safely insured against the British people taking part in the coming struggle on the Continent. It was argued that the British race was selfish, timid, narrowly calculating. Rather than risk a terrific fleet action, in which, even if victorious, the losses would leave the British in a third or fourth rate position in regard to naval power, they would stand aside and see France bled to death and Russia reduced to vassalage. The world knows what happened. Over-confident in his undoubted but limited power over Great Britain, the German Emperor went too far. Listening only to his military advisers, he resolved to save the estimated loss of a hundred thousand men by avoiding the French fortress line and making an easier path through Belgium. Had he not invaded Belgium, the British Cabinet would have split over the question of entering the war, and the nation might have failed France, incurred immortal dishonour, and come eventually to a miserable end. Happily it was saved from the great temptation by the too arrogant foe, and when the British people manfully turned to work out its nobler destinies, it found that its strength at sea was equal to the strain.

Germany's preliminary misconceptions

As the notorious German naval expert, Count Reventlow, put it, there was no second greatest naval Power in the

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE GERMAN HIGH SEA FLEET.
Admiral von Scheer, Commander-in-Chief of the German High Sea Fleet, avoided contact with Sir John Jellicoe. His services off Jutland, however, were rewarded with the Order "Pour le Mérite."

world. There was one dominant Fleet, and another and quite a third-rate Fleet. By the most extraordinary paradox in history British sea-power became largely based upon the land-power of France and Russia. What Great Britain did herself in increasing her strength at sea between the declaration of war and the fleet action off Jutland was of secondary importance in comparison with the actual work done by the French and Russian Armies in augmenting her naval power.

For Germany was in a position in 1915 similar to that which she occupied in 1913, when she raised her battle resources by a war levy. Tremendous as was her industrial capacity of producing war material, that capacity was not adequate to all her needs. She could not devote all her steel-making plants and power tools to building thousands of heavy guns and turning out from a quarter to half a million military shells a day and at the same time rival Great Britain in warship construction. By intense pressure on both the western and eastern fronts France and Russia compelled the enemy to concentrate his main productive energies upon the land war.

Germany diverted from sea-power

Great Britain therefore remained free to intensify her warship construction, and also to increase in an unparalleled manner the personnel of her Navy. She invented novel types of ships, such as the torpedo-proof heavy monitor, and brought out a squadron of fast battleships with monster guns. Ships of the Royal Sovereign class, mounting 15 in. guns, began to appear, while German ships, designed to carry guns of the same calibre, remained unfinished in the yards. Vast quantities of Krupp armour-plate, that would have gone into ships, were transferred to the German Army and used for protecting machine-gun redoubts and making casemates for quick-firers.

Mainly from necessity, and partly from its general tendency to take the military point of view, the General Staff of Germany was allowed to overbear the Navy Department. The second-rate German Navy had largely to rest content with remaining secure under shelter of its coastal fortifications, while the first-rate German Army monopolised most of the steel-making plants. As Moltke and Falkenhayn no doubt pointed out, when Grand-Admiral von Tirpitz wanted monster naval guns and mountings from Krupp, the Fleet as it floated could at least avoid destruction, but the Army had to be given all available means of winning a decision — here on the Dunajec, there on the Narew, now on the Dwina, then by the Meuse — or the fortunes of Germany were lost.

In other words, the Armies of France and Russia exerted, in combination or alternately, such pressure on German armament resources that the common enemy of the Triple Entente had to abandon the attempt to remain as strong at sea as he was when the war opened. Had he been fighting against Great Britain alone, he might have equalled and, with his immense resources, overtaken her in ship-building. As it was, she alone threw her chief energies into naval construction. She was shipbuilder to the world, with a very remarkable number of yards for building merchantmen as well as fighting ships.

Shipbuilder to the world

At some discomfort to the people from the enhanced cost of food, due to the lack of new cargo steamers, the British nation devoted all its yards to warship construction, and by augmenting the strength of its Fleet, which could also draw reinforcements from the Allies, placed it in a position to prevent any serious offensive by the enemy's Navy. In 1908, when the Germans were drawing very close in Dreadnought strength, their boast was an alarming menace. They then could truly say, as their Emperor had foretold, that Great Britain could only win a victory in the North Sea at the cost of falling in power below the United States. But in 1916 the Germans could no longer look forward in a fleet action to inflict crippling loss on the British Navy. In clear daylight, especially, its advantage in numbers had

COMMANDER OF THE GERMAN SCOUTING SQUADRON.
Vice-Admiral Hipper, who commanded the German scouting squadron, was completely outmanœuvred by Sir David Beatty, but he received the Order "Pour le Mérite" from the Kaiser.

THE SINKING OF THE ARABIS OFF THE DOGGER BANK.

German disregard of the loss of life entailed by sinking enemy ships was infamous. One occasion when her sailors were alleged to have shown humanity was when two torpedo-boats sank the Arabis, February 10th, 1916. A Leipzig paper published this picture purporting to show survivors being picked up by the torpedo-boat.

become so great that it could expect to produce a concentrated fire, at the long range which suited it, which would destroy opponents without exposing it to very severe losses.

In the day of preparation Grand-Admiral von Tirpitz had mistakenly neglected to develop the one weapon that might have told against Great Britain—the submarine, and had spent most of his money on ships of the Dreadnought class, which he was afraid to risk when the great test came. For some months Tirpitz endeavoured to redeem his mistake by devoting a large part of his constructive power to the production of submarines. In the construction of large ships he seems to have completed by the spring of 1916 only the battle-cruisers Lützow and Hindenburg and the four battleships of the König class. He carried out only the ordinary programme of battleship construction and probably took over the German-built Salamis, which had been ordered by the Greek Government, and was designed, according to programme, to carry eight 14 in. guns. A considerable number of fast and powerful light cruisers were completed, apparently in the hope of getting some of them on to the Atlantic trade-routes. A small squadron of new German battleships, with guns of 15 in. calibre, was completing, but this new and important force was not in action in the Battle of Jutland.

Tirpitz and submarines

The British Grand Fleet was perhaps weakened by the diversion of heavy guns and mountings from sea-going battleships in course of construction to slow coast service monitors. This was one mistake made, and it was revealed by Mr. Balfour, not very wisely. Another error alleged by Mr. Churchill to have been committed was negligence in pressing forward large ships. Still, with the new battleships mounting 15 in. guns, the new fast light cruisers with 6 in. guns, and with the increasing range and power of the British submarines—which kept at least level with the enemy's developments in underwater craft—the striking power of the Fleet was sufficient.

Yet it was in these circumstances that the German High Sea Fleet was brought to action. In the opening months of the war, when Germany was comparatively strong at sea, she avoided a fleet action. But when her relative naval power had declined, owing to British production of material and intensified training of naval reservists and recruits, she almost went out of her way to risk her Fleet. The reasons that led her to adopt this course are a matter of speculation. All the facts will not be known until long after the war is over. There are, however, indications that the change in policy was directly due to the retirement of Grand-Admiral von Tirpitz. The creator of the German High Sea Fleet was well aware of its growing weakness in the face of British constructive energy and Britain's ample opportunities for training men.

Discarding the plan on which he had built the German Fleet, Tirpitz resolved to keep his battleships safe in harbour, and to harass the British mercantile marine by submarine attack, with a view to reducing British sea-borne supplies to a point at which the British capacity for action would be decisively weakened. Then, with the squadron of heavily gunned German battleships due in the autumn of 1916, Tirpitz might have resumed operations against the British Navy. The German Grand-Admiral was so much convinced of the efficacy of his new form of underwater piracy that he was willing to bring the United States into the field against the Central Empires rather than relinquish his system of attacking both belligerent and neutral merchant ships trading to the British Isles.

The policy of piracy

When the German Emperor and his Chancellor decided that Germany could not at the time afford to provoke the United States to side with the Allies, the Grand-Admiral had to be dismissed from the control of the Navy. Apparently in his view there was nothing of importance to be done at sea except to continue the submarine campaign against all shipping in the war zone around the British Isles. He could not see his way to risk the High Sea

Fleet until the new battleships with larger guns were completed, as he thought the odds had become overwhelming. But from the personal, and perhaps dynastic, point of view of the German Emperor something had immediately to be attempted with the Navy. The complete fiasco of the Verdun operations was beginning to tell on the spirit of the German people, and to aggravate the discomfort produced by the rigorous rationing of the nation due to the stoppage of Russian supplies and the partial blockade exercised by the British Fleet. The German High Command was well acquainted with the fact that Russia was quickly gathering new strength with the assistance of the munition factories of Great Britain and Japan. The transport of munitions past the northern coast of Norway to the new ice-free Russian port of Alexandrovsk would greatly increase when the ice in the White Sea broke and again opened the port of Archangel. It may be doubted whether the German Staff foresaw what renewed and augmented power Russia would display when the stream of sea-borne munitions was fully liberated by the breaking of the ice. But what they did see in the matter made them anxious, and Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, moreover, required a very considerable part of the German battleship and battle-cruiser strength for his proposed operations against Riga.

German Fleet and Riga

Political and military considerations, therefore, interfered with the purely naval strategy that had been established by Tirpitz. Had the Grand-Admiral been able to wait until the early autumn of 1916, his new fast battleships with 15 in. guns or 17 in. guns might have enabled him partially to balance the squadrons of the Queen Elizabeth and Royal Sovereign class. As it was, Tirpitz had to give way to the personal judgment of William II., who was influenced by Bethmann-Hollweg in matters of foreign and domestic policy and by the General Staff in regard to the overruling necessities of the German armies on both eastern and western fronts. In these circumstances the German Emperor needed a fighting admiral who was ready to take great risks in view of great results. The man was found in Vice-Admiral Reinhold von Scheer, who succeeded Pohl, the supplanter of Ingenohl, as Commander-in-Chief of the High Sea Fleet.

Before the war Scheer had been known as the leading German authority on Nelson. He had distinguished himself as a student of gunnery, tactics, and strategy; but above all this he was regarded as having penetrated the secret of the "Nelson touch" as Clausewitz had penetrated the secret of the Napoleonic method. In either case it is doubtful if the learned Germans bored their way by laborious researches into the ultimate secret of the British and French masters of war. It will be found that a modern French soldier, Captain Gilbert, discovered Napoleon's later and finer method and handed on his knowledge to General Foch and other French commanders now famous throughout the world.

Modern men and master-militarists

The "Nelson touch" may be summed up as the art of bringing superior force to bear upon the enemy at the decisive point by a consummate use of judgment and seamanship. Like Rodney and other men of the older generation, Nelson was often ready to expose some of his leading ships to overwhelming enemy fire, with a view to winning such a position as would enable him to mass his inferior numbers against a fragment of the enemy's superior numbers. That is to say, he was ready to make a small preliminary sacrifice in order to break the enemy's line and destroy a considerable part of the enemy's ships. His method was essentially the same as that which Napoleon employed. Napoleon used to set a single division, such as that of Lannes, the task of withstanding a much superior part of a hostile force, in order to give the main French mass of manœuvre time to concentrate in overwhelming strength against a weak part of the enemy's line.

This seems to have been all that Vice-Admiral von Scheer acquired of direct value in his long studies of the Nelson method. Like all German admirals, he was at the beginning rather oppressed by the fact that he would have to fight against a Fleet of which both the matériel and the personnel were superior to the Fleet he commanded. None of the methods of the modern German school of military strategy was helpful to him. For since Moltke the German General Staff had merely relied upon the rapid, straightforward employment of the advantage of numbers and railway mobility. The manœuvre of envelopment, followed by a fierce thrust at the hostile centre when it had been weakened by the effort to strengthen its menaced flank, constituted the methods of German military strategy as developed by Moltke and his successors. The rest was mainly a matter of the technique of railway management, the technique of siege-gun transport, and the technique of a distinct and powerful machine-gun organisation.

In military matters the Germans were half blinded by the sense of their enormous strength; but with reference to the problems of naval warfare, the German admirals were compelled to devise a more subtle and economical employment of their forces. They stood in much the same position with regard to British admirals that French generals stood in with regard to German generals at the opening of the war. They had to seek for some method of bringing an inferior force to bear against a superior force, with such dispositions as would enable them to outnumber the more powerful enemy in the crisis of the battle. For, as Nelson said, "only numbers can annihilate." At Trafalgar his fleet was smaller than the combined Franco-Spanish fleet, and to obtain the numbers which annihilate he had to separate some of the hostile ships, concentrate his force around the separated squadrons, and then destroy them before Villeneuve could bring up the other enemy ships of the line.

New conditions of naval war

All the material conditions of naval warfare had greatly changed since Nelson's day. It had become difficult for a small fleet to engage a large fleet with any chance of cutting off part of the latter. Steam-power had made obsolete the factor of seamanship that told most in the days of sailing ships. If any advantage remained in seamanship, British flag-officers, by reason of their incomparable opportunities for gaining experience, ought to have possessed it. Practically all British seamen were long-service men, while the ordinary personnel of the German Fleet contained a considerable element of short-service, conscripted landsmen. Scheer had, therefore, to reckon that no study on his part would enable him to win by Nelson's main instrument of victory—unparalleled seamanship.

All that he could do was to adapt to modern conditions the art of making a preliminary sacrifice, which had been a tradition of the British Navy since the days of Rodney. The force designated for the preliminary sacrifice was the Battle-Cruiser Squadron under Rear-Admiral Hipper, which Sir David Beatty had hammered in the Dogger Bank Battle. This squadron had been strengthened, after the loss of the Blücher, by the addition of the new battle-cruiser the Lützow, a ship of 28,000 tons, eight 12 in. guns, twelve 6 in. guns, and a reputed speed of twenty-eight knots. The true speed seems to have been actually less than this. Then a later battle-cruiser, the Hindenburg, of 28,000 tons displacement, eight 15 in. and fourteen 6 in. guns, and a reputed speed of twenty-seven knots, was added to Hipper's squadron in the early spring of 1916.

For some reason at present unknown the Hindenburg does not seem to have been used in the action. It is possible that she developed defects during her gun trials in March, 1910. She does not appear to have been originally designed to carry 15 in. guns. Another battle-cruiser of the Hindenburg class, the Viktoria Luise, of 28,000 tons,

eight 15 in. guns, and fourteen 6 in. guns, had been launched at Hamburg in 1914. But she does not seem to have taken part in the battle. No doubt the same reason that prevented the Hindenburg from appearing also affected her.

The absence of the Hindenburg left Hipper with five ships. He flew his flag in the Lützow, which was followed by a ship of a similar class, the Derfflinger, and the Seydlitz, of 24,600 tons, ten 11 in. guns, twelve 6 in. guns, and a reputed speed of 29·2 knots. Then there was the Moltke, of 22,600 tons, ten 11 in. guns, twelve 6 in. guns, and a reputed speed of 28·5 knots; while in the rear, in place of the vanished Blücher, was an unknown ship, which may have been the salved and repaired Von der Tann, of 18,700 tons, eight 11 in., and ten 6 in. guns, and a nominal speed of 27·6 knots.

The five ships under the command of Rear-Admiral Hipper were of almost decisive importance to the German Navy. In the absence of the 15 in. gun battle-cruisers, Hipper's squadron was the only manœuvring wing that Scheer possessed. But he was a man of sufficient courage and enterprise to fling out his sole available battle-cruiser force, and expose it to the fire of six British battle-cruisers, most of them armed with 13·5 in. guns, and reinforced by a fast British battleship squadron having 15 in. guns.

BRITISH PATROL BOAT STOPPING A SUSPECTED SHIP.

Every vessel that gave rise to the least suspicion was searched by the British patrol. Our illustration shows a vessel being stopped by a shot across her bows and held in the searchlights of the patrol in case more direct shooting should be required.

Such was Scheer's application of the Nelson method to the conditions of modern naval warfare. His total strength was barely more than half that of the British naval commander-in-chief's. Yet he was ready to imperil five of his Dreadnought capital ships, out of a total of twenty-one available Dreadnought units, in a design to encompass the destruction of a part of the British Fleet. Had he won the victory he intended, it would not have been decisive, for the main British battle-squadrons would still have heavily outnumbered the German battle-squadrons. It is impossible to deny to Scheer praise for his boldness and sternness of conception.

Scheer's bravery and enterprise

In this respect we must remember that the German Navy is a modern child of the British Navy. During the reign of Queen Victoria, German naval officers came to this country to be trained, while a few British military officers went to Prussia for instruction. It was from British history that Vice-Admiral von Scheer and many other German admirals learnt to emulate the spirit of Nelson. When Great Britain was oppressed by the German-made mirage of an inevitable clash with Russia in Afghanistan, the British Government hoped that the German Navy in making would assist the British Fleet in the Baltic Sea. Until a few weeks before the outbreak of the war the old tradition of discipleship between the German and British Navies was maintained by German sailors. Captain von Müller, of the Emden, for example, used sometimes to take his holidays in England with British naval officers, and lightly talk over technical matters with them in a friendly way.

Had British naval officers been as simple as they seemed, their German disciples would have learnt a great deal from them. But British naval officers had more genius in all the arts of diplomacy than had most professed diplomatists. It may well be doubted if the Germans ever learnt anything of value in technique or construction from dining and holiday-making with them during the long period of tension following the passing of the famous German Navy Bill. All that the enemy discovered was that an inferior fleet was completely wasted if it remained upon the defensive. At all costs it had to strike, and in order to strike with effect it had first to fling out as a sacrifice its battle-cruiser wing.

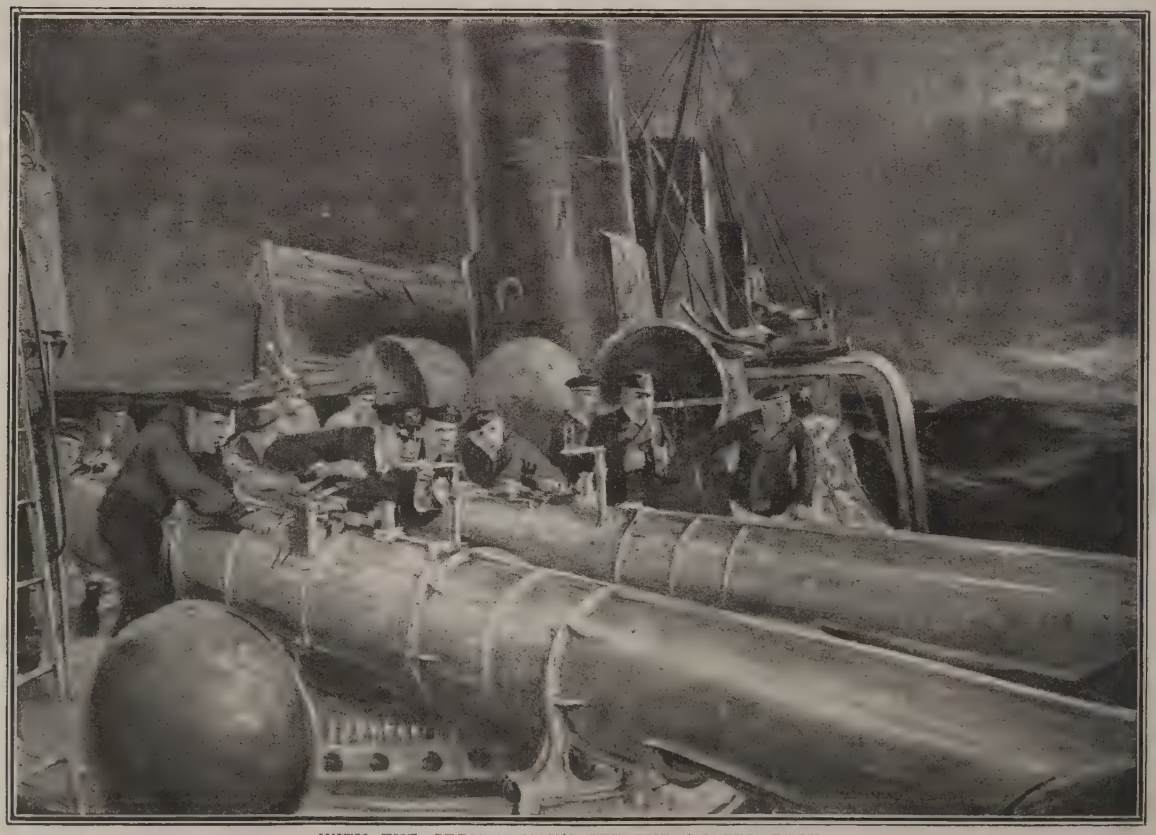
What the Germans learnt

This, indeed, was what the former German naval commander-in-chief, Ingenohl, had attempted to do in those battleship raids against the East Coast that ended in the Dogger Bank Battle. The raids were designed to bring the British Battle-Cruiser Squadron under Sir David Beatty down from its base in pursuit of Hipper's squadron. About eighty miles away from the apparently fugitive ships of Hipper was the main German Battle Fleet, swinging up to envelop Sir David Beatty's squadron when the stern-chase was growing dangerous for Hipper. This plan of luring the Battle-Cruiser Squadron to destruction was not defeated by the Dogger Bank Battle. As we explained in a previous chapter of THE GREAT WAR, Sir David Beatty's second-in-command broke off the Dogger Bank action some time before the German Battle Fleet could close with him. Behind the battle-cruisers, and hurrying to their aid, was a British Battle Fleet under Sir John Jellicoe; but the situation was such that before the battleships could arrive the battle-cruisers would have received a severe hammering. Sir David Beatty at the time was in the act of transferring his flag from the disabled Lion to an effective ship, with no power of control over the situation, or he would have maintained the action with Hipper's flaming and beaten ships in order to allow time for the British Battle Fleet in turn to envelop the German Battle Fleet. Had the Dogger Bank Battle been fought to a finish, it is thought it might have ended in all Hipper's ships being sunk, all the German battleships being sunk, and Sir John Jellicoe being left somewhat damaged, yet master of the seas. But, as the result of a chapter of accidents, nothing of a decisive character occurred

The German attack on Lowestoft was a perfect example of what Sir John Jellicoe described as the "tip-and-run" tactics of the German Fleet. At 4.30 a.m. of April 25th, 1916, five German battle-cruisers, accompanied by light cruisers and destroyers, appeared off Lowestoft. They were preceded and accompanied by Zeppelins. For twenty minutes Lowestoft was shelled, and a few projectiles were also fired by the enemy at Yarmouth. Some damage to property was done, though only four persons, all civilians, were killed. A British light-cruiser squadron appeared towards the close of the bombardment, and with great gallantry attacked the enemy. It should have been blown out of the water, but it escaped with moderate loss and without a single ship disabled. In the same engagement the British submarine E22 was sunk, with the loss of all her crew except two. The Germans succeeded in effecting their retreat, having accomplished their purpose, which was to cause annoyance and loss. The Grand Fleet and Sir David Beatty's cruisers failed to catch them.

German ships attack Lowestoft

From a strategical point of view the policy of raiding



WITH THE GERMAN NAVY OFF THE SKAGER RACK.
An incident in the Jutland Battle. This illustration, reproduced from an enemy print, purports to show the scene aboard a German torpedo-boat at the moment of firing her torpedoes against British ships.

COALING A WARSHIP STEAMING AT TWELVE KNOTS AN HOUR.

A collier was towed astern, and sacks of coal were hoisted to a platform at the masthead, and sent by cable to the warship. Sixty tons of coal were thus transhipped within an hour. From the masthead to the collier's deck a net was suspended to shield the collier's hands from falling fragments.

the East Coast appears erroneous. The enemy gave the British Fleet too many chances of compassing his destruction. When progress in shipbuilding permitted Sir John Jellicoe to strengthen Sir David Beatty's cruising force by an additional squadron of fast battleships, certain new dispositions in regard to the positions of this battle-cruiser and battleship division upset the plan of the German admiral. He could not look forward even to a partial success, if his raiding squadrons were likely to be caught between the British battle-cruisers and the fast British battleships.

Hostile fleets manœuvre

There then came a period of quietude in the North Sea. The quiet was only the cover for an extraordinary amount of manœuvring between the opposing fleets. Hipper occasionally came out and ventured his single squadron within sighting distance of the British cruisers; but always the main battle force of the German High Sea Fleet was close behind the German battle-cruisers, and the British battle squadrons were also fairly close behind the fast British ships, and the Germans could do nothing.

On every occasion of this sort the enemy retired. It was not want of courage on his part, but a prudent strategy that made him refuse battle in such circumstances. The odds against him were so overwhelming that he could not hope even for the smallest partial success. In the great periodical sweeps through the North Sea, made with the entire forces of the British Fleet, no valid opportunity for successful manœuvre remained to the enemy. He could only withdraw to safety behind his mine-fields as soon as his Zeppelins and reconnoitring vessels warned him that the British battle squadrons were acting closely in concert with Sir David Beatty's cruising division.

In these excursions towards the Skager Rack the British cruisers used to pass near the fishing ground known as Little Fisher Bank. In this shallow the water was scarcely more than twenty fathoms deep, and towards the end of May the German admiral sent one of his submarine flotillas to lie in ambush among the Dutch fishing smacks working over the shallows. No definite evidence is available that any Dutchmen engaged in the peaceful work of catching herrings for the German market acted in concert with the enemy underwater craft. Yet some of them showed remarkable phlegm in going on with their fishing while the flame and thunder of battle continued to rage for hours closely around them. It may seem rather extraordinary that the smacks should not have returned towards Ymuiden when the action opened and the opposing squadrons and divisions began to move forwards and backwards over the fishing grounds.

The submarines seem to have been in or near the bank when the German High Sea Fleet steamed out for action at dawn on Wednesday, May 31st, 1916. Behind a van of light cruisers and destroyers came Rear-Admiral Hipper's five powerful battle-cruisers. The squadron steamed towards the southern coast of Norway. Reaching a point west of Little Fisher Bank, it was over three hundred miles from the Firth of Forth, about two hundred miles from Heligoland, and nearly two hundred and thirty miles from Wilhelmshaven. In other words, Hipper came nearly half-way from his base to the nearest British base.

German Fleet assembles

At Horn Reef, a hundred miles from Little Fisher Bank, were the main German battle squadrons under Vice-Admiral von Scheer. They appear to have consisted of sixteen modern battleships of the König, Kaiser, and other Dreadnought types, together with six older, slower, and feebler battleships of the pre-Dreadnought class. New and powerful light cruisers were with the battle fleet, and also some armed liners, brought up with the additional light cruisers apparently for the purpose of getting past the British Fleet at night to the trade-routes. A single Zeppelin was seen from the British Fleet early on June 1st, and Sir David Beatty in his despatch mentioned that it was possible that the enemy employed these fast aerial scouts in an effective manner. The Dutch trawler Henrietta reported seeing two Zeppelins moving with

extraordinary speed near the scene of action, between 5 and 6 p.m., flying south from the direction in which Admiral Jellicoe was advancing. As the enemy afterwards took the trouble to deny that either Zeppelins or submarines were employed, we have additional reason for supposing that he made full use of both these new instruments of attack and reconnaissance.

The weather was at first fairly favourable for Zeppelin work. The sea was calm, the air warm, and only a slight summer mist drifted in patches about the sea. Fire-control officers on either side could at first get a hit at a range of ten miles. Observing officers, placed in Zeppelins fitted with long-distance wireless telegraphy apparatus, and moving at a speed double that of the fastest light cruiser, were likely to be able to do valuable work in discovering first Sir David Beatty's three squadrons and then Sir John Jellicoe's Battle Fleet. On the other hand, the movements of Admiral von Scheer, about 6 p.m., when his light cruisers discovered the approach of the main British Fleet, suggest that he did not know it was so near. Had Zeppelins been reconnoitring, they must have discovered its exact whereabouts. Possibly the clouds were too low to permit of airships doing their work without risks which the enemy did not dare to take. They would have had to descend to search for the enemy, and might have been caught and shot down.

Value of Zeppelins

The British Staff unfortunately was without long range rigid airships for scouting. The neglect of such aircraft by the Admiralty in previous years hampered the British commanders at every turn, and placed them in a position of comparative blindness against an alert and all-seeing foe. The seaplane, in the state of development which it had reached in 1915–16, was not capable of prolonged expeditions. It had to be carried to the neighbourhood of the scene of action and then lowered from a ship. In rough weather this was a difficult business, nor was it always certain that the seaplane would rise from the water. On its return to the parent vessel it required to be reshipped, and the parent vessel was always exposed to submarine attack. Again, the seaplane, from its nature, was incapable of hovering, and it could not move slowly and steadily enough to permit the effective use of telescopes. Half a dozen Zeppelins attached to Sir John Jellicoe's fleet would have revealed to him the exact force and disposition of the enemy and the general direction of the German movements. They would also have shown him —in all probability—where the German submarines were placed. Nor is it at all probable that the weather would have prevented such observation, though the mist might have rendered it difficult and dangerous. We shall see later, as Sir John records, that on the following morning, June 1st, when the visibility was less than on May 31st (the day of battle), a Zeppelin at 4 a.m. was engaged by the British Fleet "for about five minutes, during which time it had ample opportunity to note and subsequently report the position and course of the British Fleet." What the German airship did on June 1st, British airships, had there been any, could have done on May 31st.

Approximate British power

It is not permissible to state in detail the strength of the British Fleet. But if we take the British ships reported by the enemy as present in the action, and the German ships stated in Admiral Jellicoe's despatch to have been in line of battle, we obtain an approximate estimate of the opposing forces in this great fleet action.

BRITISH.

BATTLE-CRUISERS.

	13·5 in. guns.	12 in. guns.	6 in. guns.	4 in. guns.
1 Tiger	8	0	12	0
3 Lions	24	0	0	48
5 Invincibles	0	40	0	80
	32	40	12	128

FAST BATTLESHIPS.

	15 in. guns.	6 in. guns.
4 Queen Elizabeths	32	48

BATTLESHIPS.

	15 in. guns.	14 in. and 13·5 in. guns.	12 in. guns.	6 in. guns.	4 in. guns.
1 Royal Sovereign	8	0	0	36	0
12 Iron Dukes ..	0	120	0	48	128
1 Agincourt ..	0	0	14	20	0
10 Dreadnoughts ..	0	0	100	0	144
	8	120	114	104	272

GERMAN.

BATTLE-CRUISERS.

	12 in. guns.	11 in. guns.	6 in. guns.
2 Lützows	16	0	24
2 Seydlitzes	0	20	24
1 Von der Tann	0	8	10
	16	28	58

BATTLESHIPS (DREADNOUGHT CLASS).

	12 in. guns.	11 in. guns.	6 in. guns.
4 Königs	40	0	56
5 Kaisers	50	0	70
4 Helgolands	48	0	56
4 Nassaus	0	48	56
	138	48	238

BATTLESHIPS (PRE-DREADNOUGHTS).

	11 in. guns.	6·7 in. guns.
6 Pommerns	24	84

On the above figures the heavy-gun force of the two fleets would be somewhat as follows:

	GREAT BRITAIN.	GERMANY.
15 in. guns	40	0
13·5 in. and 14 in. ..	152	Some 14 in. In what ships doubtful.
12 in.	154	154
11 in.	0	100
6 in. and 6·7 in. ..	164	380

It is a curious fact that the following German battleships, which might have been expected to have been completed, do not seem to have been in line: Ersatz Wörth, T. and Ersatz Kaiser Friedrich III. They were reported to have been re-armed with 16 in. guns; as originally planned they were to have mounted eight 15 in. guns apiece, exactly the heavy battery of the Queen Elizabeth and Royal Sovereign classes. The largest enemy projectiles noted were 14 in. shells, which might have come from the battle-cruiser Salamis (building in Germany for the Greek Government when the war broke out, and certainly taken over by the German Government, as she was designed to mount eight American 14 in. guns), or from German battleships of the König class, supposing these to have been re-armed.

The heavy guns in action in the two fleets, and the weight of shell and speed (in feet per second) with which the shell leaves the muzzle of the gun, were as follows:

	BRITISH. Weight of Shell (lb.)	BRITISH. Feet per Sec.	GERMAN. Weight of Shell (lb.)	GERMAN. Feet per Sec.
15 in.	1,900	2,655	none	
14 in.	1,400	2,700	1,366	2,900
13·5 in. ..	1,250	2,700	none	
12 in.	850	2,800–3,000	860	3,080
11 in.	None		660	3,080

The higher the speed with which the shell left the muzzle of the gun, the greater was the force with which the target was struck. All the big guns had approximately the same rate of fire, which was two rounds a minute at

Official photograph.]
H.M.S. DREADNOUGHT IN DOCK.
Normal displacement, 17,900 tons; complement, 800 men; principal armament, ten 12 in. guns.

highest speed, though naturally this could not be maintained for many minutes at long ranges, where it was necessary to watch the fall of the shells and constantly alter the sights. At 15,000 yards and over the 15 in. gun was much more accurate than the 12 in. or 11 in. weapon. For in clear weather the 1,900 lb. shell made a tremendous splash, that could be seen ten miles away, thus enabling the range quickly to be found. The effect of the 15 in. shell was about five times as deadly as that of the 12 in., and eight times as deadly as that of the 11 in. projectile.

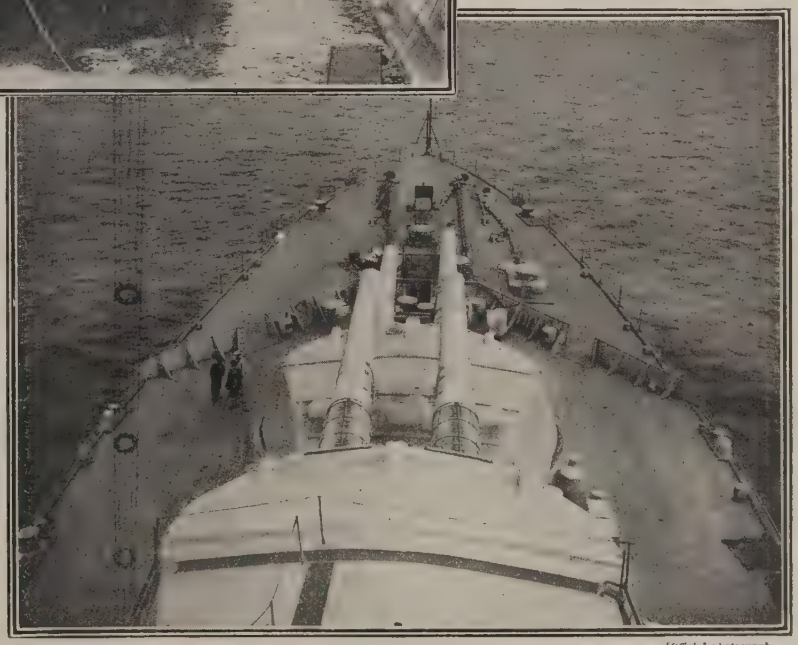
Allowing for the greater size and weight of a large proportion of British shells, the chances were two to one against the enemy in artillery; and an eminent French naval officer, Lieutenant Baudry, has argued that an important principle must be considered in calculating the odds in battle. It is that the square of the numerical strength of a fighting force represents its fighting strength. If, for example, two Dreadnought battleships are fighting against one Dreadnought battleship of equal force, the actual fighting odds will not be two to one. They will be the square of 2 ($2 \times 2 = 4$) against the square of 1 ($1 \times 1 = 1$). The odds will be, in terms of actual fighting strength, four against one.

Problem of numerical strength

If three ships of one class concentrate against one ship of the same class, and the efficiency, the gunnery, and seamanship on each side are equal, the odds will be $3 \times 3 = 9$ against $1 \times 1 = 1$, or nine against one.

This law of the numerical square may be applied to the case under consideration. The Grand Fleet on paper was twice as strong in gun-power as the High Sea Fleet under Admiral von Scheer. So if the Grand Fleet were brought into action as a concentrated whole, it would have had four times the actual fighting strength of the enemy. Moreover, the mobility of its powerful fast battleship squadron of Queen Elizabeths would endow it with an additional manœuvring power, making it possible to increase its concentrated fire effect. It will, however, be found that the battle of May 31st did not altogether bear out this principle.

As against the British superiority in big guns and speed, the enemy carried a more formidable secondary armament and much heavier armour. Practically all his battle-cruisers, for instance, had 1 in. to 2 in. more armour on the gun-turrets than the British battle-cruisers. Where the British heavy-gun positions were protected by 9 in. armour, the German heavy-gun positions had 10 in. to 11 in. armour. In older ships of the same type, where British ships carried 7 in. armour, the enemy carried 8 in. armour. As for modern battleships, the Iron Duke, completed in 1914, may be compared with the König, completed in the same year The Iron Duke—according to the German naval handbooks—carried an armour belt of 12 inches, with 10 in. armour on the heavy-gun positions, but the König had a 14 in. belt and 14 in. armour on her heavy guns. The superior armour placed by the enemy over his heavy guns added considerably to his power of resistance and reduced the odds against him.



[*Official photograph.*

THE FORWARD GUNS OF H.M.S. REVENGE.
Early in the morning on June 1st, 1916, Vice-Admiral Sir Cecil Burney transferred his flag from the slower Marlborough to the Revenge, and, partly owing to its position, the squadron he then commanded saw more of the enemy battle fleet than the other squadrons, and performed excellent work.

In secondary armament the British ships were at some disadvantage. They had some hundreds of 4 in. guns in the battle-cruiser squadrons and the older battleships. During the first phase of construction of the Dreadnought fleet many naval critics lamented the fact that British designers were content to mount 4 in. guns as secondary armament when Germany was mounting 6 in. weapons. Only the latest British battle-cruiser, four of the Iron Duke squadron, the Queen Elizabeth, and the Royal Sovereigns carried a medium battery equal in calibre to that of the enemy. It was an undoubted defect that all the British Dreadnought ships with 12 in. guns, and many of the super-Dreadnoughts with 13·5 in. guns, should have been designed to carry only 4 in. guns as a secondary armament. Nevertheless, for an action at close range, the British strength in medium artillery was respectable. The British Dreadnoughts mounted one hundred and sixty-four 6 in. guns and four hundred and ten 4 in. guns, against three hundred and eighty 6 in. guns carried by the enemy's ships; but in judging the superb performance of the British destroyers in the battle, the fact that they had to attack vessels armed with an extremely powerful medium artillery must be taken into account. The German 6 in. guns would probably not play much part in the struggle between the big ships, but for meeting torpedo craft they were invaluable.

Value of 6 in. guns

When certain of Sir David Beatty's ships sighted Vice-Admiral Hipper's squadron at 2.20 in the afternoon of May 31st, 1916, the odds against the German battle-cruiser squadron were great. The British admiral had thirty-two 13·5 in. and sixteen 12 in. guns, with a total available secondary armament of twelve 6 in. guns and eighty 4 in. guns. The German admiral had sixteen 12 in. guns and twenty-eight 11 in. guns, with a secondary armament of fifty-eight 6 in. guns. Of the armaments of the light cruisers and destroyers on both sides no figures are available.

In regard to manœuvring power the German admiral seems to have been distinctly inferior, though the speed of his slowest battle-cruiser was nominally about twenty-seven and a half knots, and that of the slowest British battle-cruisers was only twenty-five knots; but if the British battle-cruisers as a squadron were faster, the four fast battleships forming part of Sir David Beatty's division were slower than the German battle-cruisers. The result was that the German admiral, during the first phase of the action, was able to engage Sir David Beatty's battle-cruisers, while keeping at such a distance from the 15 in. guns of the fast battleship squadron that the latter could not reach their targets. For nearly an hour the British battleships could give little help to the British battle-cruisers. This circumstance prevented an immediate and crushing defeat of the German admiral, who, as we shall see, won a very considerable advantage during the first battle-cruiser action. Figures on paper, such as we have given, may be greatly changed in the course of actual fighting. As a matter of fact, Sir David Beatty, in the first phase of the battle, engaged Vice-Admiral Hipper with an advantage of six ships to five, and of gun-power of five to three; but after he lost the Queen Mary and Indefatigable he was at a disadvantage of four ships to five. Despite the overwhelming superiority of the British Fleet, the most critical phase of the action was fought against an enemy in superior numbers.

Overwhelming British Fleet

One most important influence in the enemy's favour was that he was able to select the day and the place of battle. The British Navy had to be always on guard, always prepared to counter a German attack on the British coast or a German movement to convoy raiding cruisers through the blockading line. This necessity of constant vigilance prevented it from disposing of all its force at any given moment. Ships had from time to time to be docked and refitted, otherwise they would have lost their speed and their fighting value. Moreover, at intervals they had to be detached for such work as testing their torpedoes and carrying out gunnery practice, which might not always be possible at the bases where they were normally stationed. From the published particulars we know that Sir David Beatty's force at full strength would have totalled fifteen large armoured ships—namely, five Queen Elizabeths and ten battle-cruisers. Of the Queen Elizabeths, the name-ship was not in the battle; of the battle-cruisers, the Australia was absent; while of the other nine battle-cruisers, three (the Invincible, Indomitable, and Inflexible) were not with Admiral Beatty when the battle began, and did not join him until some two hours after it had been in progress. Had he had all his battle-cruisers, he would have struck the enemy in the initial action with ten fast ships instead of six. Had he had all the Queen Elizabeths in the second stage of the battle, he would have had fifteen large armoured ships against the Germans, and in view of the immense amount of damage which he inflicted with only ten ships, it is possible that the battle might then have been the crushing and completely decisive victory which the British Navy sought.

Precisely the same conditions existed in the days of the old Navy. Nelson, on the eve of Trafalgar, was compelled to detach six ships of the line under Admiral Louis, to embark water and provisions, and these vessels were not with him when the battle was fought. It is a condition which every Staff has foreseen, and which necessitated the provision of a large margin of force on the British side, in the teeth of the British faction which complained of every addition to the British Fleet. The Germans could make all their arrangements, and choose the time and weather that suited them best. They could dock as many ships as they liked simultaneously, as there was little or no risk of a British attack on their perfectly fortified and well-mined coast. They could seize any opportunity of which their spy service provided them with information, and the incessant scouting of their Zeppelins weeks before the battle must have given them a tolerable idea of the British dispositions. If they happened to meet a weak British squadron they could concentrate on it. They could set submarine and mine traps, and could then fall back on them with the object of drawing the British into these snares, in the hope that the British naval predominance would be destroyed in a few hours. The torpedo and mine were complications with which Nelson had not to deal, and they hampered the British strategy and tactics seriously, and aided the inferior Navy, so long as it remained within narrow waters. Because these factors existed, the British admirals had to proceed with extreme wariness, and thus, though the submarine actually effected very little in the battle, it clogged the British operations and undoubtedly contributed to the escape of the German Fleet.

German naval advantages

The difficulties which Sir John Jellicoe and Sir David Beatty had to overcome were, then, most serious, and in following the British movements they must be constantly kept in view. The Germans were free from such anxieties, and, from their proximity to their bases, in the closing phases of the battle they would be able to employ a very large number of destroyers to cover the retreat of their fleet, if it encountered the British in force, or to attack damaged British vessels if the German heavy ships gained the upper hand.

Thus it was that the British command, with a great superiority in force available, exposed to the enemy's concentrated force in the initial fighting a fraction of the Grand Fleet. We have seen that it was the aim of Admiral von Scheer to bring about this result. Believing that only numbers could annihilate, he schemed to detach, envelop, and destroy a part of the British Fleet before the main British battle force could engage him. The German view of the Battle of Jutland was that Admiral von Scheer

partly succeeded in his aim, and after inflicting great damage, skilfully broke off the action before he could in turn be shattered by Sir John Jellicoe. The Germans admitted they had sustained inevitable losses, but argued that they had largely achieved the end they had in view, and displayed strategy of the most brilliant kind in avoiding a decisive fleet action.

Before accepting this view of the battle, we have to consider the object of the commander of the British Grand Fleet. It is clear that the plan of bringing the British Fleet into action in several separate detachments was forced upon Sir John Jellicoe by differences in speed between his ships, and also by geographical conditions and the lack of suitable bases at the best strategic points. At the opening of the war, when the British Fleet sailed from Portland to its northern battle base, the fast battle-cruiser wing was detached from the main battle divisions. As a British Minister publicly stated, the new naval port at Rosyth in the Firth of Forth became the base of the Battle-Cruiser Squadron under Sir David Beatty. The Battle-Cruiser Squadron swept eastward and south-eastward as far as the Bight of Heligoland, acting as a far-advanced patrol for the British battle squadrons. A great distance separated this advanced British naval force under Sir David Beatty from the main naval force under Sir John Jellicoe.

In May, 1916, the advanced battle-cruiser force at Rosyth was strengthened by the 5th Battle Squadron, consisting of the Queen Elizabeth and her sister ships the Barham, Valiant, Warspite, and another, which last four fought in the Battle of Jutland under the command of Rear-Admiral Hugh Evan-Thomas. This additional force was placed under the general control of Sir David Beatty, who continued to fly his flag in the Lion, with Rear-Admiral W. C. Pakenham, in the New Zealand, and Rear-Admiral Osmond de B. Brock, in the Princess Royal, as subordinate flag-officers. The object of this change was greatly to increase the risks of the enemy's battle-cruisers if they attempted to raid the British East Coast towns. This fact was disclosed by Mr. Arthur Balfour, the First Lord of the Admiralty, in a letter to the mayors of Lowestoft and Yarmouth, after Admiral Hipper had sallied out and bombarded Lowestoft on April 25th, 1916. Mr. Balfour then stated that the Admiralty was bringing "important forces to the south."

In the absence of any official information to the contrary, it is to be presumed that the new disposition of the British forces was not made directly in answer to Hipper's revived threat against the East Coast. Mr. Balfour's letter evoked at the time some anxious criticism. It was against the settled British policy to scatter the Fleet for passive defence when the enemy had a great naval force concentrated and available. Concentration is the essence of ultimate success. In our last great Continental war the British coast was on rare occasions exposed to temporary attack, and French forces disembarked in Bantry Bay and at Fishguard. Such attempts to disturb the public spirit involve for the enemy the risk of wasting the forces available for the pitched battles on which depends the command of the sea. It has always been the British custom to look persistently to the grand decision, and to keep the British forces concentrated for the winning stroke.

Mr. Balfour's letter to Yarmouth

According to a British official commentator, the dispositions of the British Fleet on the eve of the battle were arranged with a view to bringing an unwilling enemy to battle. "The method," it is stated, "was drastic, and necessarily attended with risk, but for great ends great risks must be taken." Whenever the British command kept its forces closely together in its movements, the effect was to make the enemy avoid battle. The Grand Fleet might well have contained him, as it had done for twenty-two months, without risking any considerable part of its strength. But if it intended, for some reason, to induce him to stay and fight, there was one way only of doing this. It was to tempt the German commander, by giving him an apparent chance of catching the battle-cruisers separated from the main British force. Admiral von Scheer was ready to risk his battle-cruiser squadron in order to trap the British battle-cruisers. And it may be concluded that Sir John Jellicoe was also ready to let his forces come into action divided, in order to lure the High Sea Fleet into a pitched battle.

Divided forces as a lure

At the outbreak of hostilities Sir John Jellicoe was acting as Second Sea Lord, but he at once left his position at Whitehall to take the command of the Grand Fleet. He had long been designated for promotion in war to the supreme naval command, Lord Fisher having selected him for the position before 1909. In manœuvres Sir John had shown himself a fine tactician and remarkable strategist, and as a gunnery officer he had carried on the work begun by Sir Percy Scott, and contributed much to the development of scientific methods. Unlike most of the leaders of the German Navy, who were directed by a torpedo specialist, Sir John Jellicoe looked to gun fire to obtain a decision, and he contrived new ways of increasing the terrible effects of massed gun fire.

In the Commander-in-Chief we had a man of medium height, vigorous and alert; one who combined the decision and energy of a man of action with the insight of a life-long student of war. His tranquil composure made him a tower of strength, and won the confidence of all. His was the calmness of a thinker who has profoundly studied his methods of action, and with a combination of unfretting patience and unrelaxing alertness awaits the opportunity

ROUGH WATER OFF THE GERMAN COAST.
German patrols leaving harbour for outpost duty in the North Sea.

GERMAN U BOAT IN A NEUTRAL PORT.
The U35, which carried an autograph letter from the Kaiser to King Alfonso in June, 1916, at Cartagena, alongside an interned German steamer. In October the Allies issued a memorandum to certain neutral States giving reasons why submarines should be excluded from neutral harbours.

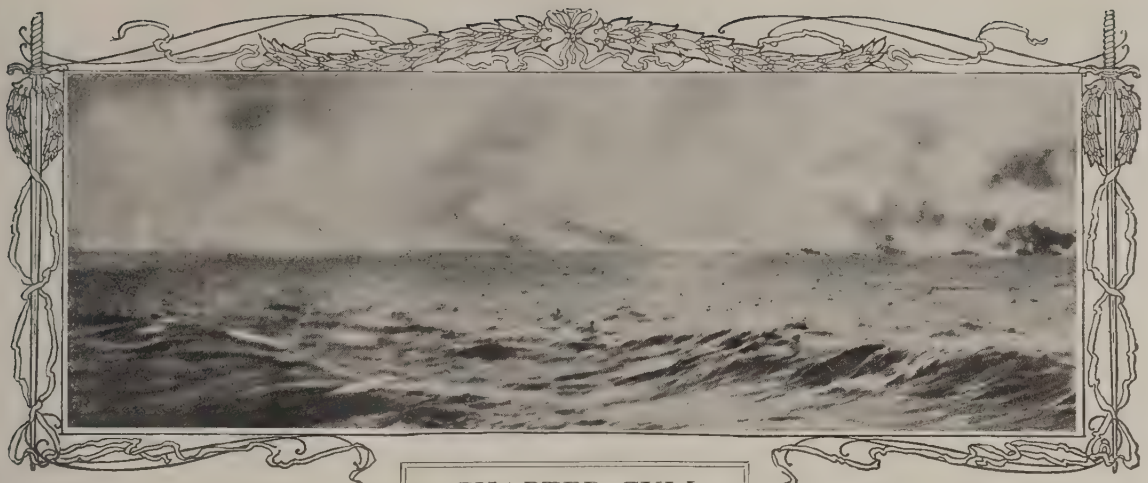
to strike. He was never hurried or unsteady. In the three qualities that give most edge to the gloriously common gift of courage—knowledge, intellectual energy, and presence of mind—Admiral Jellicoe stood out as a leader of men.

In the days before 1912, when there was no War Staff at the Admiralty, Sir John Jellicoe helped to work out, in manœuvres and in studies, the plan by which the British forces could control the North Sea. No doubt, if money had been available, the chief British naval strategist of the younger generation would have created suitable bases at the most favourable point on the East Coast; but under the Liberal Government funds for building immense submarine-proof harbours were lacking. When Sir John was a Sea Lord, the Board of Admiralty could not obtain from the Treasury the money needed for an adequate number of battle-cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. At the opening of the war the British Commander-in-Chief found himself with a superior fleet, but no large, secure harbours in the North Sea area. Obviously a harbour of unusual size was required to accommodate the great force which Admiral Jellicoe commanded. As Mr. Arthur Balfour afterwards explained in the House of Commons, the British Government had built a fleet for the struggle in the North Sea, but had provided along the coast from which it had to operate no submarine-proof bases.

In these circumstances, which Sir John Jellicoe as a former Sea Lord had foreseen but had no power to alter, he removed the Grand Fleet into the northern mists. The deep water between Norway and the North of Scotland became his immediate cruising ground. His position enabled him to defeat any attempt by hostile cruisers to reach the British trade-routes. He could hold a raiding force northwards with his battle fleet, and envelop it southwards with his battle-cruisers. The periodical sweeps made through the North Sea by the Grand Fleet could not force the enemy to combat, yet each voyage strengthened the confidence of the British seamen, refreshed their fund of experience in the very varied circumstances of warfare in the North Sea, and helped to depress the spirits of the men in the retreating High Sea Fleet.

The Germans had to come well out if they were to snatch an opportunity of engaging the British battle-cruisers separated from the main British Fleet. Probably, in a general way, Admiral von Scheer understood the play of Admiral Jellicoe as well as the British commander understood his opponent's play. There seem to have been no great surprises on either side. Sir David Beatty knew that if he pursued Admiral Hipper he was likely to run into the High Sea Fleet. Admiral von Scheer should have known that if he pursued Sir David Beatty he was likely to run into the Grand Fleet. In both cases the chance of victory resided in a nice calculation of time.

GIANT DERRICKS IN PROCESS OF MANUFACTURE IN A SHIPBUILDING YARD.
The enormous increase in battleship building necessitated a vast increase in the preparation of plant. This official photograph, taken in one naval yard, shows huge derricks that are required for warships in course of construction.



CHAPTER CXLI.

THE GLORIOUS BATTLE OF JUTLAND BANK. PART II.

Opening Phases : Cruiser Squadrons in Action.

By H. W. Wilson and Edward Wright.

Contact of the Fleets—Galatea and Another Cruiser of the 1st Light Cruiser Squadron Sight a German Destroyer and Engage Three Large Cruisers—Sir David Beatty Arrives to Force an Engagement—Disposition of the British Battle-Cruiser Squadron and the Grand Fleet—Admiral Hipper's Battle-Cruiser Squadron Turns Towards Horn Reef and the High Sea Fleet—Running Battle-Cruiser Action Opens at 18,500 Yards—Admiral Hipper Leads the British Fleet Towards his Submarine Ambush—Loss of the Indefatigable and the Queen Mary—Intervention of the Destroyer Forces on Both Sides—Gallantry of the 13th Flotilla, Led by the Nestor, Commander the Hon. Edward B. S. Bingham, who Wins the Victoria Cross on this Occasion—Rear-Admiral Evan-Thomas brings the 5th Battle Squadron Into Action at 20,000 Yards—Awe-inspiring Spectacle of the Battle—Sir David Beatty's Flagship the Lion Heavily Pounded—Admiral von Scheer Arrives with the High Sea Fleet—Composition and Armament of his Force—Sir David Beatty Manœuvres to Lead the High Sea Fleet Towards the Grand Fleet—Lieutenant J. C. Tovey's Daring Charge in the Onslow Against the German Battle-Cruisers—Paradoxical Change in the Situation at 5 p.m.—Rear-Admiral the Hon. Horace Hood brings the 3rd Battle-Cruiser Squadron Into Action—Sir David Beatty Endeavours to Cross the "T"—H.M.S. Invincible Blown Up—Complicated Conflicts and Manœuvres in the Mist—Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Arbuthnot brings his Cruiser Squadron into the Fight—End of H.M.S. Defence and Black Prince—The Warrior and the Warspite—Junction of the Battle-Cruiser Fleet with the Grand Fleet.

THE weather when the enemy was sighted was good. The sea was calm, and visibility was satisfactory. The lowness of the clouds indicated that mist would prevail in the evening. Captain Punt, of the Dutch trawler John Brown, stated that the atmosphere was hazy. He had noted that the German Fleet habitually came out in such weather, because then there was less likelihood of it being attacked by the British, and, if attacked, escape was easier. A misty night was probably part of Admiral von Scheer's calculation, to enable him to elude the forces under Sir John Jellicoe and get good cover for destroyer attacks.

Ominous movements took place that morning. Silent, unseen, the British Fleet was steaming to the scene of the encounter. No neutral sighted or reported it in the early hours of May 31st. Its multitude of grey ships passed across the North Sea bearing with them the salt of the nation, so soon to prove its faith and devotion and valour. Never has a force gone forth to battle with such spirit, and all those who were privileged to see the ships' crews before the engagement felt the most perfect confidence in their coolness and courage. Whatever blows of adversity might befall them, they would never falter. No suffering and no loss could daunt them. Nelson, in the grandest days of past British naval history, never commanded such a force. It was a fleet of ironclads manned by Ironsides, and as a new Revenge, built of steel and armed with 15 in. guns, sailed with that glorious array, so the indomitable heroism of Grenville animated its officers and men. As Theseus was said to have fought with the Athenians at Marathon, and as men believed they saw St. George at Mons, so the spirits of Drake and Nelson should have been there to see how their children would uphold their renown.

Spirit and efficiency

During the previous forenoon neutral fishing craft south-west of the Little Fisher Bank observed German squadrons moving north-north-west. The first force was stated by Captain van Pel, of the trawler Josina, to have been over thirty ships strong. It detached a cruiser which overhauled the Josina. The second fleet was much larger, and numbered at least forty ships; it passed one hour later than the first force, and apparently kept in touch with the first force. The first fleet was undoubtedly Admiral Hipper with the German battle-cruisers, light cruisers, and some destroyers; the second force was Admiral von Scheer's battle squadrons and smaller craft. As the second force passed the Josina she heard the first shots fired on that tremendous day.

Prelude to battle

The fleets came into contact about ten minutes past two, when the Danish steamer Fiord was stopped by a German destroyer about one hundred and twenty miles west of the Danish coast, in the latitude of Aberdeen. A German officer approached her in a destroyer numbered "Hoch See Flotte 7," belonging to a squadron of fifteen destroyers and eighteen light and heavy cruisers. He asked the Danes if certain vessels which were just appearing on the horizon were British. The skipper said he did not know. The correct answer came in a tone of thunder. Two of Sir David Beatty's light cruisers, the Galatea and another, scouting in advance of his force, sighted the German destroyer. At 2.10 the Galatea hoisted the signal, "Prepare for immediate action," and followed it with "Enemy in sight." Speed was increased from twenty-two

SIR DAVID BEATTY'S BATTLE-CRUISERS IN ACTION WITH ADMIRAL HIPPER'S SQUADRON.

At 3.48 p.m. on May 31st, 1916, Sir David Beatty with his Battle-Cruisers engaged Admiral Hipper's Squadron at a range of 18,500 yards. A terrific running fight ensued in which Sir David completely outmanœuvred the enemy. This illustration is an impression of Admiral Beatty's battle-cruisers under the enemy's fire.

knots to the highest figure the engines could give. Both cruisers then opened fire at 2.23 p.m. The British 6 in. guns outranged the armament in the smaller German craft, but as the gunners of the Galatea were beginning to hammer the enemy three large German cruisers steamed up to help their destroyers.

Salvo from the Galatea

The Galatea, flagship of the 1st Light Cruiser Squadron, under Commodore E. S. Alexander-Sinclair, poured a whole series of salvos (simultaneous discharge of a number of guns, usually but not always a complete broadside) into the enemy ships, which fired erratically and made no hits. A few minutes later they turned to port (left) to meet the larger British ships and supply them with information. Shells were now falling all round them but not hitting, and as they were drawing fast away from the enemy's large ships they decreased speed to about twenty-five knots, in order not to lose touch. Large shells began to rain about them as the range decreased. To fight heavy armoured ships was no part of their business, and they very properly once more increased speed, having manœuvred throughout this important period with consummate skill and coolness. The distance was once more opened out and the big shells came less often, but the enemy remained in distant view. It was at this point that other light cruisers of the same squadron came racing in and also opened fire. The "Cease fire," however, speedily sounded. The enemy was outside the range of the small cruisers' 6 in. guns, although his heavier 12 in. shells could still reach the British vessels. Commodore Alexander-Sinclair fell back on the big battle-cruisers of Admiral Beatty's fleet.

Sir David Beatty at 2.20 p.m. had received the first news from the 1st Light Cruiser Squadron that the enemy was at hand. He turned at once to the south-south-east, his object being to place his force between the Germans and their base and thus to cut them off. Five minutes later he received a second report, which informed him that the Germans were in strength and that he had to deal with something more than an isolated detachment of light cruisers. At 2.35 "a considerable amount of smoke was sighted to the eastward." Sir David had now placed the Germans in such a position that they could not get away without fighting him. The location of their smoke showed that he had cut them off. He therefore altered his course once more, turning first east and then north-east, directly towards them, to open battle.

The British dispositions at the moment when the enemy was sighted seem to have been as follows: The 1st and 3rd Light Cruiser Squadrons, with three destroyer flotillas, were scouting in advance, moving generally eastward. Behind them were Sir David Beatty's six battle-cruisers, and astern of them again the four fast battleships of the 5th Battle Squadron, under Rear-Admiral Evan-Thomas. Well away to the north-west was Admiral Jellicoe with the rest of the fleet and the main force of battleships. As soon as the enemy was sighted by the light cruisers, judicious dispositions were made by their commanders with splendid alertness and without waiting for orders. They extended and interposed a screen of ships between Admiral Beatty's main force and the enemy. Next, the 2nd Light Cruiser Squadron, under Commodore W. E. Goodenough, came in at high speed to take station ahead of the battle-cruisers. The British destroyer force present, consisting of the 1st, 9th, 10th and 13th Flotillas, conformed to the movements of the light cruisers.

Ascent of a seaplane

Among the vessels in Sir David Beatty's fleet was the liner Engadine, fitted out as a seaplane-carrier, under the command of Lieutenant-Commander C. G. Robinson. At an order from the admiral, at 2.45 p.m. a seaplane was launched from her, with instructions to scout in a north-north-easterly direction. By 3.8 p.m. the machine was well under way, with Flight-Lieutenant F. J. Rutland as pilot, and Assistant-Paymaster G. S. Trewin as observer. At 3.30 p.m. their first reports were received by wireless in the Engadine. The British pilot had to descend to nine hundred feet above the sea, and approach within 2,000 yards of four German light cruisers, in order to identify them. The enemy fired every gun that would bear at the seaplane, without disturbing the clarity of the reports sent by the two flying seamen, whose achievement showed that seaplanes were of distinct value in such circumstances.

Meanwhile, Sir David Beatty was moving at twenty-two knots with his six battle-cruisers and four fast battleships towards the Skager Rack in a north-easterly direction. He was feeling for Admiral Hipper's main force now he had cut it off. Seventy-one minutes passed between the reception of the first report of the enemy's presence, despatched from the Galatea, and the sighting of Admiral Hipper's flagship the Lützow. In this preliminary period the speed of the British Battle-Cruiser Fleet was comparatively slow and the course was slightly northward. The Grand Fleet, kept by wireless in touch with the direction and speed of Admiral Beatty's cruisers, drew somewhat nearer.

At 3.31 p.m. Sir David Beatty at last sighted the five German battle-cruisers, and the news was received with cheers by the crews of his ships. The moment the British came into view Admiral Hipper turned and steered towards the German battle squadrons and Horn Reef. Sir David Beatty had already, at 3.30, altered his course to east-south-east and increased speed to twenty-five knots, in instant pursuit, forming line of battle.

The British battle-cruisers and fast battleships were now approaching the High Sea Fleet at a speed of fifty miles an hour. The fast British ships were steaming nearly in a south-easterly direction at twenty-five knots, and the swift German battleships were running in a north-westerly direction at nineteen to twenty knots. Therefore the distance between the British battle-cruisers and the main enemy force was diminished by their combined speeds, while the distance between the Grand Fleet and the British cruisers was slowly increased by reason of the superior speed of the battle-cruisers.

Nearing the battle area

If, in place of Sir David Beatty, the British Cruiser Fleet had been commanded by an admiral of cautious type there might have been neither a battle-cruiser action nor a fleet action. The cautious plan was to delay the pursuit of Admiral Hipper until the British fast battleship squadron was near enough to come into action simultaneously with the battle-cruisers, and until the Grand Fleet was within supporting distance. It is at least possible that if the Cruiser Fleet had waited for the co-operation of the Grand Fleet Admiral Hipper would have vanished. Nor was there seemingly time for Sir David Beatty to bring the four fast battleships closer in to him. At 3.48 p.m., when the action opened at a range of 18,500 yards, the Barham, Warspite, Valiant, and another were 10,000 yards astern, to the north-north-west. It would have taken only a quarter of an hour for the four fast battleships of the 5th Battle Squadron to combine with the six ships of the 1st and 2nd Battle-Cruiser Squadrons. But presumably Admiral Beatty calculated that if he lost this quarter of an hour he would lose all chance of striking the enemy now in sight and in inferior force.

Admiral Beatty's great risk

Admiral Hipper at the opening of the action was favoured by fortune and by the great distance from the battle of the most powerful British ships, otherwise his five battle-cruisers should have been caught and sunk by the combined force of the British battle-cruisers and four supremely powerful British battleships. As it was, the German admiral left the fast British battleships sixteen miles away, and then began a furious running fight with Admiral Beatty's battle-cruisers. The action opened at twelve minutes to four at a range of about 18,500 yards (ten and a half land miles). Both forces opened fire simultaneously. The British gunners had the sun behind them; the wind was south-east and the air was clear. They were between the enemy and his base, and their guns were heavier and more numerous.

Before sighting the enemy Sir David Beatty's battle-cruisers had been steaming in line ahead—that is, with all ships exactly behind the flagship, and with four hundred yards of water between each vessel and the next. This order

THE WARRIOR'S SPLENDID FIGHT AGAINST FEARFUL ODDS.

The Warrior was one of Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Arbuthnot's 1st Cruiser Squadron, which gallantly sacrificed itself to break up the German screen of light craft round the head of the enemy's line. The heavy ships of the German Fleet concentrated their fire on the Warrior and disabled her. The Warspite came to her aid by engaging the enemy, and an effort was made to tow her to port, but she foundered.

is the most flexible for manœuvring purposes; but when fighting, if the enemy is ahead, only the leading ship has a clear field of vision and can bring its guns into action. To clear the smoke and enable all his ships to fire with effect, Sir David Beatty formed his six battle-cruisers in a line of bearing—*i.e.*, a diagonal line astern of the flagship. Forming ships on a line of bearing is a well-known disposition. It was in this order, in all probability, that Collingwood attacked at Trafalgar. In effect, five of the ships—Queen Mary, Tiger, Princess Royal, New Zealand, and Indefatigable—while preserving the prescribed distance of four hundred yards from each other, took station on a slanting line from the Lion. Each vessel then had a field of fire unobscured by the smoke from her forward neighbour.

Admiral Hipper's light cruisers and destroyers, which had formed his van when he was steaming westward, became his rearguard when his squadron turned south-east. The German light craft hung behind the rear German battle-cruiser, ready to dart between the two forces of big ships and defend and attack as directed.

Use of light craft

The British squadrons of light cruisers and destroyer flotillas steamed in advance of the battle-cruisers, eagerly waiting to assail or repel the enemy. The general position was that, if either side attempted a torpedo attack, the menaced battle-cruisers would not waste heavy shell on the charging light craft, but kept their great guns hammering at the hostile capital ships, and used their auxiliary armament and their light craft to counter the threat of the torpedo vessels.

As the action opened, Sir David Beatty began to bear more to the east, and so reduce the space between the parallel curving course of the German and British battle-cruisers. In this way he gradually brought down the range from ten and a half to eight land miles. His chief object was probably to work across the head of the German squadron, and either compel it to turn away towards Admiral Jellicoe's fleet or rake it with concentrated fire. In closing, some advantage was sacrificed. The large British projectiles, as we have already seen, made a bigger splash than did the 11 in. and 12 in. German shells. This told for better spotting and hitting at a great distance. The German guns, however, were finely calibrated, and seem to have been fitted with sights of high quality; the German range-finding instruments were reported to have been equal to or even better than the British. The valuable scientific industry of optical glass-making, which Germany had established in the days of peace, served her magnificently in the days of war. She was able to keep her latest discoveries secret for the use of her Navy, and also to stop supplies of even ordinary optical glass to Great Britain. British men of science had to hunt for the formulæ of German optical glass, while the German Fleet was being equipped with such instruments as hurried and overtaxed scientific helpers in Great Britain could hardly be expected to improvise.

Value of German optical glass

When the distance was lessened, Admiral Hipper's 11 in. and 12 in. guns were not hopelessly outranged by the British 12 in. and 13·5 in. ordnance. At eight miles the flatter trajectory of the bigger British guns did not tell much in the contest, and the difference in the shell splashes did not affect the marksmanship. The British ships retained, of course, the advantage of weight of metal and high explosive and delivered their blows with far more force. But the British superiority in metal seems to have been counter-balanced in some degree by the advantage in optical equipment and thicker armour possessed by the enemy. The British ships had heavier guns, but the enemy appears to have had better sighting and range-finding devices. His shooting was good. He had much improved since the Dogger Bank Battle.

Another factor may have entered into Admiral Hipper's calculations. He shaped his course so as to lead the British battle-cruisers towards a submarine ambush, which was apparently a matter of much importance in the enemy's general plan. The first German submarine seems to have been detected among the British light cruisers at 3.28 p.m. A U boat was then sighted, but she submerged before a gun could be trained upon her. Soon after four, Lieutenant-Commander F. E. H. G. Hobart, in the Landrail, one of the destroyers of the 9th Flotilla, sighted a German submarine near the Lion. The Landrail was trying at the time to take station ahead of the flagship, and was on the port beam (left side looking forward). She signalled another destroyer, the Lydiard, to assist in driving off the enemy submarines from the battle-cruiser squadrons.

The two destroyers had to remain on guard between the British big ships and the enemy's big ships, and their smoke caused considerable inconvenience to the gunners in Admiral Beatty's battle-cruisers; but as he acknowledged in his despatch, the two destroyers preserved his battle-cruisers from close submarine attack. The light cruiser Nottingham, which sighted a submarine on the starboard beam (right-hand side looking forward) also helped to defeat the enemy's first subtle plan of attack.

Admiral Hipper had succeeded in leading the British Cruiser Fleet into a living mine-field. Lying in ambush in the shallows of the Fisher Bank, the German submarine officers listened at their microphones for the sound of propellers. Distinguishing friend from foe, and important enemies from unimportant enemies, by means of the sensitive electric ear, the pilots of the submerged U boats moved beneath the waves at ten miles an hour towards the British battle-cruisers. To get a good shot with their torpedo-tubes the German officers had to lift their periscopes when they had come within sighting distance. It was then that they were observed and chased by the British light cruisers and destroyers. Only haphazard shots can be delivered from a submerged submarine, by judging the distance and course of a big target, as revealed by the sound of approaching propellers. It may be that some U boats made chance shots of this sort, in the hope of sending torpedoes across the British line, in addition to trying shots with the aid of a hurried glimpse through the periscope.

Difficulties of U boats

No British ship of any class was struck. At least one German submarine was destroyed. Thus the submarine ambush failed of effect. It will be remembered that in the Battle of Heligoland Bight the enemy had launched submarines against the British battle-cruisers, but, after narrowly missing the Queen Mary, the U boats were defeated by the high speed of Sir David Beatty's squadron. Sir Percy Scott's prediction that the submarine would drive the super-Dreadnought from the seas was farther from fulfilment on May 31st, 1916, than it had been on August 28th, 1914.

While the British ships were passing through the submarine ambush the 1st and 2nd Battle-Cruiser Squadrons received two staggering, unexpected, deadly blows—apparently soon after 4 p.m., after only fifteen minutes of firing. At the time every material advantage seemingly rested with Sir David Beatty. There were six British ships in action against five German ships, with four additional and more powerful British ships approaching, but not yet within range. British broadsides of thirty-two 13·5 in. and sixteen 12 in. guns were engaging German broadsides of sixteen 12 in. and twenty-eight 11 in. guns. The weight of metal in each combined British salvo would be 53,600 lb., and in each German salvo 32,240 lb., so that in this matter the British had an advantage of five to three.

Despite the odds in Sir David Beatty's favour, the Germans won a series of preliminary successes, testifying to their luck and their marksmanship. The Indefatigable was the rear battle-cruiser in the British fleet, and the German gunners concentrated upon her and gave her a

H.M.S. WARSPITE ENGAGING SEVERAL GERMAN SHIPS IN THE JUTLAND BATTLE.
This powerful ship put up a great fight, although her steering-gear broke down at a critical moment. The Warspite alone sank and disabled several of the enemy ships, eventually returning safely to port.

most terrific pounding. Part of her fire-control position was observed from another ship to have been shot away, and then she was struck by a series of salvos and sunk. A British seaman in a light cruiser said that under the enemy's massed fire the Indefatigable seemed to heel over until her bilge keel could be seen. Then a salvo of shells appeared to blow the bottom out of the ship. This appears to have happened at five minutes past four, very soon after the Germans got the range. In the Indefatigable Captain Charles F. Sowerby and some seven hundred and ninety officers and men went to their death. Two survivors were picked up by German light craft after the British Cruiser Fleet passed.

The New Zealand then became the rear ship in the line. The fire-control officers in the German squadron singled out the Queen Mary to be the next victim of the massed fire of their guns. She had just knocked out her opposite number in the German line, and her gunlayers had received orders to shift target. As a gunlayer in the Tiger wrote:

> Suddenly a most remarkable thing happened. Every shell that the Germans fired seemed to strike the battle-cruiser at once. It was as if a whirlwind was smashing a forest down. The Queen Mary seemed to roll slowly to starboard, her mast and funnels gone and a huge hole in her side. She listed again, the hole disappeared in the water, which rushed into her and turned her completely over.

Loss of H.M.S. Queen Mary

The Queen Mary, commanded by Captain Cecil I. Prowse, with a complement of over a thousand officers and men, was a most serious loss. She was, with the Tiger, the latest of the British battle-cruisers. She had a belt of 9 in. armour, and 9 in. armour over her heavy-gun positions, while the Indefatigable had only a 4 to 7 in. belt and 7 in. armour over her heavy-gun positions. Yet the newer and stronger ship was sunk by a few minutes' concentrated fire as the older ship had been.

Two minutes before the Queen Mary sank the British gunners set on fire the third battle-cruiser in Admiral Hipper's squadron. This did not put her permanently out of action. As was proved in the Dogger Bank Battle, battering the side-armour did not speedily destroy the ship, despite the fact that all the battle-cruisers carried comparatively light armour and used guns of immense power.

Lessons of the first phase

The first phase of the Battle of Jutland seems to emphasise certain facts First, in regard to defensive power, the enemy's system of armour in his battle-cruisers was sound. Secondly, in regard to optical aids to marksmanship, German technical science provided admirable instruments.

When the Queen Mary sank the weather conditions had changed to the advantage of the enemy. The British vessels could be made out with comparative ease, but the enemy ships to the north-eastward had entered a patch of haze that rendered their outlines very indistinct. As soon as the mist became troublesome the destroyer forces on either side prepared to strike with the torpedo. Two British flotillas were ordered to attack as opportunity offered. At 4.15 p.m., when the air was growing hazy, twelve British destroyers shot across the zone between the big ships. They were:

13TH FLOTILLA.

Nestor (Commander the Hon. Edward B. S. Bingham),
Nomad (Lieutenant-Commander Paul Whitfield),
Nicator (Lieutenant Jack E. A. Mocatta),
Narborough (Lieutenant-Commander Geoffrey Corlett),
Pelican (Lieutenant-Commander Kenneth A. Beattie),
Petard (Lieutenant-Commander Evelyn C. O. Thomson),
Obdurate (Lieutenant Cecil H. H. Sams),
Nerissa (Lieutenant-Commander Montague C. B. Legge).

10TH FLOTILLA.

Moorsom (Commander John C. Hodgson),
Morris (Lieutenant-Commander Edward S. Graham).

9TH FLOTILLA.

Turbulent (Lieutenant-Commander Dudley Stuart),
Termagant (Lieutenant-Commander Cuthbert P. Blake).

The German flotilla which attacked simultaneously was more powerful and more numerous than the British It

AN INFERNO IN THE RAGING SEA: GERMAN LIGHT CRUISER FIGHTS TO THE LAST.

Far into the night of May 31st-June 1st the British destroyers harried the retreating German ships. In their splendid pursuit they came across a number of German warships, some completely disabled, others partially battered, but still showing fight. This vivid illustration depicts a German light cruiser burning furiously amidships, illuminating the tragic sea and sky with her death-flames. Nevertheless, she continued to fight with her remaining guns until a British destroyer launched a torpedo into her, putting her finally out of action.

consisted of one light cruiser and fifteen destroyers. The German cruiser seems to have been of a new type, and armed with 6 in. guns. Such a vessel had an immense advantage over destroyers in her heavy battery, steady platform, and fire-control installation, but the British officers and men, by skill, manœuvring, good gunnery, and dauntless courage, did their best to atone for their lack of material advantages. In a brief, furious engagement at close quarters two German destroyers were sunk, and the light cruiser and thirteen remaining hostile destroyers were prevented from delivering their torpedo attack on the British battle-cruisers, and compelled to retire to the shelter of their own big ships.

The British destroyers sustained no loss in this dashing, victorious engagement, but as in the fight some of them had dropped astern, their torpedo attack on the enemy's battle-cruisers could not be delivered with decisive effect. The situation was that the British light craft had warded off the German onslaught on Admiral Beatty's battle-cruisers and inflicted severe punishment on the enemy; but, at the sacrifice of two destroyers, the Germans had taken much of the sting out of the British torpedo attack. Yet, gallantly led by Commander the Hon. Edward Bingham, the Nestor, Nomad, and Nicator, the destroyers nearest the German battle-cruisers, charged at top speed on the smoking line of big ships and each fired two torpedoes. The gunners in the German battle-cruisers, with their secondary armament of 6 in. guns, were a match for the three British destroyers. They could concentrate their fire on these three vessels, which alone of the twelve destroyers were able to push home. There were not enough destroyers to distract their aim and allow one or more of the British boats to close to such a range that its torpedoes could not miss. The Nomad was badly hit, and could be made out, stopped, between the British and German lines, where she was subsequently caught and sunk by the enemy. The Nestor and Nicator turned south-east, but ran into the midst of Admiral von Scheer's battleships. Through waters swept by a terrific fire Commander Bingham and Lieutenant Mocatta held steadily on. Reaching a favourable position, each fired a torpedo at the second ship in the enemy's line at a range of 3,000 yards. Before she could fire yet another torpedo the Nestor was badly hit and, swinging to starboard, almost collided with the Nicator. The Nicator altered course to avoid a collision, and was thereby prevented from firing her last torpedo. She escaped, with wonderful luck. But the Nestor was a wreck with engines stopped, and was caught by the enemy and sunk. Many survivors of the Nomad and Nestor were picked up by enemy craft, among them Commander Bingham, who for his magnificent conduct received the Victoria Cross, and Lieutenant-Commander Whitfield, who was promoted while prisoner of war to the rank of commander.

Great work of destroyers

THE LAST SHOT OF THE GLORIOUS SHARK.

One of the outstanding incidents of heroism in the Battle of Jutland Bank was the splendid fight to a finish of the destroyer Shark. Pounded to scrap-iron by concentrated enemy fire, the Shark settled down with her brave and terribly wounded commander (Commander Loftus Jones) and a member of the crew firing a weapon almost from the level of the waves.

Commander Hodgson, in the Moorsom, of the 10th Flotilla, also carried out an attack on the enemy's battle fleet, and his boat escaped like the Nicator. Meanwhile, the Petard, Nerissa, Turbulent, and Termagant broke through the enemy's screen of destroyers and pressed their attack on the German battle-cruisers. Lieutenant-Commander Legge, in the Nerissa, states that one torpedo appeared to strike the unknown rear ship of Admiral Hipper's squadron. The Petard also fired all her torpedoes across the enemy's line. The destroyer losses on both sides up to this point were equal, the Nestor and Nomad being balanced by the sinking of two German destroyers.

Equal losses in destroyers

The Germans profess that during this series of destroyer attacks Sir David Beatty "quickly steamed out of range on a north-western course." There is no trace whatever of such a movement in the British reports. The British admiral, with a sadly diminished force of four battle-cruisers, still gallantly maintained his position to the close of the first phase of the battle, which ended thus tragically. The second phase opened at 4.8, when Rear-Admiral Evan-Thomas with his four fast battleships came into action, but at a range of 20,000 yards, which in the haze and smoke was too great to permit his gunners to tear the German ships to scrap-iron with their 15 in. salvos. Already these battleships had fired at a German light cruiser, possibly the Rostock, and sunk her with astonishing speed. Their intervention in the fight gave the British once more the superiority in numbers. Admiral Beatty had now eight ships firing at the German five, two of which were

showing evident signs of distress. From 4.15 to 4.43, says Sir David Beatty, "the conflict between the opposing battle-cruisers was of a very fierce and resolute character. The 5th Battle Squadron was engaging the enemy's rear ships, unfortunately at very long range. Our fire began to tell, the accuracy and rapidity of that of the enemy depreciating considerably. At 4.18 the third enemy ship was seen to be on fire." Possibly this was the ship which the Queen Mary had attacked with such vigour and success before disaster overtook her.

Weird and wonderful scene

The scene at this point in the battle was the most awe-inspiring that the imagination of man can picture. The great grey ships tore through the water to the note of an unceasing, unearthly crashing, as the salvos beat like a rapid tattoo on the devil's drums. The water rose in gigantic spouts, sometimes a hundred feet and sometimes two hundred feet high, as the falling shells lashed it like a monstrous hailstorm. Far away, dim forms could be indistinctly seen spurting scarlet flame in the mist, little more than dark dots on the horizon. They were the German ships, impalpable as ghosts, with dense smoke pouring from their funnels, and with the glow of fires in their hulls, caused by the British high-explosive shells. At moments the enemy passed altogether from view, though his fire always continued, and frequently the British gun-layers had no better target than the flashes of the German big guns in the growing obscurity. No man on either side could say for certain what was happening, so difficult was vision throughout the greater part of the fight and so disturbed was the atmosphere by the flame and smoke of the guns and the trembling heat-waves from the burning ships. In the air was an acrid smell of lyddite and burning wood, and the characteristic stench of cordite-wool that is being charred. In the sea floated everywhere wreckage and bodies from the vessels which had been sunk. And the battle had not yet reached its height.

Glory of the Black Squad

The stokers in all the British ships worked like magicians to carry out Admiral Beatty's plans and get ahead of the enemy. In the Dogger Bank action they had covered themselves with glory, but in the Battle of Jutland Bank they surpassed everything they had previously achieved. They may at times have caught the ring of splinters on the sides of the battle-cruisers as they toiled far below. It is said that the officers and men in the turrets sometimes thought that all their ship's secondary armament was busy repelling a torpedo attack, when, as a matter of fact, the noise was produced by German salvos exploding in the water.

Sir David Beatty's flagship the Lion did not escape injury in the storm of fire, and her signalling appliances were continually shot away; but Admiral Beatty's flag-lieutenant, Commander R. F. Seymour, managed to maintain communications, despite the hurricane of splinters and shells. The Lion received a heavy battering, but she gave more than she got, and her crew were very proud of her. Admiral Beatty was on the topmost bridge, known as the "monkeys' island," directing operations, and, according to an eye-witness, was as eager, active, and cool amid the whirlwinds of death as in the safety of peace manœuvres.

By half-past four Admiral Beatty's ships had gained the upper hand against the German battle-cruisers by sheer coolness and hard fighting. Extraordinary as had been the marksmanship of the German gunners during the first half hour of the action, there are reasons to suppose it was based on superb equipment rather than on moral qualities. The German gunnery speedily deteriorated when the British shells began to strike home and shake the nerves of the opposing ships' companies. The enemy's shooting became uncertain, his shells often fell short, and his guns were served more slowly. The 5th Battle Squadron, unfortunately, was still firing at very long range, or Admiral Hipper's career might have ended then and there.

The brunt of the fighting was still borne by the four remaining British battle-cruisers, and such was the steadiness of Admiral Beatty's officers and men, though one-third of their fighting force had been destroyed in so terrible a manner before their eyes, that they hammered Admiral Hipper's officers and men into a condition approaching impotency. One German ship was in flames. No doubt the slackening and irregularity of the enemy's salvos may have been partly due to the fact that his fire-control systems were disorganised by the British fire, and some of his turrets had almost certainly been put out of action.

CAPT. ARTHUR L. CAY,
H.M.S. Invincible, killed in action.

Admiral Hipper, however, had now done his part. The third phase of the battle was opening. At 4.38 p.m. Sir David Beatty learnt from the light cruiser Southampton (Commodore Goodenough) that the German Battle Fleet was near at hand, ahead and to the south-east of him. He recalled the destroyers, and four minutes later the Lion sighted the dim grey shapes of the German battleships moving swiftly through the grey haze. For an encounter with these powerful, heavily-armoured ships his battle-cruisers had not been built, and the odds in gun-power would be enormously against him unless he promptly retreated. Moreover, a retreat would lead the enemy into Admiral Jellicoe's grip supposing the enemy pursued.

Admiral Beatty turned to starboard (or right), away from the enemy, reversing his course and steaming north.

CR. J. C. TOVEY,
H.M.S. Onslow.

CR. R. S. GOFF,
H.M.S. Garland.

LT.-CR. A. G. ONSLOW,
D.S.C., H.M.S. Onslaught, killed in action.

LT.-CR. A. MARSDEN,
H.M.S. Ardent, commended.

LT.-CR. K. A. BEATTIE,
H.M.S. Pelican, Commended.

(Photos by Russell & Sons, Lafayette, Vandyk.)

north-west instead of south-south-east, towards the British Battle Fleet. Admiral Evan-Thomas's four fast battleships had not yet turned, and were still steering the old course, so that they were moving in exactly the opposite direction, engaging the German battle-cruisers with all guns as these cruisers turned, which they did when the German battleships arrived on the scene; Admiral Hipper, thus heading the enemy's line, moved north-north-west.

The Southampton, with the 2nd Light Cruiser Squadron, continued meanwhile to hold on southward towards the High Sea Fleet. The British light cruisers steamed within 13,000 yards of the enemy battle fleet, and at this short range came under a "very heavy but ineffective fire," as Sir David Beatty reported. The German battleship gunners failed to hit the swiftly-moving Southampton and the ships of her squadron, whose task it was to ascertain the numbers of the German Dreadnoughts and super-Dreadnoughts and transmit information to Admiral Beatty, so that he might know the strength of the force that was attempting to compass the destruction of his cruisers.

COMMANDER H. E. DANNREUTHER, H.M.S. Invincible.

Admiral von Scheer's fleet was reported to consist of sixteen Dreadnought battleships and six pre-Dreadnought battleships. The German pre-Dreadnoughts do not seem to have taken any serious part in the running action which was now beginning, as their speed of eighteen and a half knots was too slow to enable them to close within range of the British battle-cruisers. Indeed, according to enemy reports, only eight battleships of the Kaiser and König classes were able to get within range of Admiral Beatty's vessels. These eight ships carried each ten 12 in. guns (or possibly 14 in. guns in some instances) and fourteen 6 in. guns, and had a speed of twenty-three knots. If this German statement is true—that only eight German battleships could fire—Admiral von Scheer had a total force of twelve large ships against the British eight. But if any British ship was crippled in the fight, it could not hope to escape as the Lion did when she was put out of action in the Dogger Bank Battle. Any such damaged vessel would be overtaken by Admiral Scheer's squadrons of slower Dreadnoughts and pre-Dreadnoughts. He had, in addition to his eight Königs and Kaisers, four Dreadnoughts of the Helgoland class, carrying each twelve 12 in. guns and fourteen 6 in. guns, and four earlier Dreadnoughts of the Nassau class, each with twelve 11 in. and twelve 6 in. guns. The speed of these two classes of ships was over twenty knots. The six pre-Dreadnoughts carried each four 11 in. guns and fourteen 6·7 in. guns, with a speed of over eighteen knots.

There was, however, an important difference in fighting quality between the twenty-three-knot ships of the Kaiser and König classes and the twenty-knot ships of the Helgoland and Nassau classes. The swifter ships could bring all their heavy guns to bear on the broadside, so that they delivered a combined salvo of eighty 12 in. shells every thirty seconds. The slower and older ships, on the other hand, could bring only eight heavy guns to bear on the broadside, though carrying each twelve guns. Their combined salvo was, therefore, only sixty-four shells every thirty seconds. All the British ships present could bring all their guns to bear on the broadside, except, of course, where turrets had been put out of action.

Reliance on speed

Admiral Beatty relied upon his speed. His four battle-cruisers were faster than the German battle-cruisers. The four fast British oil-fired battleships were able to keep close astern of the battle-cruisers. They had turned and fallen in behind Admiral Beatty's four big ships at 4.57, sustaining as they did so the fire of the leading German battleships. Admiral Beatty's situation was very far from being desperate. His eight ships formed an admirable, almost homogeneous manœuvring force, which possessed the advantage of superior speed. The British admiral could keep the enemy at long range if he wished to gain the full advantage from his heavier and more powerful 13·5 in and 15 in. guns. But his chief object was to lead the Germans within range of the British battle squadrons.

When Admiral Beatty turned northwards the weather conditions were as much against him as they had been against Sir Christopher Cradock off the coast of Chili. The German High Sea Fleet was half hidden in mist as it steamed up the Jutland Bank. All the British ships, farther out to sea, were moving through clear air, outlined against the bright western sky. This may have been a matter of luck for the Germans, or it may have been the result of careful calculation and planning on their part. By their superior speed, however, the British ships were able to reduce their disadvantage in the matter of weather conditions, and, as we shall afterwards see, Sir David Beatty entered on his northerly course with a great plan for turning even the weather conditions against the Germans, by working round them and forcing them out against the glow of the setting sun.

Beatty's great plan

The change of course from a south-easterly to a northerly direction was a ticklish matter. Admiral Hipper altered course soon after Admiral Beatty did. As the British ships turned in succession (*i.e.*, not simultaneously, but one after the other), they came under fire from both the German battle-cruisers and the leading German battleships. "Windy Corner" was the name the British sailors gave to the turning-point. The rear battle-cruiser in Admiral Beatty's squadron, the New Zealand, passed through waters lashed

CR. HON. EDWARD B. BINGHAM, V.C., H.M.S. Nestor.

LT.-CR. C. P. BLAKE, H.M.S. Termagant.

COMMODORE E. S. ALEXANDER-SINCLAIR, C.B., M.V.O., H.M.S. Galatea

(Photos by Heath, Russell.)

CR. G. A. COLES, H.M.S. Ambuscade.

LT.-CR. CECIL CHARLES B. VACHER, D.S.O., H.M.S. Canterbury.

CCO

THE FATAL STING OF THE "MOSQUITOES": BRITISH DESTROYERS SINK A GERMAN DREADNOUGHT ON ITS RETREAT TO KIEL.

The work of the destroyers in the Battle of Jutland Bank consisted of a series of brilliant actions from the earliest moments of the conflict till late into the night, when the fighting between the great battleships had actually been broken off. During its retreat to home waters the severely damaged German Fleet was further harried by the British "mosquitoes." This illustration, designed after a description by a naval officer who took part in the incident, shows a number of destroyers converging at top speed on a huge German Dreadnought, which was sunk by a well-placed torpedo.

by a furious hail of heavy projectiles, but escaped with only a trifling scratch. Behind the New Zealand the Barham, Warspite, Valiant, and another had now taken station, and were pounding the German battle-cruisers. Admiral Scheer's flagship and her sister ships of the König class had drawn close enough to fire salvos at the fast British battleships. But the latter, notwithstanding their speed, carried thick armour. According to the German accounts, they had 12 in. plating on their water-lines, and the same thickness over their heavy guns, and at the range of 14,000 yards the German shells did not penetrate. They stood the German fire admirably, and suffered little loss or damage. One hit received by the Barham dented her side six inches deep without breaking the surface of the plate.

British ships shell-proof

About this time, towards five o'clock, the light cruiser Fearless, with the destroyers of the 1st Flotilla, arrived on the scene of battle and took station ahead of Admiral Beatty's ships. The light cruiser Champion, with the destroyers of the 13th Flotilla, took up a position covering the four fast battleships from torpedo attack, while the 1st and 3rd Light Cruiser Squadrons steamed to starboard (right), and the 2nd Light Cruiser Squadron to port (left) of Admiral Beatty's flagship

Admiral von Scheer was probably feeling very pleased with the position. He had concentrated a great force against the British Cruiser Fleet, and in the first part of the battle, when all the odds were against the five German battle-cruisers, they had sunk two out of the ten large British ships opposed to them. By two amazingly lucky strokes the outnumbered, outgunned, and somewhat slower German Battle-Cruiser Squadron had brought Admiral Beatty's battle-cruisers half-way to Horn Reef, and had destroyed one-third of the British Battle Cruiser Fleet on the way. Admiral Hipper appears to have had one ship much damaged during the race to the south. Another German battle-cruiser had been badly hammered; but these German losses, to which one light cruiser and two destroyers must be added, were only modest when compared with the result achieved.

[*Lafayette.*

COMMANDER LOFTUS W. JONES,
H.M.S. Shark, went down with his ship working the sole remaining gun, though he had already had a leg blown off. He was posthumously commended for his services in the battle.

Though Admiral von Scheer had reason for being happy, his position was not, as the event proved, so strong as he supposed. For the game that Admiral Hipper had played against Admiral Beatty was exactly that which Admiral Beatty was playing on a larger scale against the German Commander-in-Chief. Admiral von Scheer had risked five large German ships against ten large British ships in order to lure the British Cruiser Fleet within range of the German Battle Fleet. And Admiral Beatty was now placing eight large British ships in a running fight against some nineteen German capital ships in order to lure the High Sea Fleet within range of the Grand Fleet. There was, of course, the very important difference that Admiral von Scheer accomplished his aim about five o'clock in the afternoon, when he could count on an hour of good daylight at least, while even if Admiral Beatty were successful he could not accomplish his aim, and make his junction with Admiral Jellicoe, until seventeen minutes past six in the evening, when the mist had gathered and thickened.

Admiral Beatty was forging steadily ahead of the leading German ships. When the great race began the British battle-cruisers were well in advance of Admiral Hipper's three remaining battle-cruisers, and the 5th Battle Squadron was well ahead of the 1st German Battle Squadron. The result was that the eight British ships could concentrate their broadsides upon Admiral Hipper's enfeebled and battered squadron. The Germans could not bring their rear ships into action because of the admirable tactics of the British Fleet. Admiral Beatty, as he worked ahead, closed somewhat on the enemy, to crush the head of the German line, altering his course to north (the Germans were steaming north-north-west), and shortening the range to 14,000 yards. Another German battle-cruiser quitted the line "in a considerably damaged condition." Before this occurred, the destroyers Onslow (Lieutenant-Commander J. C. Tovey), and Moresby (Lieutenant-Commander R. V. Alison), which had been detached to assist the seaplane-carrier Engadine, returned and took station on the engaged (starboard) bow of the Lion. At 5.10 the Moresby fired a torpedo, and eight minutes later she observed a hit in the sixth ship in the enemy line, which must have been a battleship. The British cruiser Fearless about this time reported seeing an enemy ship heavily on fire, and shortly afterwards a huge cloud of smoke and steam. As the same was seen when the Marlborough and Westfalen were hit, and both these ships undoubtedly escaped, it does not follow that the enemy vessel was sunk. But it was a fine feat to effect a hit with the torpedo at such extreme range.

At 5.35 Sir David Beatty turned north-north-east, heading the enemy off eastwards and enabling Admiral Jellicoe, who was now coming up to the north-north-west, to pass between the Germans and their North Sea bases if he were so disposed. If the enemy had not turned east under this pressure from the British cruisers and fast battleships, Admiral Beatty would have worked across the head of the German line and shattered the leading German ships. At 5.50 the first ships of Admiral Jellicoe's fleet came into sight. They were the three battle-cruisers, under Admiral Hood, of the 3rd Battle-Cruiser Squadron. Six minutes later the dim shapes of Admiral Jellicoe's battleships could be made out 10,000 yards north of the Lion. The crisis of the battle was past.

At 6.5 the Onslow, still on the engaged bow of the Lion, sighted a German light cruiser at a distance of 6,000 yards, which was apparently trying to torpedo Admiral Beatty's flagship. The British destroyer steamed out and engaged the cruiser, closing from 4,000 to 2,000 yards, and pouring into her some fifty-eight 4 in. shells. The German light cruiser was much more heavily armed, and possessed, by reason of her superior size, a far better fire-control system. None the less, she was hit again and again by the gunners of the Onslow. When she had been sufficiently hammered, Lieutenant-Commander Tovey swung his frail craft round and charged at the German battle-cruisers. He ordered all torpedoes to be fired. But just as he gave the order his boat was struck amidships by a heavy shell, and amid the confusion only one torpedo was released. Thinking that all his torpedoes were gone, Lieutenant-Commander Tovey, with his ship nearly broken in two, began to crawl away. But finding he had three torpedoes left, he again approached the light cruiser that he had already battered and torpedoed her. Then, turning on the German Battle Fleet, this most gallant British officer fired his two remaining torpedoes at the enemy's battleships, just as the steam failed in his damaged boilers. The action of the Onslow was observed by Rear-Admiral Napier, commanding the 3rd Light Cruiser Squadron. He said that after he passed close to the disabled and motionless

The splendid Onslow

destroyer she was able to struggle ahead again, and made straight for the Derfflinger to attack her.

The Onslow was afterwards taken in tow by another damaged destroyer, the Defender (Lieutenant-Commander Lawrence R. Palmer). Having a shell in her foremost boiler, the Defender could only make ten knots; but at a quarter past seven in the evening, when German shells were falling round both boats, she closed with the Onslow and took her in tow. In the stormy night the tow parted twice, but was re-secured, and the two damaged boats struggled on together until the afternoon of June 1st, when the work of towing the Onslow was transferred to tugs.

Of all the deeds in the Jutland Battle, that of Lieutenant-Commander Tovey and his officers and men marked the highest point in skilled coolness. Torpedo work had been the speciality of the German Navy. Grand-Admiral von Tirpitz was a torpedo specialist. It was on his torpedo officers that he chiefly relied for the success of his policy of attrition. When "The Day" came the long-acclaimed and long-practised "hussar strokes" by German destroyer flotillas against the British battleships never took place. Up to the time when the Onslow's boilers stopped working only one German destroyer charge had been attempted, and it had failed at the outset before the British heavy ships needed to use their secondary armament. The British destroyers, on the other hand, claimed a hit on one German battle-cruiser early in the fight, and afterwards hit a German battleship. One German light cruiser and two destroyers had also been sunk by the British light craft. The comparatively light British losses in destroyers were caused entirely by close-range fire from big German ships, which when menaced with destruction discharged at them storms of shrapnel. The prince of torpedo officers was certainly Lieutenant-Commander Tovey, but he was only first among a large band of immortal heroes.

Zenith of pluck and skill

In this stage of the battle the British battle-cruisers had displayed surprising power of resistance. It had generally been expected that the lightly-armoured battle-cruiser, in the design of which protection had been sacrificed to speed, would be rapidly shot to pieces by the modern battleship. This was an article of faith in the United States Navy, as that able American gunnery expert, Captain William S. Sims, stated in a report on the battle which he drew up for the Secretary of the United States Navy. The German Commander-in-Chief, together with all the German naval authorities, had taken the same view of the weakness of battle-cruisers in a fleet action as United States officers had done. Admiral von Scheer appears to have regarded it as certain that he could destroy the four remaining British battle-cruisers in much less than the eighty minutes which the running fight northward lasted. The extraordinary resistance of the British battle-cruisers was, therefore, one of the greatest surprises of the action.

At a range of only eight miles, which was rather less than that at which the Queen Mary and the Indefatigable had been destroyed, the Lion, Tiger, Princess Royal and New Zealand, with all weather conditions against them, withstood the attack of all the ships that the German admiral could bring against them. Naturally, Admiral Beatty's battle-cruisers were considerably protected by the fire of the 5th Battle Squadron steaming close behind them. The German Dreadnoughts were too slow to close on them, though had they attempted to shorten the range they would have had to encounter a tornado of 15 in. shells from the thirty-two big guns of the fast British battleships; and the twenty-four 13·5 in. guns of the three leading battle-cruisers, with the eight 12 in. guns of the New Zealand, should have been exceedingly effective at the range of eight miles against even the heavily-armoured German capital ships.

Invulnerable at eight miles

The situation was paradoxical. At four o'clock in the afternoon, when Sir David Beatty had all the odds on his side and good weather conditions, an inferior enemy force inflicted tremendous losses upon him. At five o'clock, when the enemy had apparently very marked advantages in numbers and weather conditions, eight British ships outfought a much larger number of German ships. Between five and six o'clock Admiral von Scheer appears to have had at least two of his big ships put out of action, and two light cruisers sunk by gun fire. In this period no British ships were put out of action. It was perhaps then that Admiral Hipper lost his flagship the Lützow, and, like Admiral Beatty in the Dogger Bank action, had to embark in a destroyer and find a new flagship. He afterwards hoisted his flag in the Moltke; but at what hour he recovered control of his shattered squadron is not known. As the remnant of his squadron formed the head of the enemy's line, and was overreached by the speedier British battle-cruisers and also brought within range of the 5th Battle Squadron, it received a tremendous pounding. It was the chief aim of Admiral Beatty to maintain a massed fire against the continually weakening head of the enemy's line.

Reinforcements now began to reach Sir David Beatty. Rear-Admiral the Hon. Horace Hood, with the 3rd British Battle-Cruiser Squadron, consisting of the Invincible, Inflexible, and Indomitable, was coming up, steaming in advance of the Grand Fleet, and fast nearing the scene of action. At 5.30 Admiral Hood had observed the first indications of battle in gun-flashes and the sound of firing to the south-west. The haze was too thick to permit a clear view of what was happening, and he despatched the light cruiser Chester (Captain R. N. Lawson) to reconnoitre and enable him to effect his junction with Admiral Beatty. The Chester, pushing in, found herself cut off by a squadron of four German light cruisers, which had seemingly worked between her and Admiral Hood's battle-cruisers in the mist. She broke through the enemy after a fierce fight, which will be dealt with in detail later, and soon after six rejoined the 3rd Battle-Cruiser Squadron.

Trying to cross the "T"

Admiral Hood, as the result of this reconnaissance, turned north-west. Apparently he had steamed too far to the east in the haze and smoke. At 5.50 he was seen from Admiral Beatty's ships, and at 6.10 he sighted Admiral Beatty's battle-cruisers. He was then on the port bow of the Lion. As he came up he appears to have poured a heavy fire into a German light cruiser, probably one of the vessels which had engaged the Chester, and to have sunk it, for a great explosion was seen, which looked as though a shell from the Invincible had struck the enemy's magazine. There can be no doubt that the light German cruisers in their preliminary fight had noted Admiral Hood's approach and reported it by wireless to Admiral von Scheer, and the information may have been one of the factors that led the enemy to turn eastward about this time.

The design of the German commander was evidently to break off the action, and either pass into the Baltic or retire to his North Sea base under cover of the mist along the Danish coast. A sudden turn would have exposed him to disaster, and his only plan was to work east and so effect his escape. But Admiral Beatty had foreseen this move from the beginning of the running fight on the northerly course. It was the reason why he had worked well in front of the Germans, and had kept well in front of them during the fleet action. The aim of the British admiral was to cross the "T" at the moment of the grand crisis. Crossing the "T" is the commonest of all naval manœuvres in peace time, and the hardest to carry out in war. It consists in steaming at right angles across the head of the enemy's line and raking his leading ships as they are passed (in the position of the top stroke of the letter "T," the fleet "crossed" being in the position of the upright stroke), and crushing them with concentrated fire. Superior speed is the essence of the power to achieve such a manœuvre, and

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VICE-ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES EDWARD MADDEN, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.V.O., CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, GRAND FLEET.

[Russell.

REAR-ADMIRAL OSMOND DE BEAUVOIR BROCK.
C.B., C.M.G.

[Lafayette.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR T. H. MARTYN JERRAM.
K.C.B., K.C.M.G.

[Russell.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR F. C. DOVETON STURDEE, BART.,
K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.V.O.

[Russell.

REAR-ADMIRAL HERBERT LEOPOLD HEATH.
C.B., M.V.O.

[Swaine.

REAR-ADMIRAL ERNEST FREDERIC AUGUSTUS GAUNT.
C.B., C.M.G.

[Lafayette.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM CHRISTOPHER PAKENHAM
K.C.B., M.V.O.

[Val d'Estrange.

REAR-ADMIRAL ALEXANDER LUDOVIC DUFF.
C.B.

[Swain.

REAR-ADMIRAL FRANCIS WILLIAM KENNEDY.
C.B.

[Russell.

REAR-ADMIRAL WILLIAM EDMUND GOODENOUGH. C.B., M.V.O.

[Russell.

REAR-ADMIRAL MICHAEL CULME-SEYMOUR. C.B., M.V.O.

[Russell.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR HUGH EVAN-THOMAS. K.C.B., M.V.O.

REAR-ADMIRAL HON. HORACE HOOD. K.C.B., M.V.O., D.S.O.

[Russell.

REAR-ADMIRAL TREVYLYAN DACRES WILLES NAPIER. C.B., M.V.O. (*in uniform of Captain*).

[Russell.

REAR-ADMIRAL ARTHUR CAVENAGH LEVESON. C.B. (*in uniform of Commander*).

all the principal navies of the world have vied for years in combining speed with gun-power and armour in their battleships, in order to give their fighting admirals the means of preventing their "T" from being crossed and, if possible, the means of crossing an enemy's "T." German naval constructors paid especial attention to the factor of speed, and in 1910 they had launched, in the Moltke, a battle-cruiser with a speed of 28·5 knots, capable of steaming round the older British battle-cruisers, whose nominal speed was only twenty-five knots. Fortunately, the German ships did not always maintain their trial speeds at sea, and fortunately the British engineers and stokers got far more out of their machinery than had been expected in battle.

As the race over the Dogger Bank and the Fisher Bank had shown, the German battle-cruisers had, as a squadron, sufficient speed and manœuvring skill to prevent the British battle-cruisers from "crossing" them. But in the northward turning movement Sir David Beatty had won so fine a start over Admiral Hipper, thanks largely to the excellent scouting of the Southampton, that the British admiral in the end was able to force the Germans either to turn once more or to have their line "crossed." His ships closed to a range of 12,000 yards as they threatened the head of the enemy's line, and increased speed to the utmost. Admiral Hood's squadron was now closing on the enemy's van. Its three additional battle-cruisers formed part of Sir David Beatty's command, and Admiral Beatty by wireless ordered Admiral Hood to take station at the head of his line of battle. Admiral Hood executed the order superbly, and brought his ships into action, as Sir David Beatty states, "in a most inspiring manner, worthy of his great naval ancestors."

Hood's brilliant seamanship

Admiral Hood's three ships as they entered the battle drew in exceedingly close to the enemy's line. About 6.21 they had reached their station in advance of Admiral Beatty, steering it would appear south-east, while the enemy was still on a generally eastward course, so that Hood, unless the Germans speedily turned, would be in a position to "cross their T." The Germans may have calculated that their fire was too terrific for his thinly armoured battle-cruisers to resist. For some seconds, or perhaps even minutes, they did not give way. The range shortened, first to 9,000 yards and then to 8,000 yards—extremely close for modern gunners and modern 12 in. guns. The fighting was of the most violent character. Sir David Beatty, noting the determination of his lieutenant, who might have cried like Troubridge at the Battle of St. Vincent, "let the weakest fend off," once more altered course, with the dash and alertness that marked his leadership, to give support, and at 6.25 turned east-south-east. Then "the weakest fended off." The German leading ship began to turn slightly, hauling round to south-south-east in that shell-smitten sea amidst the clouds of smoke and the unceasing roaring of the guns.

As she entered the battle with her heroic admiral, himself of a family which has given the British Navy some of its most glorious seamen, the Invincible opened a fearful fire upon an enemy battle-cruiser of the Derfflinger type, her match and more in guns, and greatly her superior in displacement, armour, and modernity. The German ship registered two or three hits, but her gunners were not as efficient as those of the Invincible. Commander Hubert E. Dannreuther, the gunnery officer, was several times congratulated on his shooting by Admiral Hood. The British gunlayers found their target with the first salvo. But while they were doing magnificent work and setting the enemy ship on fire the Invincible was sunk. Commander Dannreuther and the torpedo officer, Lieutenant C. S. Sandford, were among the six survivors. Commander Dannreuther, after being shot into the sea as from a catapult, went down twenty or thirty feet, and coming up found himself close to a floating target, and clambered on it. First Range-finder Dundridge, flung from the control top, and Chief Petty-Officer Thompson were already on the raft. A few minutes afterwards a broad, smiling face, black with grease, soot, and oil, appeared at the side of the target. "That's Sandford," said Commander Dannreuther; "an Irishman would be sure to smile after an experience like this." "You're right," replied Lieutenant Sandford, as he climbed on the target, from which half an hour later the survivors were rescued by the destroyer Badger. Another British ship, steaming into action much later in the battle, saw a number of men on a raft, who may or may not have been this party, and at first took them to be Germans. But as the ship passed, four of the survivors rose to their feet and cheered magnificently. They were true Invincibles, this handful of half-drowned officers and men representing all that lived out of seven hundred and eighty Britons who went into action under Rear-Admiral Hood and Captain Arthur L. Cay. The spectacle of these men, fresh from the pit of hell, thinking only of their country's victory, was said by those who saw it to have been the most inspiring episode in the battle.

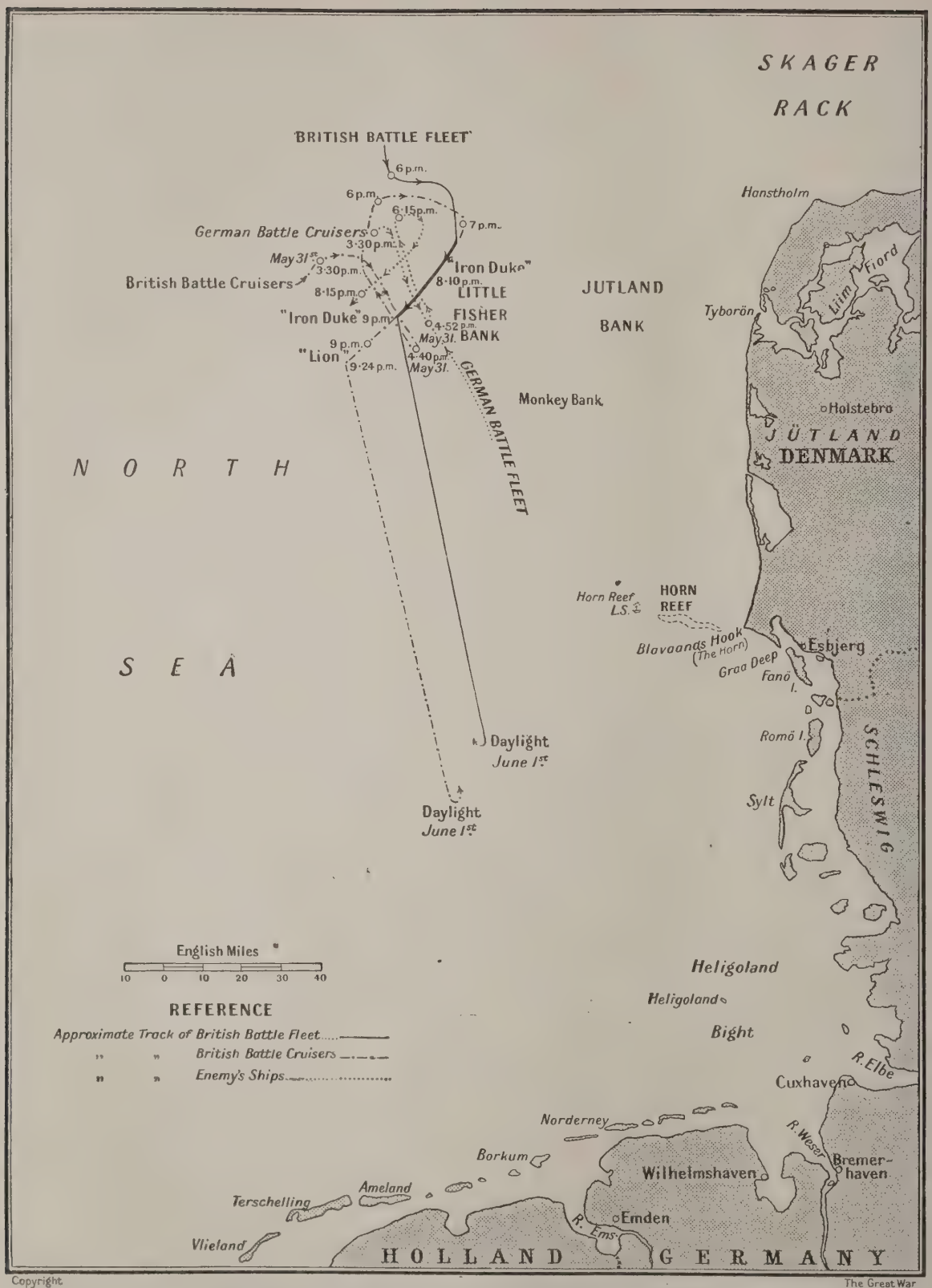
A cheer from the Invincibles

After the Invincible disappeared, the Indomitable and the Inflexible took up the contest with the German battle-cruiser of the Derfflinger class, and reported that a few minutes after the Invincible sank the German ship fell out of the enemy's line.

By this time there was risk of confusion between the various fleets now the German destroyers, light cruisers, battle-cruisers, and Dreadnoughts were wheeling slightly to avoid being crossed, and running eastward In the first place, there was the continuing action of Sir David Beatty's reinforced battle-cruisers. They now consisted of six heavy ships, with their light-cruiser squadrons and destroyer flotillas. In the second place, the light cruisers and destroyers, including the Tipperary, Fortune, Dwarf, Sparrowhawk, Spitfire, and Contest, which had arrived close to the enemy, with Admiral Hood's 3rd Battle-Cruiser Squadron, were fighting with extreme intensity against the screen of light craft that Admiral Hipper and the officer commanding the leading German battleships had flung out to protect their wheel. In the third place, the 1st (Armoured) Cruiser Squadron, consisting of the Defence, Warrior, and Black Prince, under Rear-Admiral Sir Robert K. Arbuthnot, was now entering the fight. Admiral Arbuthnot's purpose was seemingly to join in the attack on the enemy's light-cruiser and destroyer screen, and so accelerate its destruction as to leave the German capital ships clear targets for attack by the British battle squadrons. In the fourth place, the four British fast battleships, under Admiral Evan-Thomas, though firing previously at the head of the German line and doing much of the work of crumpling it up, were unable to keep up with the battle-cruisers, now hurrying east at highest speed, and were trying to form ahead of the Grand Fleet and become the van of Admiral Jellicoe's squadrons. In the fifth place, the 1st Battle Squadron was opening fire on a battleship of the Kaiser class, and the 2nd and 4th British Battle Squadrons were finishing off a German light cruiser and deploying for the general fleet action, beginning with an attack on a battleship of the König class.

Manœuvres in the mist

All these conflicts and manœuvres were taking place between 5.50 and 6.17 o'clock, on a sea shrouded in haze eastward, and dappled with large patches of mist northward and lighter drifts of mist westward. The German destroyers and light cruisers emitted great volumes of grey smoke to help in screening the movements of their defeated and fugitive battle-cruisers and battleships, and the smoke from the screen also thickened and darkened the patches of mist, so that the confusion and dimness increased.



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The Great War

THE MOST SKILFUL NAVAL MANŒUVRE IN HISTORY.

This chart must be taken only as a general indication of the courses of the opposing fleets. Sir David Beatty, with two squadrons of battle-cruisers and one squadron of fast battleships, first steamed southward and southeastward of the German Battle-Cruiser Squadron; then, sighting the German Battle Fleet, turned northward, afterwards bearing eastward and connecting with Sir John Jellicoe's Battle Squadrons.

About the time that Admiral Hood entered the battle, or perhaps a little earlier, Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Arbuthnot, with his 1st Cruiser Squadron, consisting of the armoured cruisers Defence (Captain S. V. Ellis), Warrior (Captain V. B. Molteno), and Black Prince (Captain J. P. Bonham), closed the head of the enemy's line. From the published evidence it would appear that when Hood turned to port, Sir Robert turned to starboard, the effect of which would be to bring him between the British Battle Fleet and the German line. The Germans had apparently flung out a squadron of light cruisers, with a flotilla of destroyers to attempt a torpedo attack on the British battle-cruisers, making use of dense patches of the mist, which about this time was so thick that from the Invincible the enemy could not be plainly seen till the German ships were only 8,000 yards away. The light craft may have been those which the Chester encountered and at which Admiral Hood fired. If not vigorously attacked they might have been able in the obscurity to get dangerously close to Sir David Beatty's ships, which were moving at high speed to head off the German battle-line. The British destroyer Onslow was at work engaging them when Sir Robert came into the fight.

Sir Robert Arbuthnot, in this last and greatest hour of his life, drove at the enemy light cruisers, one of which was swiftly disabled and perhaps sunk by salvos from the Defence and the Warrior, not far from the spot where the Onslow was at work. Sir Robert could see that the torpedo menace to Sir David Beatty's ships was extreme. As a matter of fact, the Defence and Warrior, while pursuing a German light cruiser, crossed the bows of some of Admiral Beatty's light cruisers. But as Sir Robert Arbuthnot pressed home his smashing attack, which broke up the German screen of light craft around the head of the German line, and cleared the way both for Admiral Hood's battle-cruiser squadron and for Admiral Jellicoe's battle divisions, a patch of mist lifted, revealing an amazing and terrible spectacle.

Arbuthnot's supreme sacrifice

The weak armoured cruisers had done their work too well. Within a few thousand yards of them were three German battle-cruisers and the array of German battleships of the König and Kaiser class. The British cruisers were armed only with 9·2, 7·5, and 6 in. guns. The Defence was the strongest of the three, with four 9·2 in. and ten 7·5 in. guns, an armour belt from 4 to 6 in. thick, and 8 in. armour round the heavy turrets. The Warrior carried six 9·2 in. and four 7·5 in. guns, an armour belt of 3 to 6 in., and 6 in. armour round the turrets. The Black Prince carried similar armour, with six 9·2 in. and ten 6 in. guns. The age of the ships was from nine to twelve years; they had been rendered obsolete by the design of Dreadnought battle-cruisers in 1905, and their nominal speed was only twenty-three to twenty-three and a half knots.

Against the tempest of 11, 12, and 14 in. shells which swept them they were helpless. It is possible that, as Admiral Jellicoe suggests in his despatch, the three ships were lamed before they could withdraw. But it is also possible that Sir Robert Arbuthnot did not intend to retire. In his flagship he engaged the nearest German battle-cruiser for eight minutes. The Defence was repeatedly struck aft, and a terrific explosion occurred in the stern, but she still held on towards the enemy, firing with her remaining guns. Then she was hit forward, and in the smoke, steam, and flame of a great explosion one of the very finest of British fighting admirals vanished, with the Defence's captain, officers, and men. Captain Bonham, in the Black Prince, also held on steadily against the nine German battle-cruisers and battleships, and was crippled but not sunk, and his vessel disappeared from view to perish later in the evening.

Meanwhile, the Warrior was swept by salvos from the German battle-cruisers, which concentrated all their guns upon her when the Defence blew up. Almost the first salvo that struck the Warrior disabled her starboard engine-room and, wrecking her hydraulic pumps, compelled the turret crews to work their guns by hand. After the injury to her engine the Warrior began to slew round, and as the movement brought her port battery to bear upon the light cruiser which she and the Defence had set on fire, she hammered at her smaller enemy at short range. Then as the German battle-cruisers passed, making their turn southward, several German battleships came within range and battered at the crippled armoured cruiser with all their guns.

One shell wrecked the dynamo-room, extinguishing the electric light in the magazines and all the other compartments below, and cut off all the telephones. The deck was torn up and the engine-room badly holed. There were many casualties, and all the boats were smashed. The ship was in deadly peril when Admiral Evan-Thomas's squadron of fast battleships passed by. That admiral was then trying to form ahead of the Grand Fleet, but while preparing to execute this manœuvre either received orders or decided on his own initiative to form astern. As he was proceeding under heavy fire from the enemy's battle squadrons, the Warspite, under Captain Edward M. Phillpotts, the second ship in his line, seemed to all who watched in the British Fleet to turn to help the stricken Warrior. With her eight 15 in. guns the Warspite engaged several German battleships, which thereupon left the almost helpless Warrior in peace, and turned their guns on the Warspite. But with an armour-belt of 13 in. and 14 in. of armour over her monster guns, the sister of the Queen Elizabeth took her heavy punishment without wincing, giving her enemies blows of tremendous power, eight a minute.

Warspite stands by the Warrior

This movement occurred through an accident which made the Germans think that the Warspite was their prey. The steering-gear broke down—perhaps injured by the enemy's fire—causing the helm to jam in such a position that the great battleship was carried straight towards the enemy into a hell of fire. Some six German battleships of the König and Kaiser class are said to have concentrated all their guns upon her. Despite this, Captain Phillpotts worked his ship round the Warrior, which slowly crept out of action, using her port engine. Scarcely was the Warrior out of range when her port engine-room became untenable, and the ship stopped dead. She would thus have lain helpless as a log under the fire of the German Fleet if the Warspite had not arrived in the nick of time. It was a wonderful sight to see the Warspite, when she herself was out of control, engaging an overpowering number of hostile battleships and keeping them all at bay with the big punch of her eight 15 in. guns. The shooting of the German battleships at this time must have been poor, or she would not have escaped. Happily, as we have seen, the ship was worked round, and the engineers again got the steering-gear into action, with the result that the Warspite was brought under control and returned to her station, with only seventeen men lost out of her complement. No serious injury was done to the fast battleship, although the enemy sent destroyers after her, and then tried to reach her with submarines. The Warrior passed out of the battle.

Inferior German gunnery

It cannot be said that the fourteen hundred men in the Defence and Black Prince and the men killed in the Warrior went to their deaths in vain. The mist no doubt led Sir Robert Arbuthnot into a terrible ambush, but a gallant tactical idea can be traced in the sacrifice he made. He succeeded in taking the fire off the 1st and 2nd Battle-Cruiser Squadron and 5th Battle Squadron during a most critical period, when the Grand Fleet was deploying and when the full fire of the enemy fleet was concentrated upon Admiral Beatty's ships.

Sir Robert Arbuthnot was a fine, gentle, simple man, with the heroic temper of a Grenville and the devotion to

duty of a Collingwood. The last time Collingwood went afloat he said to a friend : " My family are actually strangers to me. What a life of privation ours is—what an abandonment of everything to our professional duty ! And how little do the people of England know the sacrifices we make for them." So Sir Robert Arbuthnot never slept ashore after the war broke out.

When he went into the Defence, men reckoned that he went to death. His armoured cruiser was not fit to stand up to modern ships, yet she could not be held back in battle by an admiral who intended to do the utmost he could for the Empire when the great chance offered.

Against terrible odds

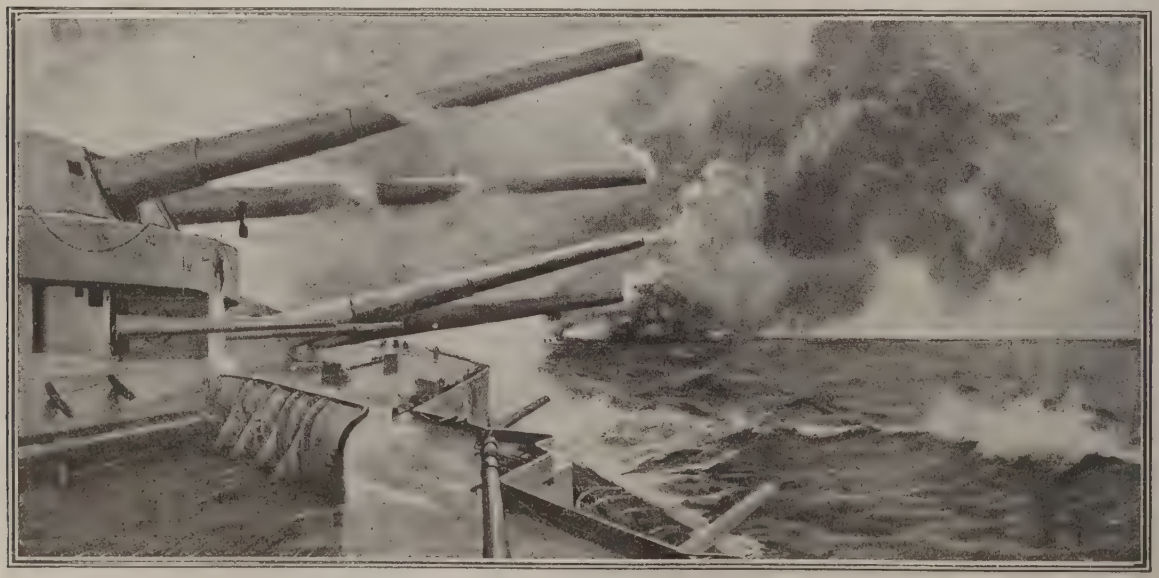
There was a period of twenty minutes' danger when Admiral Beatty's Cruiser Fleet shortened the range and five or six German battleships, close astern of the German battle-cruisers, were attempting to deliver a final concentrated fire on the British battle-cruisers, just before the battle squadrons of the Grand Fleet came into action. Then it was that Sir Robert Arbuthnot interposed his little weak squadron between the enemy fleet and the Battle-Cruiser Fleet and crushed the German torpedo onslaught. Admiral Arbuthnot's heroic and well-conceived movement of sacrifice was one of the finest deeds of an historic day.

Seeing that at least three German light cruisers in Admiral von Scheer's northern screen of light craft were put out of action about six o'clock by the British heavy cruisers and destroyers, and that first Sir Robert Arbuthnot and then Admiral Hood brushed the screen aside and came up with the hard-pressed Cruiser Fleet, the head of the enemy's line was in a thoroughly unfavourable position by the time Admiral Jellicoe's battle divisions came within range. The strength of Admiral Jellicoe's Fleet has properly been kept a secret, as the crumpled-up and fugitive enemy was scarcely in a position to discern, amid the drifting, smoky mist, the force that was being employed against him. All that was stated in Admiral Jellicoe's despatch was that the divisions of the Grand Fleet were led by the Commander-in-Chief, by Vice-Admiral Sir Cecil Burney, who was second in command, by Vice-Admiral Sir Martyn Jerram, by Vice-Admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee, the victor in the Battle off the Falkland Isles, by Rear-Admiral Alexander L. Duff, by Rear-Admiral Arthur C. Leveson, and by Rear-Admiral Ernest F. A. Gaunt. In addition were at first the 3rd Battle-Cruiser Squadron, under Rear-Admiral the Hon. Horace Hood, the 1st (Armoured) Cruiser Squadron, under Rear-Admiral Sir Robert K. Arbuthnot, the 2nd (Armoured) Cruiser Squadron, under Rear-Admiral Herbert L. Heath, the 4th Light Cruiser Squadron, under Commodore C. E. Le Mesurier, with the 4th, 11th, and 12th Destroyer Flotillas. Admiral Jellicoe flew his flag in the Iron Duke, forming part of the 4th Battle Squadron. Sir Cecil Burney flew his flag in the Marlborough, forming part of the 1st Battle Squadron. Among the battleships present was the Revenge, similar to the Queen Elizabeth, but slower, of the Royal Sovereign class, with 15 in. guns.

Sir Cecil Burney was closest to the enemy fleet. At six o'clock, when Sir David Beatty was steering his Cruiser Fleet across the head of the enemy's line, the 1st Battle Squadron must have been only about twelve land miles north of the leading German ships. Had the air been clear, Sir Cecil would have been able to open fire upon the enemy, over the battle-cruisers. But in the confused mêlée and the thick weather extreme care was needed to prevent British ships from being mistaken for enemy vessels. It was difficult to see what was happening.

The shroud of smoke and the tongues and islands of mist made it impossible to distinguish the exact position of the enemy's fleet. The task of effecting the junction of the Grand Fleet with the Cruiser Fleet in such circumstances was a most complex and delicate operation, calculated to tax the powers of any admiral. It is a high distinction for Sir John Jellicoe that he overcame the great difficulties that faced him. To the last moment he kept his fleet in steaming order so as to preserve the utmost flexibility of deployment. But by what precise manœuvres the deployment was carried out must, as an official commentator states, be left in a mist as deep as that which hides the vital secrets of national defence. It is sufficient to say that the junction was effected with consummate judgment and dexterity, and so nicely was it timed that the deployment was almost completed when the 1st Battle Squadron came into action about seventeen minutes past six, and began the fifth phase of the battle.

Admiral Jellicoe's intervention



GERMAN 12 IN. GUNS IN ACTION OFF JUTLAND.

Forward turret guns of a German battleship in full blast. The guns depicted are 30·5 cm., approximately 12 in. calibre, and their weight is in the neighbourhood of fifty tons. They fire an " all purposes " projectile, weighing about 1,000 lb., with a very considerable H.E. burster and a special fuse.

SKILL, DASH, AND COURAGE: CHAPTER CXLII. DESTROYERS IN ACTION.

THE GLORIOUS BATTLE OF JUTLAND BANK. PART III.

The Grand Fleet Action and Minor Cruiser Engagements.

By H. W. Wilson and Edward Wright.

Sir John Jellicoe's Deployment Disconcerts Admiral von Scheer and Defeats his Plan to Release Auxiliaries on to the Trade Routes—Vice-Admiral Sir Cecil Burney, with the 1st Battle Squadron, Engages the Enemy at 10,000 Yards—Sir John Jellicoe, with the 4th Battle Squadron, Enters the Fight—Course of the Big-Ship Battle on Parallel Curves Similar to that at the Battle of Tsushima in 1905—General Deterioration of the Enemy's Nerve—Rear-Admiral Napier's 3rd Light Cruiser Squadron Attacks Battle-Cruisers and Battleships with Impunity—Sir David Beatty Punishes Admiral Hipper's Battle-Cruiser Squadron—Fine Fight of the Colossus—Superb Fighting of the Marlborough when Torpedoed—The 5th Battle Squadron's Experiences—Sir David Beatty Furiously Attacks the Enemy with Battle-Cruisers and Light Cruiser Squadrons—The Lion, Princess Royal, New Zealand, and Indomitable Punish Three German Battleships—A Great Ship, probably the Black Prince, Blown Up—General Conditions of the Fleet Action—Determined Destroyer Attack on the Enemy by the 11th Flotilla and the 4th Light Cruiser Squadron—H.M.S. Chester Runs the Gauntlet—Conspicuous Courage of First-Class Boy John Travers Cornwell, by which he Earned the Victoria Cross—Daring Achievements of the 12th Flotilla, the Shark, Commander Loftus Jones, Acasta, and the Christopher—Subsidiary Action of the 2nd British (Armoured) Cruiser Squadron under Admiral Heath—Brilliant Fighting and Manœuvring of the Hampshire—Use of Light Cruisers for Torpedo Work—Darkness and Fog Separate the Broken and Fugitive High Sea Fleet from the Grand Fleet.

THE British Commander-in-Chief kept his battleships in single line of battle, a formation which has rarely in naval history brought decisive results. It is obvious that he did this because in the mist it was the only formation which would prevent British ships from accidentally firing into one another. The line overlapped the enemy westward, while the advanced Cruiser Fleet threatened to overlap the enemy's head eastward. Admiral von Scheer must have been hard put to it to divine at what point the blow would fall. We know from Admiral Jellicoe's despatch that the order in which he finally deployed took Admiral Evan-Thomas by surprise, and upset the arrangements being made by the 5th Battle Squadron. It may therefore be supposed, since Admiral Evan-Thomas could not anticipate Admiral Jellicoe's dispositions, that Admiral von Scheer must have been disconcerted when a part of the Grand Fleet's line came into action against him a quarter of an hour before the other main British battle squadrons struck.

Admiral Jellicoe deploys

When the 1st Battle Squadron (under Sir Cecil Burney, who flew his flag in the Marlborough) opened fire, the Marlborough was only six land miles distant from the enemy's 3rd Battle Squadron, and Sir John Jellicoe's manœuvres of deployment were nearing completion. Ahead of her to the east was a fast wing, formed of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Battle-Cruiser Squadrons, under Sir David Beatty, while the fast 5th Battle Squadron, which had constituted part of the Cruiser Fleet, was formed into a fast western wing of the armada.

The great British line of battle stretched for ten or twelve miles. The High Sea Fleet had with it armed auxiliaries and light cruisers, which, it appears, were to have escaped to the north-west during the confusion of battle, in order to swoop down on the trade-routes. The British dispositions defeated this scheme. A net was drawn round all the German naval forces present. Eastward they were cut off by Sir David Beatty from the Skager Rack, through which only a few battered German destroyers afterwards escaped in the mist. North and west the Grand Fleet was closing on them, and though nearly four hours had been spent in pursuing Admiral Hipper, and then luring Admiral von Scheer northward, at least two and a half hours more daylight remained. Only the mist frustrated the plan for the destruction of the enemy's forces which the British admirals had manœuvred to accomplish.

Mist saves the German fleet

At the opening of the fleet action (6.17 p.m.) Sir Cecil Burney caught both enemy battle-cruisers and battleships at the close range of 10,000 yards. At this short distance the British 13·5 in guns told with terrible effect. First seven salvos were fired at a battleship of the Kaiser class. Of thirty-five rounds expended, ten were thought to have hit. Bright flames and dense clouds of grey smoke rose from the enemy, but she vanished in the mist and her fate could not be ascertained. Next a large four-funnelled ship, apparently a cruiser, was engaged, and afterwards another. About this time other battle squadrons of the Grand Fleet shelled an enemy light cruiser. At 6.30 Sir John Jellicoe in person entered the fight in the Iron Duke, with the 4th Battle Squadron, at a range of about 12,000 yards.

The general course of the big-ship battle in this phase was that the two lines, British and German, steamed on two generally parallel curves, the German Fleet inside the British curve. The position was almost identical with

that at Tsushima in 1905, where the battle very quickly settled down to a fight between the big Russian and Japanese ships, the Russians steaming on the inside curve and the Japanese on the outside. There were other close resemblances. Both battles were fought in May, and both in difficult conditions of visibility, so that at times Admiral Togo altogether lost sight of his enemy in the mist and smoke. The reason why the weaker fleet moved on the inside curve was this: It was in each case the slower fleet, and by turning inside the faster fleet it could avoid having its head "crossed," and could keep its guns bearing on the faster fleet steaming on the outside curve. It is a mathematical law that the inside curve is shorter. This law accounts for the fact that the German Fleet, with its pre-Dreadnoughts, capable of only eighteen or nineteen knots, was not hopelessly outmanœuvred and crushed by the British battleships, which could certainly steam at twenty and perhaps at twenty-one and a half knots. To keep on an inside curve, however, the Germans had in the closing hour of the battle to allow themselves to be driven away from their naval bases. They were forced to obey the British initiative; in a sense their movements were controlled by Admirals Jellicoe and Beatty.

Germans surrender the initiative

The Iron Duke opened fire on a battleship of the König class, and began to hit her at the second salvo, only ceasing to hit when the target ship turned away. The other ships of the 4th Battle Squadron principally directed their fire at the series of appearing and disappearing targets formed of German battle-cruisers and cruisers which alternately started out of and vanished in the obscurity. Range-finding in these circumstances was an extremely difficult affair to accomplish accurately and quickly. Nevertheless, the British gunnery officers and gunners inflicted many hits. About the same time that the 4th Battle Squadron closed with the head of the enemy line, consisting of Dreadnoughts of the König and Kaiser classes, with one or two battle-cruisers, the 2nd Battle Squadron, under Vice-Admiral Sir Martyn Jerram, came into action with the German Dreadnoughts and with a German battle-cruiser which had dropped back in the line owing, apparently, to severe damage.

During the course of the action the leading British battleships pressed close to the enemy, bearing in a south-westerly direction and diminishing the range to five miles. This was short range for Dreadnought and super-Dreadnought engagements, and when the 15, 13·5, and 12 in. shells got home the effect must have been dreadful. In many of the German ships the secondary gun-positions were covered with 6, 7, and 8 in. armour. The large British shells that missed the vital and heavy-gun turrets in the German Dreadnoughts would rend the armour over the German secondary guns into splinters of murderous power.

In the Grand Fleet the 1st Battle Squadron, under Sir Cecil Burney, sustained the heaviest answering fire from the fugitive and scattering German ships. But only the Colossus (Captain Alfred Pound) seems to have been hit, and her damage was of the most trifling description, though the range had fallen to five miles. She fired on a German light cruiser, probably one of those which had already been shattered by Admiral Arbuthnot. The vessel was seriously damaged, but it opened on the Colossus, and was given a dose of 12 in. shells, with which it vanished in the mist. Next a three-funnelled cruiser, perhaps the Kolberg, was made out, burning heavily; but she, too, fired and received a terrible answer from the Colossus, which left her ablaze from stem to stern, enveloped in smoke. Then out of the mist shot four destroyers, one of

The scattering foe

ACTUAL PHOTOGRAPH OF ADMIRAL BEATTY'S BATTLE-CRUISER SQUADRON—
This remarkable impression was secured by an officer who actually took part in the great battle. Admiral Beatty's cruisers are racing towards

which was struck by 12 in. shells from the Colossus and vanished in clouds of dense blue smoke. All the four were put out of action. The experience of the other ships in the 1st Battle Squadron was similar — enemies suddenly appearing out of the mist and as suddenly vanishing. If the German marksmanship had fallen off, the Germans still fought bravely, and one example of their courage is noted by Sir J. Jellicoe in regard to a disabled German cruiser (one of the two mentioned above) that passed down the British line under a heavy fire, which the crippled hostile light craft gallantly returned with the only gun she had left in action. In a general way, however, the deterioration of the nerve of the German gunners, which Sir David Beatty had remarked when he pressed Admiral Hipper's squadron, was also observed in the German battle squadrons soon after the Grand Fleet closed them.

German fire deteriorates

A remarkable proof of the manner in which the enemy's nerve had been shaken was given eight minutes after Sir Cecil Burney began to hammer the enemy's battleships. About 6.25 Sir David Beatty had turned south to get nearer the enemy's line, head the Germans off, and support the two remaining ships of Admiral Hood's squadron (the Inflexible and the Indomitable), which were only 8,000 yards from the leading German ship. This ship, one of the Derfflinger class which had sunk the Invincible, was beginning to turn as a blast of fire caught her. When the Lion drew more southwards the 3rd Light Cruiser Squadron, under Rear-Admiral Napier, who was steaming on Admiral Beatty's starboard bow, well ahead of the enemy, suddenly delivered an admirably timed torpedo attack. The Falmouth (Captain John D. Edwards) and the Yarmouth (Captain Thomas Pratt) fired torpedoes at the battle-cruiser of the Derfflinger class. One torpedo appeared to hit, and a heavy underwater explosion was observed. Then all the 3rd Light Cruiser Squadron, being within the range at which their armament of eight 6 in. guns would tell, began to hammer German battle-cruisers and German battleships with gun fire.

None of the big 11, 12, and 14 in. guns of the enemy's heavy ships got home on the light cruisers, which had no armour protection. So much had the fighting efficiency of the enemy declined that the light cruisers were able to carry out their extraordinary attack with impunity to themselves. Admiral Napier deservedly won much praise for the determined assault he made upon apparently overpowering enemy forces. No doubt the high speed and manœuvring power of his comparatively small and frail craft enabled him to zigzag and thus disconcert the German fire-control officers. But the extraordinary impunity which attended the 3rd Light Cruiser Squadron immediately after the Defence blew up seems to show that Admiral Arbuthnot was within an ace of catching the Germans when they had been thoroughly shaken. The leading German ship of the Derfflinger class which fell out of line, after being attacked at short range by the Indomitable and the Inflexible and then torpedoed by the Falmouth and Yarmouth, was probably the severely damaged enemy battle-cruiser, which was again caught in the middle of the enemy's line with certain battleships of the Kaiser class by the 2nd Battle Squadron under Sir Martyn Jerram.

Light cruisers' attack

Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty continued his east-south-east course apparently until ten minutes to seven. He then saw the leading battleships three miles from the Lion in a north-north-westerly direction. He reduced his speed to eighteen knots, and began to steer westwards, once more heading off the enemy. He ordered the Indomitable and

—ENGAGING THE GERMAN HIGH SEA FLEET OFF JUTLAND, MAY 31ST, 1916.
the German ships firing all the guns that can be brought to bear on the foe. German shells are falling around the British battle-cruisers.

Inflexible, which had been ahead of him, to prolong the line astern. At seven o'clock the mist had gathered so thickly that no ship more than four miles off could be seen, and the German squadrons were for the time invisible. But it is interesting to note that for nearly an hour, between six and seven o'clock, when the British ships were steaming north of the enemy's line through the thickest part of the mist, their position was much more favoured by the thick weather than was the enemy's position. A curtain of haze veiled Admiral Beatty's three battle-cruiser squadrons, till only indistinct greyish outlines could be made out amid the grey mist, while the German ships in the clearer water southward and westward showed up against the sun at intervals, enabling Admiral Beatty to punish them very severely, and establish a definite superiority over them. The head of the enemy's line seems to have been completely broken up. Many German destroyers and German light cruisers had vanished. Nearly all the ships of Admiral Hipper's battle-cruiser squadron were on fire or temporarily crippled, and, as Sir David Beatty stated in his despatch, the majority of his battle-cruisers had as targets only German battleships. This was an amazing triumph for the British fighting seamen.

Beatty's decisive advantage

While the British battle-cruiser squadrons were pursuing the crumpled head of the enemy's line, which seems to have been reduced to two German battle-cruisers and one or two battleships of the König class, the British battle squadrons had proceeded eastward. Between the Battle-Cruiser Fleet and the Battle Fleet was the 2nd Cruiser Squadron, under Admiral Heath, to which the Duke of Edinburgh had been attached, though she belonged to Sir Robert Arbuthnot's squadron. This force had no opportunity of attacking the enemy's armoured ships.

The engagement between the 1st Battle Squadron, now preparing to turn south, and what remained of the enemy, was at its height. The Colossus, after all her adventures had a fresh encounter about this time. Suddenly a huge German ship came out of a patch of dense mist at no great distance and fired a salvo at the British ship. The salvo was ill-directed ; perhaps the German gunners were flurried, as every projectile passed wide. Not such was the case with the Colossus' fire. She discharged two broadsides, hitting with every one of the twenty 850 lb. shells which they comprised. This was enough for the enemy. He turned and disappeared in the mist, with huge tongues of flame shooting high up from the neighbourhood of his conning-tower.

It was about this time that the Marlborough, leading the British van, was torpedoed. Probably the enemy mistook her for the Iron Duke ; in any case, his light craft made desperate efforts to put her out of action. At 6.50 a light cruiser shot out of the mist, steaming at high speed towards her. The Marlborough's guns opened a terrific fire ; the enemy was seen to have discharged six torpedoes, all of which ran, leaving white wakes, towards the flagship. Before they drew near her, her guns had ended the career of her assailant. At 4,000 yards the light cruiser was literally blown out of the water, a tangled mass of flame, steam, and smoke. A torpedo caught the Marlborough's starboard side.

Blown out of the water

A terrible column of water and smoke rose at 6.54 abaft her forward turrets. The great ship heeled over slowly to starboard, as the sea rushed into her torn side ; then she slowly righted herself. A British light cruiser drew near to her, to be of use in case she went down ; but the water-tight compartment system used in constructing modern battleships proved admirably efficient. The Marlborough, though listing to starboard, maintained a remarkable speed in the circumstances. The steadiness and discipline of her crew were superb. At 7.3, nine minutes after the mishap, she fired four salvos at a four-funnelled German cruiser, and at 7.13, immediately afterwards, caught an enemy Dreadnought of the König class with fourteen rapid salvos, hitting the German frequently until the latter turned out of the line. Seeing that all the guns and gun-positions were no longer level, but slanting to starboard with the list of the ship, the manner in which the gunnery officers and gunlayers, under Captain John P. Ross, knocked out of the line this German Dreadnought, which carried 14 in. of armour on her belt and her turrets, was quite extraordinary. All the ship's company, and particularly the carpenters, engineers, and stokers, must have worked with steady, energetic skill in order to keep their torn, listing ship steaming at a good speed.

At half-past seven five German destroyers swung out between the lines, with the clear intention of finishing off the Marlborough. Seven of the British light craft intercepted the flotilla, and the Marlborough herself joined in the destroyer mêlée with her secondary armament of twelve 6 in. guns. Their fire was extremely effective at long range. The water around the five German destroyers was lashed with bursting projectiles, their attack was completely repulsed, and the destroyers were swallowed up by the mist or the sea. It is doubtful whether any of them returned. About ten minutes to eight the Marlborough was again attacked by two German Dreadnoughts, which opened fire at a range of about 12,000 yards. Their shooting, however, was not good. All the shells of their first five salvos fell short. The sixth and seventh salvo also missed. It was only at the eighth salvo that they hit one of the Marlborough's funnels. The Marlborough, on the other hand, is reported to have put her first salvo on the target as she opened fire on the leading German vessel. Soon the whole of the enemy's ship was enveloped in smoke and flame, as the Marlborough got shells home with every salvo. The crews of the British light cruisers and destroyers near at hand, watching the action, cheered their injured but grandly fighting big sister until the enemy vanished in an apparently hopeless condition. In one of the stokeholds of the Marlborough the men were working up to their middle in water. Many of the gunners were stripped to the waist in the fine old Trafalgar style.

Marlborough's great fight

The 4th Battle Squadron, in which Admiral Jellicoe's flagship the Iron Duke was placed, principally fought German battle-cruisers and cruisers as they appeared out of the mist, getting home effectively on several enemy ships. The 5th Squadron of fast battleships, under Admiral Evan-Thomas, which had taken station astern, seems to have been lucky in keeping the enemy almost continuously in sight, for the Barham is said to have been firing lyddite shells without intermission from 6.5 p.m. until a quarter to eight. The men then cooled their guns for twenty-six minutes, while the Grand Fleet took up the firing. At eleven minutes past eight the Barham reopened fire and continued for a few minutes, after which fire was ceased for the night.

In the long engagement of the 5th Battle Squadron, which had been Admiral Beatty's mainstay during all the critical period of the battle, several fires broke out in the Barham and her sisters, but all were quickly extinguished. The Barham had some officers and twenty-four men killed, the most touching death being that of the chaplain. He was struck by a splinter in the spine, and as he lay dying he prayed for victory for our Fleet, living just long enough to learn that the day was won.

Meanwhile, at six minutes past seven, Sir David Beatty, who was then steaming south-west, received a wireless signal from his Commander-in-Chief that the course of the Fleet was south. The Germans had completed a gradual turning movement near the Little Fisher Bank, and were being driven on a south-westerly course out to sea and away from their main naval base, which lay to the south-east. If Admiral von Scheer had been able to exercise any choice in the matter he would certainly have turned in a general southerly direction, in order to escape

further punishment and get back to his mine-fields around Heligoland. But he had first been driven eastward by the manœuvre of the British Cruiser Fleet that threatened to cross the "T" of his line, and then he had been cut off from the Danish coast by the combined operations of Admiral Jellicoe and Admiral Beatty. And at last, when he tried to turn south, both the British Battle-Cruiser Squadrons and Battle Squadrons closed upon him in a southerly course, and in a race towards Heligoland pressed upon him sideways and forced him out to sea. The tactical reason for Admiral von Scheer's final turn westward was that he wished to escape from a position of disadvantage. British squadrons were firing on the bow of the enemy and endeavouring all the time to close, and the German commander headed westward in order to escape. He allowed the British Fleet to interpose between him and his bases rather than prolong the risks of a running fight at close range on a parallel course.

Forming the fast advanced force in front of the Battle Fleet, Sir David Beatty's six battle-cruisers constantly groped for the enemy as they hauled south-west by south. At fourteen minutes past seven two battle-cruisers and two battleships of the König class were again sighted at a range of 15,000 yards. The sun had now descended below the clouds, and for a very brief period the visibility greatly improved so far as the British were concerned. Their ships were on the misty eastern sky-line, and were hard to hit, while the four enemy targets were black against the lowering sun. Sir David Beatty increased his speed to twenty-two knots, opening fire at 7.17, and furiously engaged the enemy until 7.45. One German ship was set on fire and another dropped out of line right astern. The leading enemy ship, while keeping in a general westward direction, bore away rather to the north to escape, and avoid the unfavourable conditions in which it was shown up against the eastern horizon. The German destroyers at the head of the line covered the retreat of their Dreadnoughts with a great cloud of grey smoke, and, veiled by this, they turned away and became invisible at a quarter to eight.

Enemy battleships sighted

Thereupon Sir David Beatty ordered his 1st and 3rd Light Cruiser Squadrons to sweep to the westward and discover the head of the enemy's line, following himself in the same direction at 8.20 p.m., when the two German battle-cruisers and the battleships were again discovered, this time well to the north. In a terrific onslaught the Lion engaged the leading German ship at a range of less than six miles, set her on fire, the flames reaching up to the tops, and then tore open her port side, giving her a heavy list. The Princess Royal, with her 13·5 in. guns, set fire to a three-funnelled battleship (probably of the Helgoland class), while the New Zealand (Captain John F. E. Green) and Indomitable (Captain Francis W. Kennedy) made a combined attack with their sixteen 12 in. guns on the third German ship. They set her on fire and hit her so badly that she heeled over and hauled out of the line. If only the weather had continued clear, the British battle-cruisers should have sunk these three ships, which they had severely damaged in a contest lasting barely a quarter of an hour. A heavy mist came down once more from the sinking clouds and enveloped the broken head of Admiral von Scheer's fugitive fleet. The German ships were last seen by the Falmouth at thirty-eight minutes past eight, when they were steaming westward.

The Lion roars

This was the close of the battle between the big armoured ships, and they were not again to come into contact. The British Fleet now lay to the south and east of the enemy's forces. At 8.40 Admiral Beatty's six battle-cruisers felt "a heavy shock as if struck by a mine or torpedo, or possibly by heavy wreckage." As, however, subsequent

TWILIGHT IN THE NORTH SEA: GERMAN BATTLESHIPS ON A RECONNOITRING TRIP.
Impression by a German marine painter, R. Schmidt-Hamburg, of the 2nd Squadron of the German High Sea Fleet going out into the North Sea in the twilight. In front is a patrol boat, lighting the way and assisting to disclose the general situation.

examination of the bottoms revealed no sign of such injury, he concluded that "it indicated the blowing up of a great ship." From German evidence the concussion was probably caused by the destruction of the hapless Black Prince. It has been stated that she was last seen from the British ships soon after 6 p.m., probably losing touch of the British Fleet through injury to her masts and wireless. A wireless signal was received from her after 8 p.m., but about the same time that the "heavy shock" took place the Germans state that an armoured cruiser of the Cressy class attacked them and was sunk in four minutes. The Black Prince resembled the Cressy with her four funnels, and in the mist may have accidentally steered into the midst of the enemy's fleet. The speed with which it destroyed her—if the German report is true—suggests that the German Dreadnoughts were not completely demoralised. A second survivor of Admiral Arbuthnot's luckless squadron, the Warrior, was at 8.40 p.m. taken in tow by the seaplane-carrier Engadine and despatched forthwith to a British naval base.

Mystery of the Black Prince

In regard to the general conditions of the fleet action, the British Navy does not seem to have got more battleships into battle than the enemy had in line; indeed, according to Lord Sydenham, only eleven of Sir John Jellicoe's battleships were engaged. The enemy's tail-end of Dreadnoughts, doing 20 and 20·5 knots, were unable to keep up with the speedier ships of the Kaiser and König class during the preliminary race northward against the British Cruiser Fleet. The enemy had four of these rather slow Dreadnoughts, and, like the German pre-Dreadnoughts, they appear to have escaped severe gun fire, as by reason of their slowness they were at the rear of the German line. It was mainly between 6.17 p.m. and 7 p.m., when the mist was often light, and many enemy vessels showed up against the sun, that the leading British battle squadron struck its heaviest blows. These blows fell upon some three German battle-cruisers, three or four ships of the König class, and four or five ships of the Kaiser class. There is no mention in despatches of any of the enemy Dreadnoughts of the two earlier classes (Helgoland and Nassau types) being severely engaged during the first and deadlier phase of the general fleet action; but as the newer German ships were damaged and driven out of the line, the older German Dreadnoughts would be left, and might even have constituted the van of the High Sea Fleet when it began to steam westward in the evening. A three-funnelled German battleship, which is the Helgoland type, was certainly steaming at the head of the line with two German battle-cruisers at half-past eight, and was set on fire by the British Cruiser Fleet. When the German ships afterwards reassembled in some sort of formation under cover of darkness as the result of wireless instruction, the units must have needed a considerable amount of sorting out.

Roll-call by wireless

Shortly before the close of the battle between the big ships, a determined destroyer attack was delivered on the German Fleet. At 8.18 the 11th British Destroyer Flotilla (Commodore J. R. P. Hawksley) received orders to attack. It formed the van of the Grand Fleet, and it was gallantly led into close action by Commodore Hawksley in the Castor. The 4th Light Cruiser Squadron, under Commodore Le Mesurier, was directed to support him. It had already brilliantly engaged and driven off a number of German destroyers which attempted to attack the British Fleet at 7.20 p.m. It now closed with the enemy's main fleet in the most dashing style, coming under a heavy fire from the German Dreadnoughts. The flagship Calliope was hit several times, but without sustaining serious damage, though she had several casualties. One German vessel was seemingly struck by a British torpedo, as an explosion in a ship of the Kaiser class was seen at 8.40, though this may have been caused by the gun fire of the Lion, which had, as we have seen, very severely injured a German Dreadnought about 8.35. The 11th Flotilla seemingly could not find the enemy's heavy ships, but encountered and attacked a German destroyer flotilla, sinking one German destroyer at point-blank range.

Gun fire ruled the battle as the British school of naval tactics had foreseen. Even in misty daylight, with the scene of action clouded in smoke and evening coming on, the torpedo, on which the Germans largely relied, was seldom or never deadly in itself. Generally speaking, it was only when a ship was very severely damaged by heavy shell that the torpedo came decisively into play to deal the final blow. The British light craft did a considerable amount of daylight torpedoing—far more than the Germans accomplished by their combined submarine ambushes and light-cruiser and destroyer charges. This gave rise to a common idea in the British Fleet that a large number of enemy capital ships had been sunk. But, as was proved at the time in the Marlborough, and as the Germans had proved in the Moltke in the action of the Gulf of Riga, a modern ship of the Dreadnought type usually survived a torpedo explosion. Annihilation was mainly a matter of heavy gun fire, and clear weather was needed to enable the British 15 in., 13·5 in., and 12 in. guns to fire continuously from a quarter-past six to half-past eight. In itself this time was possibly sufficient to enable the Grand Fleet, which had deployed in a very favourable position, to accomplish the destruction of almost all of the High Sea Fleet. For the hitting power of the British Dreadnoughts was tremendous. For instance, one of the older British ships—said to be the Hercules—armed only with 12 in. guns, put her salvos in German battleship so accurately that the enemy vessel heeled right over under the blows and was put out of action. If ten 12 in. guns could produce this effect, the well-directed salvos of 15 in. and 13·5 in. guns should have been overpowering when maintained for two hours and more.

Power of 12 in. guns

That two large fleets should fire at one another with guns of the heaviest pattern—though the heavier weapons were almost uniformly in the British Fleet—and at ranges which were comparatively short, was certainly surprising to those who know what modern gunnery can do. The explanation is that men do not shoot quite so steadily in battle when there are guns shooting back; and that the art of directing guns so as to be sure of hitting moving targets has not yet been perfected. In the time which a shell takes to travel 10,000 yards a quarter of a minute will elapse, and the gunner, when he fires, has really to lay his gun on the point where the enemy will be fifteen seconds later. In that time the target may change its position sufficiently—should the enemy's course be altered — to escape a hit. Again, range-finding is a comparatively slow process in bad weather. In the case of the Iron Duke it is noted as a great feat that she put some of her shells at her second salvo on the target. Three or even four salvos may often be required before the range is found, and each salvo will occupy at least a minute if the fall of the projectiles has to be watched and the necessary corrections and adjustments made. A ship may then require anything from two to three or more minutes to find the range under favourable conditions; in bad weather the difficulties are greatly increased, as it may be hard to see the splash of projectiles at all. In the case of the British battle-cruisers after 7 p.m. on the 31st, the enemy was only visible from 7.14 to 7.45, and from 8.20 to 8.38. At 7.17 Sir David Beatty opened fire, and his ships may be supposed to have got the range about 7.20, after which they would have in most cases twenty-five minutes of uninterrupted firing. At 8.30 all the work of range-finding would have to be done over again.

Throughout the engagement between the heavy ships encounters between light craft were proceeding almost continuously, and the story of these forms an epic in itself. Certain of these encounters almost attained

the dimensions of a great battle, as the destroyers fought to gain favourable vantage points for the attack on the large ships, and the light cruisers of either side strove to cover them, and the victors drove in on the opposing line of battle. It is a remarkable fact that the British almost uniformly gained the upper hand in these brief, fierce struggles, though from their proximity to their bases the Germans should have had a far larger force of destroyers on the scene.

British gains with light craft

One of the sharpest of these minor battles took place about 5.30. p.m. on May 31st, when, as we have seen, Admiral Hood, with his 3rd Battle-Cruiser Squadron, was approaching the main engagement, and sent the light cruiser Chester (Captain Lawson) in to reconnoitre. In a quarter of an hour the Chester met four enemy light cruisers and engaged against these heavy odds for twenty minutes. By fine tactics and skilful handling, Captain Lawson kept the fighting and steaming qualities of his ship unimpaired, in spite of the fact that the overwhelming gun fire of his four antagonists killed or injured many of his men. At 6.5 p.m. the Chester rejoined the 3rd Battle-Cruiser Squadron, and after the Invincible sank took station ahead of Admiral Beatty's squadrons.

They were the Shark (Commander Loftus W. Jones), the leading ship of the 12th Flotilla, the Acasta (Lieutenant-Commander John O. Barron), and Christopher (Lieutenant-Commander F. M. Kerr). They were steaming in front of the Grand Fleet, engaged, like the Chester, in seeing if the course was clear for Admiral Hood to swing his squadron down into Admiral Beatty's line. But the Germans had an exceedingly strong force of light craft acting northward as a screen and searching for the Grand Fleet. The result was that the Shark ran into a flotilla of enemy destroyers and light cruisers, and after firing a torpedo at the leading German ship, she was battered to pieces in less than ten minutes. One shell struck a propeller; another penetrated an oil-tank. Being out of control and in the centre of a very heavy fire, the maimed destroyer was reduced to a wreck, with dead and wounded strewn about the deck and most of her guns put out of action; but when the smoke cleared away, Commander Jones and two of his men could still be seen fighting with the only remaining gun. Then another German shell struck home, and a fragment of it hit Commander Jones on the leg and severed his limb. He remained at the gun until a torpedo struck the Shark, and then, swamped in her own oil, she went down by the stern, and all who

BRAVE MEN AT DIVINE SERVICE: MORNING PRAYERS ON BOARD H.M.S. SHARK.
The Shark, leading the destroyer flotilla, drew first blood in the Battle of Jutland, sinking two enemy destroyers before being torpedoed herself.

The Chester appears to have found the four German light cruisers between her and Admiral Beatty's ships. First she tried to get round the enemy's screen, but the Germans opened out, and forced her to run the gauntlet. Festoons of shrapnel, which the Germans in this battle seem to have employed against the smaller ships, burst about her, turning her funnels and bridge into the semblance of gigantic sugar-dredgers. But none of the German projectiles struck a vital spot. Early in the action John Travers Cornwell, a first-class boy working with a gun's crew at an exposed spot, was mortally wounded. Around him all the gun's crew were killed or injured; but the boy stood at his post, which was one of importance, until the end of the fight. Nothing then could save him. A little over sixteen years of age, John Travers Cornwell was a very young recruit to a Navy with ancient traditions of heroism. But his deed of splendour and self-sacrifice has become one of the great glories in our naval history, and has given him immortality here on earth. The Victoria Cross was awarded to him after death for his conduct in the hour of danger. Another boy of the Chester, E. T. Pearce, was serving at a dangerous post at one of the guns and was wounded very badly, but bore his agony in heroic cheerfulness, dying afterwards in hospital.

While the Chester was fighting her way through the gauntlet three British destroyers were surrounded by the advanced light craft of the German High Sea Fleet. were left of the crew found themselves in the water. Sub-Lieutenant Vance, who had been working the gun on the forecastle with courageous skill, was killed with all his men early in the fight by a high-explosive shell. Only a handful of men were rescued by a Danish steamer after being five hours in the water. Some of those who had clung to a raft dropped off exhausted.

The Acasta's bull's-eye

Behind the Shark was the Acasta, one of whose petty-officers reports that his company saw their leading destroyer fight her last gun and sink, and then took her place in the battle-line. The action between the British and German destroyers narrowed to a few hundred yards, both sides using all guns as fast as they could be loaded. The Acasta put on the utmost possible speed, and apparently drove through the enemy's screen and reached a point within easy torpedo range of the German battle-cruisers and battleships. At one of these a torpedo was discharged. According to Chief Petty-Officer A. D. Reid, the torpedo got home on a heavy German ship, and, as the Germans were then steaming southward, the victorious crew attended to their heavy casualties and set to work to save their boat. She was terribly battered, but they kept her afloat through the rough night, and on Thursday morning she was taken in tow and safely reached port. The Acasta and the Christopher would have suffered the same fate as the Shark had not one of the light cruisers

of the 3rd Battle-Cruiser Squadron come to their help. The Germans had a powerful squadron of new light cruisers, acting northward with their destroyer flotilla, and it was the big shells from one of them that overwhelmed the British destroyers. But at six o'clock the Canterbury (Captain Percy Royds) steamed up to help the hard-pressed destroyer force. The Tipperary, with the smaller destroyers of her flotilla, including the Fortune, Sparrowhawk, and Spitfire, were in action near the Acasta, between the British battle squadron and the High Sea Fleet, but though the water around these light craft danced in geysers or swirled in whirlpools under the gigantic hail of heavy shells, no more British boats were sunk.

The Hampshire's part

The 2nd British (Armoured) Cruiser Squadron (Rear-Admiral H. L. Heath) fought another of these subsidiary actions. Among its units was the Hampshire, in which Lord Kitchener afterwards went down. Letters from officers and men in the Hampshire relate that the 2nd Cruiser Squadron arrived at the scene of battle between the battle-cruisers and battleships towards 6 p.m. A three-funnelled German cruiser steamed straight towards the Hampshire, apparently intending to make a torpedo attack. The Hampshire's first salvo missed, but the second caught the German and caused a great explosion. When the enemy ship drew off several more rounds were put into her, and she was so badly damaged when she faded into the mist that it did not look as though she could keep afloat. Afterwards the Hampshire ran into a nest of German submarines. Five were spotted. One of them disappeared after being fired on at very close range, and all the Hampshire officers and men in a position to see the affair felt sure that the U boat was sunk. A minute or two later the Hampshire, by brilliant manœuvring, sent her bows over another U boat. But neither the rammed submarine nor the shelled submarine was included by Admiral Jellicoe in the list of verified enemy losses, as there was no means of making sure that the two enemy vessels had been destroyed. According to Engineer-Commander E. Cossey, of the Hampshire, another British ship managed to sink a German submarine by gun fire on Friday morning; but this enemy loss was also omitted as unverifiable by Admiral Jellicoe.

It will be observed that both Admiral Jellicoe and Admiral Beatty at times employed their light cruisers for torpedo work. The reason seems to have been that these very fast vessels, originally designed for reconnaissance work and the support of destroyers, were magnificent though rather costly instruments for torpedo warfare by a chasing fleet against a retiring fleet. The speed of certain of the British light cruisers is said to have exceeded thirty knots. At this extraordinary pace they could often overtake the German battle squadrons, as the Falmouth and Yarmouth had done soon after the Invincible went down. When they got ahead of the German capital ships and were able to approach under cover of mist they enjoyed the same advantages as the flotillas guarding the rear of the German Fleet. That is to say, their torpedoes travelled towards the enemy battle squadrons, instead of travelling behind them and having to overtake them. It was new and exceedingly daring tactics to use a light-cruiser squadron to make daylight torpedo attacks. The Germans do not seem to have attempted anything of the kind, but they employed isolated light cruisers to support their destroyer flotillas, and they also used any single light cruiser that chanced to be near the huge British ships, in desperate attempts to relieve the pressure upon the head of their line when it became perilous. It is wonderful that the 4th Light Cruiser Squadron should have been able to operate under the enemy's guns in daylight at a range of 6,500 yards, and should have succeeded in crippling a modern German battleship supported by the fire of a heavy squadron.

New and daring tactics

The British light cruisers in the battle were vessels of considerable size and represented the highest pitch of light-cruiser construction. Each carried a complement of several hundred officers and men. The Calliope class was thus a most valuable force, and it was probably owing to the very favourable cover afforded by the mist that the audacious and successful course was taken of launching the squadron in a daylight torpedo attack. It was one thing to talk of "hussar strokes," as German torpedo officers had done; it was another thing to discern, in the smoke, mist, and tension of battle, opportunities for delivering these "hussar strokes" with complete success. The British torpedo attacks were entirely magnificent. Had the Admiralty but built in the days of peace more ocean-going destroyers, Admiral Jellicoe would have been able to deal a decisive stroke towards winning peace for Christendom in the night of May 31st-June 1st, 1916.

At nine o'clock in the evening of May 31st the Grand Fleet and the Cruiser Fleet had completely driven the enemy westward and cut him off from his bases. Admiral von Scheer's battleships had been forced to execute very complicated manœuvres to escape from their pursuers. His broken van seems to have been in a latitude a little north of Dundee at 8.30 p.m. It was followed by the British Cruiser Fleet and 1st and 3rd Light Cruiser Squadrons, on a south-westerly course, until twenty-four minutes past nine. No enemy ships were then found to the south-west, and Admiral Beatty assumed that the Germans were still well to the north-west of him, so that the main British forces were established between Von Scheer and his base. The Cruiser Fleet, under Admiral Beatty, then began to move down in the darkness towards Heligoland, and on a parallel course, a little distance eastward, the battle squadrons of the Grand Fleet also moved in the night towards Heligoland and the triangular stretch of water in the Bight in which the German bases lay. When day broke on June 1st, 1916, the British fleets were only eighty-five miles from Heligoland.

Enemy driven westward

Admiral Jellicoe decided not to risk his fleet in a close night action in these misty waters. Darkness and fog offered too many opportunities for destroyer and submarine attacks by the enemy. The British ships, with the waters before them illuminated only by blurred lanes of searchlight, would have been liable to blunder into minefields hastily laid by the enemy for the express purpose of snaring the British Fleet in the darkness. The British Commander-in-Chief had to be specially cautious, as his ships were the most vital element of force in the Grand Alliance—indeed its very soul. Most of his light cruisers and destroyers were needed to screen and guard his large vessels during the night.

The 2nd Light Cruiser Squadron, commanded by Commodore Goodenough, in the Southampton, had some extraordinary adventures in the night of May 31st. The Southampton, with the Dublin (Captain Albert C. Scott), and the Birmingham (Captain Arthur A. M. Duff), formed part of the force placed for the night in the rear of the battle fleet. Just at the fall of darkness, at 9 p.m., the ships of the 2nd Light Cruiser Squadron helped to repel a torpedo attack on the 5th Battle Squadron of fast battleships. Then at 10.20 p.m. a powerful German force, consisting of five heavy and light cruisers, came exceedingly close to the rear of the British Battle Fleet, and in the mist and darkness opened fire at short range for fifteen minutes, damaging the Southampton and the Dublin, happily without impairing the fighting and steaming qualities of the two ships. Their casualties, however, were severe, as the fire of the German squadron was very effective, and the Southampton seems to have been saved by the skill and resourcefulness with which Commander E. H. Rushton effected temporary repairs. At 11.30 p.m. two more large German ships, probably battleships, were sighted by the Birmingham, steering south.

SALUTE TO THE KING

CHAPTER CXLIII.

AFTER THE VICTORY.

THE GLORIOUS BATTLE OF JUTLAND BANK. PART IV.

Night Attacks by the Destroyer Flotillas.

By H. W. Wilson and Edward Wright.

Deficiency of Fast Ocean-going Destroyers Robs Sir John Jellicoe of a Decisive Victory—Disposition of the British Flotillas to Protect the Grand Fleet and Provide for a Renewal of the Action at Daybreak—Captain Wintour, in the Tipperary, Leads the 4th Flotilla Into the Midst of the German Fleet—The Ardent, Garland, and Ambuscade Destroy a Battleship—The Spitfire Sinks a Cruiser—Glorious End of the Fortune—Captain Anselan Stirling Leads the 12th Flotilla in Another Charge Against Battleships and Light Cruisers and Blows Up the Third Ship in the German Line—The Mænad Torpedoes the Fourth Ship in the Line—Lieutenant-Commander Arthur Onslow Killed in the Onslaught after Torpedoing a Battleship of the Kaiser Class—High Sea Fleet Scatters and Makes for Wilhelmshaven—The 13th Flotilla In Action—Great Deeds of the Turbulent, Champion, Moresby, and Obdurate—Admiral von Scheer Escapes the British Encircling Movement—Vice-Admiral Sir Cecil Burney Transfers his Flag from the Marlborough to the Revenge—The Marlborough Reaches Port and Refits—Last Hours of the Warrior—Wounded and Crew Transferred to the Engadine—Flight-Lieutenant F. J. Rutland's Splendid Recovery of a Dying Man who Fell Between the Two Vessels—End of the Warrior.

THE ideal tactics were to search for the enemy with light craft and harry him continually in nocturnal torpedo attacks. Admiral Jellicoe did not possess sufficient destroyers to enable him to carry out this ordinary and even commonplace plan. The weather became rough in the night; the distance from the British bases was considerable, so that ocean-going destroyers were needed for serious work against the battered, scattered, and half-demoralised enemy forces. But it was part of the price of our pacifist ideals that on the night of the grand ordeal the weapons requisite to drive home the blow and complete the work achieved with so much agony and such sacrifice by the heroic British seamen were wanting. Some time before, Mr. Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, had declared that the days of the destroyer were numbered, and that all or most of their duties would be taken over by light cruisers and submarines. It seems very likely that his inaccurate judgment of the modern value of destroyers was a reflection of the opinion ruling at the Admiralty.

An infelicitous prophecy

The need of small craft on this great day was absorbing. Destroyer convoys were required by the Marlborough and the Warrior. The security of the Grand Fleet and Cruiser Fleet, whose safety from nocturnal torpedo attack was vital to the interests of the Allies, engaged a very large number of light cruisers and destroyers. As Admiral Beatty remarks:

> At 9 p.m. the enemy was entirely out of sight, and the threat of torpedo-boat destroyer attacks during the rapidly approaching darkness made it necessary for me to dispose of the fleet for the night with a view to its safety from such attacks, while providing for a renewal of action at daylight. I accordingly manœuvred to remain between the enemy and his bases, placing our flotillas in a position in which they could afford protection to the fleet from torpedo attack, and at the same time be favourably situated for attacking the enemy's heavy ships.

According to Sir David Beatty's despatch, his destroyers of the 13th Flotilla, under the command of Captain James U. Farie, in the light cruiser Champion, took station for the night astern of the Battle Fleet. The 2nd Light Cruiser Squadron was also placed in the rear of the battle-line during the night, having at 9 p.m. helped to repel the German destroyer assault on the 5th Battle Squadron. The general consequence was that the mightiest Fleet in the world, which was twice as strong as the Fleet ranking second in strength to it, could only spare three destroyer flotillas for nocturnal attacks against an enemy who had been badly battered by gun fire. The situation was altogether dissimilar from that which Admiral Togo developed at Tsushima, in the great battle with Admiral Rodjestvensky. In daylight the big Japanese ships sank, mainly by gun fire, four Russian battleships; but at night a host of Japanese torpedo-boats took up the work of destruction, sank four additional battleships or armoured cruisers, and drove into a hopeless trap the remnant of the Russian Fleet, which was captured or sunk next day. The Japanese gunners first wrought tremendous damage and shook the nerves of their opponents, and then the nocturnal torpedo attacks completed the destruction of Rodjestvensky's forces. The three available British destroyer flotillas were inadequate for the great and difficult task of destroying the High Sea Fleet. They consisted of the 4th Flotilla (Captain Charles J. Wintour), 11th Flotilla (Commodore James R. P. Hawksley), and 12th Flotilla (Captain Anselan J. B. Stirling). The magnificent work done by these small forces caused the enemy serious loss, but naturally failed to make the defeat a decisive one. They

Destroyer flotillas inadequate

showed, however, what might have been accomplished in the North Sea on the night of May 31st, 1916, if the Grand Fleet and Cruiser Fleet had possessed a much larger number of fast ocean-going destroyers.

The enemy had a large space of sea in which to evade attack. In particular there was a considerable breadth of water between the head of the British Fleet and the channels leading to the German bases. The British ships could not cover the southernmost line of approach to the ports behind Heligoland. German mine-fields and German submarines limited the area in which the British Fleet could wait to renew the action at daylight. Admiral Jellicoe had swept the Germans well to the west of Little Fisher Bank and far away from Wilhelmshaven. But when the enemy was lost sight of, nothing but the constant application of force could prevent him from making a wide sweep southward and then eastward, leaving the British line northward of him as he regained his harbours. He was only cut off from his bases while he remained north-west of the Grand Fleet. When he turned towards the south-east and began, in darkness, mist, and rough weather, to return to Wilhelmshaven, Admiral Jellicoe could only have held him back by a very strong force of light craft, over and above the light cruisers and destroyers required to screen his fleet. If he had had the additional light craft he would, no doubt, have kept in touch with the Germans all night, and harried them continually with torpedo attacks. As it was, there seems only to have been sufficient matériel to make one nocturnal attack of importance.

Enemy's advantage of sea area

The 4th and 12th Flotillas luckily found and attacked the enemy battle squadrons. Just at midnight Captain Wintour, leading in the Tipperary, with the Ardent, Fortune, Sparrowhawk, Spitfire, Garland, Ambuscade, and Contest behind him, shot into the midst of the German Fleet. All the boats of the 4th Flotilla were oil-fired, emitting neither smoke nor flame, and the Tipperary, the destroyer leader, was of 1,850 tons, twice the tonnage of an ordinary destroyer, 320 feet long, with a beam of 32½ feet, about one hundred and sixty officers and men, six 4 in. guns, and six torpedo-tubes. Built in 1914, she had a reputed speed of thirty-one knots. The boats she led were mainly of the 1913 class, of about 935 tons, 260 feet long, with a 28 feet beam, a reputed speed of about thirty knots, three 4 in. guns, four torpedo-tubes, and a complement of one hundred officers and men.

The 4th Flotilla had taken part in the opening of the fleet action, when two of its boats, the Shark and Acasta, had fought against great odds. But the odds were immeasurably greater in the final action which it fought so gloriously. Captain Wintour had brought his boats to a high pitch of perfection, and his great charge to the death was as noble as anything that can be found in British history. The enemy was severely shaken by the abruptness of the attack, and some of his ships seem to have been thrown at once into disorder. The British destroyers found the position of the German ships by the flash of their guns or the loom of their shapes in the great lanes of light which the searchlights opened up in the darkness. The searchlights were switched on and off in all directions, their beams springing up and disappearing in a most confusing manner, while the British gunners aimed their 4 in. shells at the great reflectors. So the pitch-black night twinkled with flashes of intense radiance, calculated to dazzle the British crews, as the enemy searched for the attacking craft. The Tipperary seems to have been one of the first destroyers to be caught by the storm of bursting shells. She was hit by a heavy projectile, turned into a mass of raging flame, and quickly sunk. From German sources it seems to have been the Dreadnought Westfalen that hit the Tipperary with two salvos at a range of less than a mile. The smaller British destroyers, however, darting about the black sea like deadly dragon-flies in zigzag movements, designed to put the German gunners off their aim, broke right through the German screen of light craft, and found themselves between two lines of German battleships. They turned to steam up between these two lines in the very centre of the enemy's main forces. The position was absolutely extraordinary, such as young destroyer lieutenants imagined in their wildest dreams, but never soberly hoped to achieve against so cautious an enemy as the Teuton.

CR. C. W. E. TRELAWNY, H.M.S. Spitfire. Promoted.

MIDSHIPMAN M. W. B. HERVEY, H.M.S. Colossus.

ACTING-LT. H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT, R.N. Commended.

CAPT. WILDE, R.M.A., H.M.S. Indefatigable. Killed in action.

LT. F. J. RUTLAND, R.N., Flight-Lieut. R.N.A.S. Awarded the D.S.C.

The weight of metal and high-explosive brought against the mosquito craft was enormous. The range at times was almost point-blank, and the Germans occasionally tried to ram as well as shoot. On the other hand, from the German point of view, the situation was unnerving. The swift turns and dashes of the destroyers made them most difficult objects to hit between the switching off and on of the searchlights, and every flash of German gun fire indicated a target to the British torpedo men. It was a nightmare for the German battleships, and, according to their reports, there was at least one collision in which a German light cruiser was rammed by a German battleship.

The Ardent, commanded by Lieutenant-Commander Arthur Marsden, raced up to a German battleship that was going at a tremendous speed, and, steering into position, fired a torpedo that seemed to strike about amidships. The German leviathan lurched and heeled, and her crew could be seen rushing about the decks. Spinning round, the British destroyer marked another great enemy ship and dashed towards it, but was struck by a heavy shell, set on fire, and sunk. The Garland (Lieutenant-Commander Reginald S. Goff) and the Ambuscade (Lieutenant-Commander Gordon A. Coles) also released torpedoes against the battleship first attacked by the Ardent, and Admiral Jellicoe gave all three vessels credit for helping to destroy the enemy. The Spitfire (Lieutenant-Commander Clarence W. E. Trelawny) got home a torpedo in a very

A nightmare for the foe

CAPT. C. J. WINTOUR, H.M.S. Tipperary. Killed in action.

CAPT. E. M. PHILLPOTTS, C.B., H.M.S. Warspite.

CAPT. V. B. MOLTENO, H.M.S. Warrior. Commended.

CAPT. C. E. LE MESURIER, C.B., H.M.S. Cornwallis.

CAPT. R. N. LAWSON, H.M.S. Chester. Commended.

(Photographs by Russell and Heath.)

remarkable manner. A German cruiser tried to ram her, but the agile little craft turned and received only a glancing blow, and then at close quarters fired a torpedo at the enemy ship, which the British crew saw go down as they raced away. Lieutenant-Commander Trelawny was wounded and had a marvellous escape from death. As he stood on the bridge a shell passed across his chest, striking the buttons on his uniform, and carrying away the signalling gear and two of the men.

Fortune's splendid story

The Fortune (Lieutenant-Commander Terry) sighted a big German ship as the British flotilla turned up the lane between the two lines of enemy vessels. She rushed at her big foe and launched two torpedoes, one of which was followed by the roar of an explosion. But dozens of guns were turned upon the Fortune, and she was blown to pieces. The first salvo smashed the forebridge, killing the commander and Sub-Lieutenant Paul and all other persons upon it. Then the foremost gun was knocked overboard with its crew; the gunlayer, who was aiming the gun at the moment it was struck, had the gunsight driven against his face, but went overboard with no injury except a black eye. The foremost boiler was smashed; the after-stokehold and engine-room were caught by a shell, and the amidship's gun was blown into the sea with its crew.

With both her engines torn out, the Fortune stopped dead and began to go down. The survivors of her hundred officers and men, as one of them, Chief Petty-Officer H. Hamnant—who tells the splendid story—relates, slammed away with their after-gun. When this was knocked out, they trained a torpedo-tube upon their nearest enemy. Just as the torpedo was fired the tube was struck by a shell, which lifted it in the air as the torpedo was leaving it, and completely finished the Fortune, setting her badly on fire forward; but as the survivors took to their two rafts they had the satisfaction of seeing their last torpedo running towards its mark. There were then thirty-five men alive of the Fortune's complement of a hundred. They watched the battle flash around them, saw the fires die down in the Ardent and Tipperary, and observed, as they thought, a Dreadnought blaze up and glow like a gigantic cinder, and then go hissing to the bottom with one gun banging away at the British destroyers. As that terrible night wore on many of the men on the rafts began to die from exhaustion. It was a veritable sea of hell in which they floated—lighted with the sinister glare of the searchlights and the flashes of the guns, and incessantly lashed to spouts of foam with giant projectiles. One of the men went mad under the stress, and leaped into the sea. When daylight broke, no rescue could be attempted for some time, as enemy submarines were watching stealthily from their ambush, and tried to torpedo the first British destroyer that approached. When at last the destroyer Moresby arrived with a number of light cruisers and chased off the submarines, only seventeen men remained alive out of the thirty-five who had taken to the rafts when the Fortune sank. Only one of the British attacking boats seems to have come through unhurt, but the total loss of the Tipperary, Ardent, and Fortune must be regarded as very small in view of the extreme risks run and the terrible havoc reported to have been inflicted on the enemy. No charge of the Light Brigade or the Heavy Brigade in the Crimean War can compare with the attack of the 4th Flotilla for skilled heroism and inspired devotion.

Charge of 12th Flotilla

The only achievement which challenges comparison with it was a similar charge made by the 12th Flotilla, under Captain Anselan J. B. Stirling. Six large enemy ships, some of them Dreadnoughts of the Kaiser class, with a number of light cruisers in addition, were taken even more completely by surprise by Captain Stirling than had been the division attacked by Captain Wintour. The gunners and searchlight men in the German ships were so unnerved by Captain Anselan Stirling's assault that they could not get a hit upon several of the mosquito craft. Many torpedoes were fired, especially at the second and third ships in the German line. The third ship was "observed to blow up"

CAPT. C. B. MILLER, C.B., H.M.S. Nottingham.

CAPT. T. D. PRATT, H.M.S. Yarmouth. Commended.

CR. J. P. CHAMPION, D.S.O., H.M.S. Mænad.

LT. JACK E. A. MOCATTA, D.S.O., H.M.S. Nicator.

CR. PAUL WHITFIELD, H.M.S. Nomad.

(Photographs by Russell, Heath, and Swaine.)

HONOURED FOR CONSPICUOUS GALLANTRY AND DISTINGUISHED SERVICE.
These four gallant recipients of Jutland Battle honours were shipmates. Left to right: Chief Sick-berth Steward A. E. Jones, C.G.M.; Officers' Cook (first class) H. F. Carter, D.S.M.; Chief Petty-Officer C. Hucklesby, Médaille Militaire; Leading Signalman W. J. Barrow, D.S.M.

in a roar of thunder, smoke, and flame, suggesting that the explosion of the torpedo had fired her magazine. Twenty minutes after this great feat one of the British destroyers of the "M" class, the Mænad (Commander John P. Champion), daringly returned to the attack, and though the enemy battleships were now perfectly on their guard, Commander Champion brought his swift new boat to a close range and put a torpedo into the fourth ship in the German line.

Lieutenant-Commander Arthur G. Onslow, in the Onslaught, another new destroyer, perished gloriously in his hour of victory. At a range of 1,000 yards he torpedoed a ship of the Kaiser class, and then moved swiftly off towards the rear of the enemy's line. The officers went on the bridge to congratulate him on his success; but in the rear of the German Fleet were the light cruisers that had failed to protect it from the 12th Flotilla. They swept the Onslaught with their salvos, and one shell struck the bridge, killing or disabling all the officers except Sub-Lieutenant Harry W. A. Kemmis and Midshipman Reginald G. Arnot, of the Royal Naval Reserve. Sub-Lieutenant Kemmis had only been promoted to acting sub-lieutenant since the outbreak of the war, and Midshipman Arnot was a still more recent recruit, but they manœuvred their battered boat successfully out of action and brought her safely to her home port.

The extraordinary feature of this glorious destroyer charge was that the Onslaught was the only vessel that received any material injuries. Save for the fact that the 12th Flotilla had used nearly all its torpedoes, it was in a position to make a fresh attack. After having probably sunk one German battleship, holed another, and perhaps damaged a third, it was fit for action if it had had a reserve of torpedoes available. The superb successes achieved by the 4th and 12th Flotillas against the enemy's principal battle squadrons were not crushing because of the lack of yet more destroyers to follow and incessantly harry and annihilate the enemy. Demoralised he was in the fullest sense of the word, since he proved his inability to sink a single vessel of the 12th Flotilla which engaged him, sometimes at a range of a thousand yards. Admiral Jellicoe needed, in this critical phase of his operations, which should have gathered in the harvest of his victory, not forty but a hundred or a hundred and fifty destroyers. The result was that no more direct torpedo attacks could be made. The British Command failed, from lack of vessels, to achieve its full purpose and cut Admiral von Scheer off from his base.

Onslaught brought to port

After the midnight attack the High Sea Fleet seems to have scattered and made for Wilhelmshaven in isolated units or in separate divisions, proceeding at the utmost speed. The British 13th Flotilla, stationed astern of the Battle Fleet, saw a German battleship steaming past with flaming funnels at half-past twelve. The nearest destroyers, the Petard and Turbulent, closed for an attack, but the German ship switched on her searchlights and, opening heavy fire, disabled the Turbulent and escaped. There must have been German small craft with her, and these must have escaped the notice of the British, for a number of survivors from the Turbulent were rescued by the enemy and taken prisoners.

At half-past three in the morning of June 1st the commander of the 13th Flotilla, Captain James U. Farie, in the new light cruiser Champion (armed with two 6 in. and eight 4 in. guns), sighted four German destroyers working round towards Heligoland, and engaged them for a few minutes. Another light cruiser in the rear of the British line, the Fearless, sighted a battleship of the Kaiser class steaming fast and entirely alone. The Fearless was not able to engage her, but believed she was attacked by the British destroyers and damaged in a short action that ended with a heavy explosion. This may have been the vessel which put the Turbulent out of action. At 2.30 a.m. on June 1st Lieutenant-Commander Roger V. Alison, in the Moresby, and Lieutenant-Commander H. H. Sams, in the Obdurate, forming part of the 13th Flotilla, sighted four of the German pre-Dreadnoughts of the Deutschland class. The Moresby fired one torpedo at them. Two minutes later an explosion was felt, which may or may not have meant that the enemy battleship was sunk. The German pre-Dreadnoughts had not the remarkable system of watertight compartments which enabled practically all Dreadnoughts to survive any torpedo that did not explode their magazines. The German naval authorities afterwards admitted that they had lost the Pommern. This pre-Dreadnought of the Deutschland class had been torpedoed by a British submarine in the Baltic on July 2nd, 1915, but, according to reports published subsequently, was not sunk, as the torpedo caught her only on the bow. It was reported from an alleged German source that one of the latest German battleships had been named the Pommern, and that this ship was sunk in action as well as a Deutschland class pre-Dreadnought. There is, however, no authentic information available on this head, and the story is improbable.

Loss of Pommern admitted

It will be remarked that a Dreadnought of the Kaiser class, forming part of the squadron near the enemy's line, passed the British rear at 12.30 p.m., while four ships of the Deutschland class, originally forming part of the tail of the enemy's line, crossed the British rear at 2.35 a.m. on June 1st. Almost an hour afterwards four German destroyers passed within sight of the rear British destroyer flotilla, which may or may not have been the vessels that rescued the survivors of the Turbulent. From all this we

may presume that the midnight charge of the 4th Destroyer Flotilla scattered the hostile fleet, breaking up its principal formations, and compelling Admiral von Scheer to make at once for Wilhelmshaven at any risk. Both Admiral Jellicoe and Admiral Beatty appear to have thought that the enemy would remain throughout the night cut off from his base and be compelled to renew action at daybreak in circumstances that meant annihilation. Sir David Beatty remarks in his report: "Our strategical position was such as to make it appear *certain* that we should locate the enemy at daylight under most favourable circumstances." Sir John Jellicoe states: "I manœuvred to remain between the enemy and his bases. . . . and at daybreak on June 1st the Battle Fleet, being then to the southward and the westward of the Horn Reef, turned to the northward in search of enemy vessels."

As nothing has been revealed regarding the dispositions of the Grand Fleet and Cruiser Fleet in the night of May 31st, and nothing definite is known of the dispositions of the High Sea Fleet at the time, it is impossible to trace the method by which Admiral von Scheer adroitly escaped the British enveloping movement. He seems to have owed a great deal to the fact that it was very foggy on the North Sea at dawn on June 1st, 1916. Nothing could be seen more than four miles away at the most, and three miles was often the limit of observation. Many British ships, however, noticed a Zeppelin sailing above them about four o'clock in the morning, and Sir John Jellicoe states that it "had ample opportunity to note and subsequently report the position and course of the British Fleet." In other words, it was able to tell the enemy how to elude the toils that were being spread for him. Sir John Jellicoe was as a blind man at this, the last moment when a complete victory was still possible, if only he had had the necessary instruments of reconnaissance and observation. Never did the Admiralty's and Government's lack of imagination and foresight cost the country more dearly.

Admiral Burney transfers his flag

During the night the speed of the torpedoed battleship Marlborough declined, till she had difficulty in keeping her station in the fleet. It was decided, in consequence, that Vice-Admiral Sir Cecil Burney should transfer his flag to the new battleship Revenge, which, according to the Germans, with two of her sisters mounting 15 in. guns, had taken part in the battle. The transfer was effected at 2.30 a.m. of June 1st, and the Marlborough was despatched to a British base. The enemy must have been watching her closely with his submarines, which no doubt had received orders to be in readiness to intercept any injured British ships. Such, however, were the skill and vigilance of the commanders of the British light craft, and so excellent was the moral of the ship's company, that the German submarines were beaten off. The Marlborough regained harbour quite safely, and some weeks later was again present in the British order of battle.

The Warrior, which, as we have seen, had been badly damaged early in the battle, was less fortunate. She was now in tow of the Engadine, and her hull was sinking lower and lower in the water. The sea was rising; the waters in which the damaged vessel was being towed swarmed with enemy light craft and submarines. There was little sleep for anyone on board her. The crew, who had lost heavily in battle, now covered themselves with honour by their conduct in this period of intense peril and effort. They "carried on," in the great phrase of the Navy, all night and when the grey dawn appeared, with no sign of anxiety or uneasiness. Early in the morning the Warrior developed a heavy list to port, and her last moments were clearly at hand. The wounded were brought up on deck, ready to be transferred, and as they lay there in the sloping ship the rising seas began to break over them. The order was given to abandon ship, and the Engadine, with brilliant seamanship, closed in on the sinking hulk—for the Warrior was now no more than this.

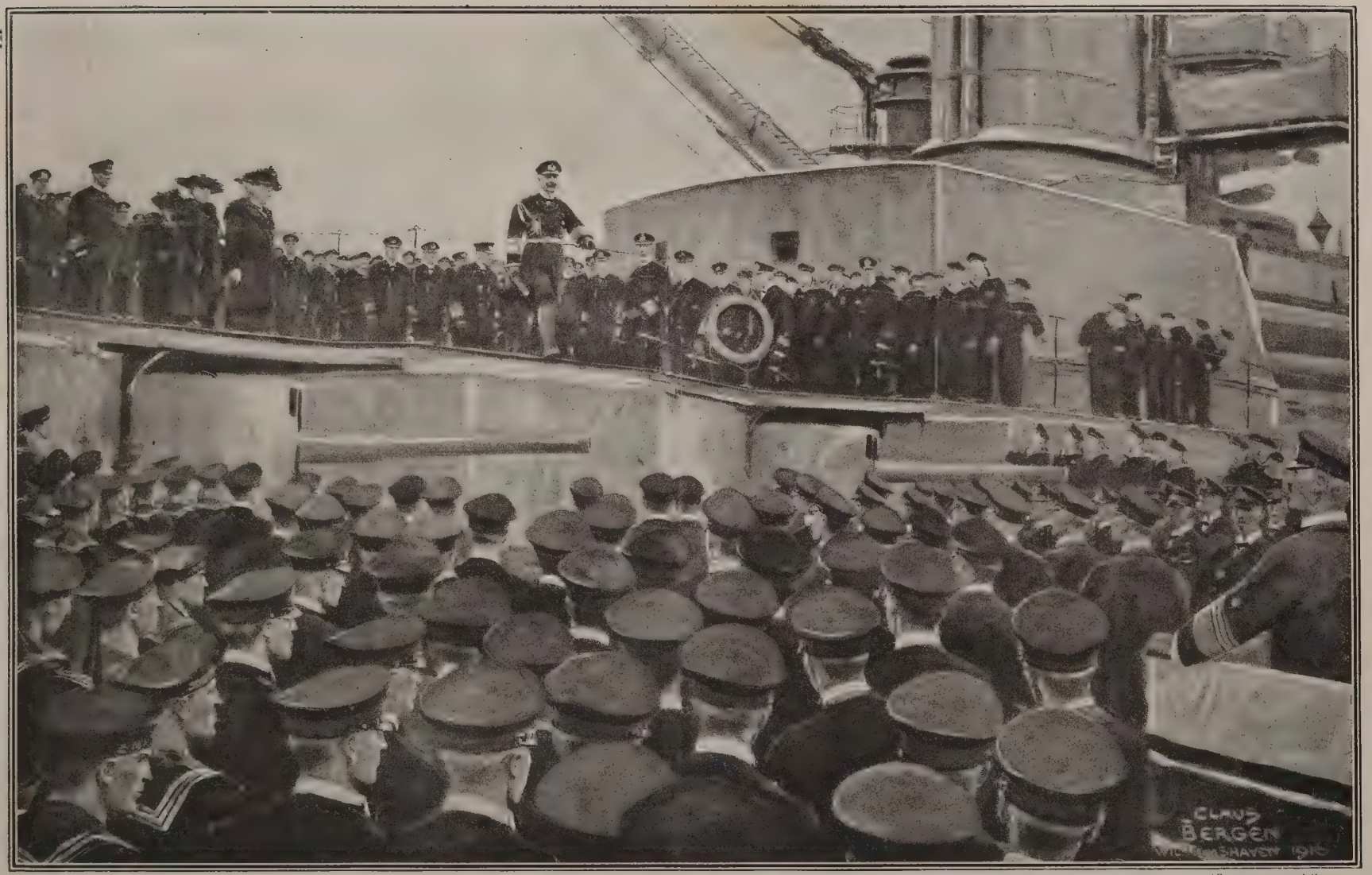
A deed of valour

While the wounded were being moved one of them fell from the stretcher between the vessels. The position was desperate, but Captain Molteno, of the Warrior, saw that several of his officers were preparing to leap in at the risk of almost certain death to their comrade's aid. He gave the order to them not to sacrifice themselves; their country had far greater claim on their lives. But his order did not apply to Flight-Lieutenant F. J. Rutland, of the Engadine, who had already distinguished himself by his reconnoitring flight at the opening of the action. He jumped into the sea between the swaying ships and attempted to rescue the injured man. Unfortunately the man died from shock, injury, and exhaustion; but this did not diminish the splendour of an act which shines among the many deeds of valour and love in that great agony of men. For this, Flight-Lieutenant Rutland received the Albert Medal of the 1st Class. Recommended also for honour in Sir John Jellicoe's dispatch, this gallant sailor-airman was further rewarded with the Distinguished Conduct Medal.

When all the crew had been transferred, and Captain Molteno, faithful to the great ritual of the Navy, had been the last to leave his ship, the Engadine dropped astern to get clear of the wreck and then steamed past it, while the Warrior's crew cheered the sinking hull for the last time, and sang one of their own pet variants of "Tipperary": "It's a long, long way to the Warrior." Nothing more was seen of her. The waterlogged hull vanished astern in the mist, and subsequent search for it revealed no trace of it, so that it must have foundered during June 1st. It was abandoned seventy-five miles from the point where it had been taken in tow, at 7.15 on that morning.

GROUP OF CHIEF STOKERS OF H.M.S. QUEEN MARY.

All these gallant men were long-service men. Second on the left is Chief Petty-Officer Sparrow, who was within six months of completing his thirty-two years' service. He held the Long Service, Good Conduct, and South Africa Medals.



From an enemy painting.

"I AM STANDING HERE TO-DAY AS YOUR SUPREME WAR-LORD, AND I THANK YOU FROM THE BOTTOM OF MY HEART."

Extract from the Kaiser's speech to officers and men who took part in the Jutland Battle. The War-Lord addressed them from the deck of a flagship at Wilhelmshaven, and in the course of a vainglorious speech stated that British sea-power had been finally overthrown. This ceremony took place on June 5th, no doubt before the exact results of the Battle had been ascertained.

GERMAN CRUISER ROSTOCK

CHAPTER CXLIV.

LOST IN THE JUTLAND BATTLE.

THE GLORIOUS BATTLE OF JUTLAND BANK. PART V.

Summary of Gains and Losses, and Some Reports.

By H. W. Wilson and Edward Wright.

Victory but not Annihilation—Responsibility for the Failure to Destroy the German High Sea Fleet—Sir John Jellicoe's Tribute to Sir David Beatty—Sir John Jellicoe's Disappointment of the Crowning Triumph—Total Loss in Ships of the Grand Fleet—Sir John Jellicoe's Official Estimate of the Losses of the High Sea Fleet—Resistance of Dreadnought Battleships and Battle-Cruisers the Surprise of the Action—Clumsily False Official Statements of the German Marine Office—Clumsily Foolish Report by the British Admiralty—The Effect of the Two Reports Abroad—The King's Message of Praise and Thanks to the Grand Fleet—Criticism of the General Situation by Captain Sims, of the United States Navy—Spirit and Efficiency of the Officers and Men of the British Navy—Appendix: Probable Composition of the Opposing Fleets.

WE may sum up the concluding phase of the general fleet action by remarking that the British Fleet had the enemy at its mercy, with his ships scattered to westward, his crews seemingly demoralised, and his entire fleet cut off from its base. But it failed to destroy him at night because it could only spare three flotillas of searching and attacking destroyers from the task of screening the big ships. At dawn it failed to find and hold the enemy because it lacked large, swift, and powerful reconnoitring airships, while the enemy, who possessed such airships, discovered that the British Fleet was looking for him northward and made his escape southward. The authority at Whitehall concerned in the construction of large rigid airships and airshed stations on the East Coast, that decided in 1914 not to proceed with the construction of British Zeppelins and Zeppelin sheds, was largely responsible for the ultimate failure to annihilate an enemy who was beaten and almost enveloped. Equally responsible for the failure to win a victory in the Trafalgar style were the Admiralty experts, under Mr. Winston Churchill, who informed the then First Lord that the destroyer was an antiquated vessel, whose work would be better carried out by the light cruiser and the submarine. Nelson aimed at "not victory but annihilation," but then he had all the weapons he needed. If the Battle of Jutland was victory but not annihilation, want of essential equipment and material was the cause.

The British admirals did their work well. In regard to Sir David Beatty, we have the judgment of his superior officer, Sir John Jellicoe, that he showed fine qualities of gallant leadership, firm determination, and correct strategic insight. He appreciated the situations at once on sighting first the enemy's lighter forces, then his battle-cruisers, and finally his battle fleet. I can fully sympathise with his feelings when the evening mist and fading light robbed the fleet of that complete victory for which he had manœuvred, and for which the vessels in company with him had striven so hard.

[Russell

MAJOR F. J. W. HARVEY, R.M.L.I.
Posthumously awarded V.C. for heroism in the Jutland Battle.

But who shall sympathise with Admiral Sir John Rushworth Jellicoe when, after waiting for twenty-two months and employing practically every kind of baiting manœuvre, he drew the High Sea Fleet into the grip of the Grand Fleet, cut the Germans off from their own coast, unnerved them with his tornadoes of heavy gun fire, and shepherded them north-westward on a line at least north of Dundee; but, because he had insufficient destroyers, and no first-rate airships whatever, had to let them slip through his hands? His torpedo-boat destroyers did not rejoin him until 9 a.m. on June 1st, 1916. He then remained near the line of approach to German ports for two hours, in spite of the danger incurred in waters adjacent to the enemy coast from submarines and torpedo craft. Reluctantly compelled to the conclusion that the High Sea Fleet had returned to its base, he searched the waters from Horn Reef to Little Fisher Bank, picked up some few survivors from the Ardent, Fortune, and Tipperary, rescued the crew of the Sparrowhawk, which had been rendered unseaworthy by a collision, sighted no enemy ships, and at 1.15 p.m. of June 1st shaped his course for home ports, which he reached on Friday, June 2nd.

Undoubtedly he had won an important victory. His total loss in ships was three fine battle-cruisers—Queen Mary, Indefatigable, and Invincible; three armoured cruisers—Defence, Black Prince, and Warrior; and eight torpedo-

boat destroyers—Tipperary, Ardent, Fortune, Shark, Sparrowhawk, Nestor, Nomad, and Turbulent. The loss of such gallant and distinguished officers as Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Arbuthnot, Rear-Admiral the Hon. Horace Hood, Captain Charles F. Sowerby, Captain Cecil I. Prowse, Captain Arthur L. Cay, Captain Thomas P. Bonham, Captain Charles J. Wintour, and Captain Stanley V. Ellis, and those who perished with them, was an even more serious blow to the Navy and to the country. On the other hand, the enemy losses in ships and well-trained officers and men were judged by the British admirals to have been heavier.

The following is the official statement of German loss issued by Sir John Jellicoe, "after a most careful examination of the evidence of all officers who testified to seeing enemy vessels actually sink, and personal interviews with a large number of those officers. I am of opinion," Sir John adds, "that the list shown . . . gives the minimum in regard to numbers, though it is possibly not entirely accurate as regards the particular class of vessel, especially those which were sunk during the night attacks. In addition to the vessels sunk, it is unquestionable that many other ships were very seriously damaged by gun fire and by torpedo attack."

Estimate of German losses

GERMAN BATTLESHIPS OR BATTLE-CRUISERS.

Seen to sink: 2 battleships, Dreadnought type; 1 battleship, Deutschland type.
Sunk (admitted by Germans): 1 battle-cruiser (Lützow).
Seen to be so severely damaged as to render it extremely doubtful if they could reach port: 1 battleship, Dreadnought type; 1 battle-cruiser.

LIGHT CRUISERS.

Seen to sink (one of them had the appearance of being of a larger type, and might have been a battleship): 5 light cruisers.

DESTROYERS.

Seen to sink: 6.
Seen to be so severely damaged as to render it extremely doubtful if they could reach port: 3.

SUBMARINE.

Sunk: 1.

When comparing the losses, it must be remembered that ships sunk can by no art of man be repaired, whereas experience shows that a warship, however damaged, so long as she remains above the water, can be reconstructed and put into fighting order. The Japanese proved this in 1905, when they repaired the Russian ships which had been left waterlogged wrecks in Port Arthur Harbour, some of which vessels, with the chivalry characteristic of their race, they restored to their old enemies when the latter became their allies.

It is not wise to attempt in any way to increase the estimate of German loss given by Admiral Jellicoe, for such a course would lead to under-estimating the enemy's strength in the next general fleet action. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that all the British light cruiser and destroyer crews who felt certain that they got a torpedo home on a hostile capital ship were mistaken. If there was any mistake, it lay in thinking a Dreadnought torpedoed was a Dreadnought destroyed. This theory was disproved by the Marlborough; there the torpedo blew in the side of the great ship, yet left her fighting power almost unimpaired. The Marlborough was struck about 6.54 p.m. on May 31st, but she afterwards outfought a Dreadnought of the König class, and continued to serve Sir Cecil Burney as his flagship until 2.30 a.m. on June 1st. It is, therefore, extremely probable that several German battleships and battle-cruisers were torpedoed, and yet were able to return to their base, where they could be repaired in a month or two.

Seaworthy, though damaged

The capacity of resistance of both Dreadnought battleships and Dreadnought cruisers was the grand surprise of the action. The New Zealand went through the entire battle, including the fearful ordeal through which Admiral Beatty's battle-cruisers passed, almost without a scratch, her only injury being a blow on her armour which broke off a large splinter. One British ship was struck by fifty German heavy shells without being disabled, and lost less than ten per cent. of her crew. It may be, therefore, that the damage done by British gun fire to German ships was over-estimated. The British battle-cruisers and fast battleships, though subjected to continuous fire, with the exception of the three ships destroyed—it might almost be said by accident—were but little injured. On the other hand, it is probable that the British 15 in. shells wrought terrific havoc, while the 13·5 in. shells inflicted far more damage on the enemy than he was able to inflict with his 12 in. and 11 in. shells. In the case of the Lützow, the Germans some time after the battle admitted that she had been put out of action and abandoned by her crew in a sinking state when she had received only sixteen hits from heavy guns, which gives some measure of the destruction effected by the British shells. There were probably quite a number of British ships which were not much the worse for sixteen hits from the German heavy projectiles. The enemy seems throughout to have concentrated his fire on individual ships; but there is nothing in the British reports to indicate that the British followed this plan.

In general character, the battle resembled the naval engagements with the Dutch in the seventeenth century—engagements in which both sides claimed victory, and Great Britain usually enjoyed all the fruits of success. It rested with time to show if the enemy had received a staggering blow. It will be remembered that after the Battle of Dogger Bank, on January 24th, 1915, it was commonly thought that the German battle-cruisers would not again be seen; yet at least two of them, the Moltke and the Seydlitz, took part in the attack off the Gulf of Riga on August 19th, 1915. The Moltke was then torpedoed, but she appeared once more in the Jutland Bank action, after having been twice "destroyed."

Moltke twice "destroyed"

On June 1st the German Marine Office stated that the only German ships lost in the action were the Pommern and the light cruiser Wiesbaden, while the Frauenlob was "missing," and "some destroyers" had not returned. A little later, survivors of the light cruiser Elbing arrived in Holland, with other survivors from the Frauenlob, when the German naval authorities officially stated that: "In order to prevent the spread of fantastic reports, it must be added to the statements already published that we were obliged to blow up the small cruiser Elbing, which was so heavily damaged by collision with another German warship that it was impossible to bring her back to port." Then on June 7th, 1916, the German Marine Office published the extraordinary statement that: "For military reasons we have refrained until now from making public the loss of the vessels Lützow and Rostock." Some days before this a statement of an unparalleled nature was issued. The "Wilhelmshaven Gazette" printed in large type a proclamation, signed by the Governor of Wilhelmshaven, informing the German public that the port was closed to ordinary traffic, and that permission for temporary visits to the town during the summer could only be granted in cases of extreme urgency, on condition that written applications were received by the police before the journey was made. It was reported about this time that a damaged German Dreadnought had sunk just outside Wilhelmshaven, in sheltered water.

The precautions the Germans took to veil their battered fleet from the eyes of their own public, and the belated attempt they made to explain to their people when correct news of the loss of the Lützow was spreading by oral report that the Marine Office had published lies "for military reasons," resulted in a moral victory for the Allies. The most pro-German of neutral States then began to see that there were definite limits to that "German truth" which

had been so much acclaimed by German professors, and the neutral world, struck by this flagrant example of Teutonic veracity, lost faith in the mendacious reports issued from Berlin.

If, however, the German Marine Office was clumsily false in regard to its statements about the Jutland Battle, the civilian element in the British Admiralty was clumsily foolish. All news of the battle was withheld from the British public for nearly three days, while Northern Europe, Spain, and Greece were ringing with news of a great German naval victory The school-children of Berlin were given the usual holidays; German Royalties sent telegrams of rhetorical tinsel to the German Emperor; Kaiser Wilhelm made a clamorous claim to something like a new Trafalgar in the North Sea, and a great German war loan was voted in the Reichstag on the full tide of exultation provoked by the tales of the German Naval Press Bureau and the German Emperor, and the silence of the British Admiralty. When the British naval authorities at last spoke of the greatest naval event since the Battle of Trafalgar, all they said was that the German Fleet, aided by low visibility, had avoided prolonged action with the British main forces, and the British Fleet had lost three battle-cruisers, three armoured cruisers, and five destroyers, while six other destroyers were not accounted for. At least one German battle-cruiser—the public was told—was destroyed, and one severely damaged. One German battleship was reported sunk during a night attack, and two German light cruisers were disabled and probably sunk.

Dismal official report

Thus the only clear and definite claim officially made was that one German battle-cruiser was destroyed and one or two more German large ships severely damaged, against an admitted British loss of three battle-cruisers, three armoured cruisers, and possibly eleven destroyers. The solitary gleam of light in this dismal official report was the statement that "soon after our main forces appeared on the scene the enemy returned to port." All the naval experts on the Press who could have guided the public were officially prevented from commenting on the news.

As the result of these extraordinary measures, Saturday, June 3rd, 1916, was a day of tragic apprehension in Great Britain. The officers and men of the Grand Fleet and Cruiser Fleet, after their fearful ordeal and their great deeds, were overcome with anger and amazement when they reached their bases, full of the emotion of a hard-won victory. For they met with commiseration rather than with congratulation.

Pure incompetence and lack of naval insight appear to have been the real explanation of the politicians' conduct in the matter. General feeling in the country, based entirely on the misleading Admiralty report, was that the British Navy had met with a severe but not irremediable naval reverse. This interpretation of the official report was not singular. The Paris Press took the same view as the London Press, and tried to cheer up the British nation by pointing out that British naval strength was undiminished. In New York the Stock Market fell against the Grand Alliance, and there were some signs of a great break in French, British, and Russian securities. All down the coast of South America, through lands in which the Allies had most important interests, the braggart German claim to a great victory and the strangely diffident British report combined to create a general impression that the foundations of British sea-power had been shaken till they rocked under a daring and magnificent German attack.

Its public interpretation

When the report was drawn up in London, Admiral Jellicoe had returned to his base to refuel his fleet and replenish it with ammunition, and in the evening of June 2nd he announced himself ready for further action. The Admiralty was then in a position to issue a statement that the Cruiser Fleet, by a brilliant and daring manœuvre, had withstood the attack of the High Sea Fleet and drawn it northward to be attacked by the Grand Fleet, and that in spite of mist and darkness the Grand Fleet had cut the enemy from his base, inflicting upon him loss quite as heavy as that sustained by Admiral Beatty in the cruiser action, and had only missed him through fog on the morning of June 1st. Something like this was said by Mr. Winston Churchill, on being asked by Mr. Balfour's private

WHEN KING GEORGE ADDRESSED THE CREWS OF SHIPS THAT TOOK PART IN THE JUTLAND FIGHT.
An impressive ceremony at a naval dockyard. Alongside the quay is the Warspite, which engaged an overpowering number of German battleships in order to distract their fire from the disabled Warrior.

FFF

secretary, and then by Mr. Balfour in person, to draw up a statement likely to reassure neutral opinion in regard to the large results of the naval action.

The King, on June 3rd, in a message praised the splendid gallantry of the British officers and men, and commended their achievement, while regretting that the retirement of the Germans "robbed us of the opportunity of gaining a decisive victory." His Majesty once more put the true facts on record when he received the officers and men of the Grand Fleet after their return to port, and thanked the Commander-in-Chief and all his subordinates for doing all that was possible in the circumstances. "You drove the enemy into his harbours," he said, "and inflicted on him very severe losses, and you added another page to the glorious traditions of the British Navy. You could not do more, and for your splendid work I thank you."

Germany's Press victory

The fact was that if the British Navy won a valuable naval victory, the Germans won a very important Press victory. The head of the German Naval Press Bureau was specially rewarded by the German Emperor, and he deserved his reward. Turning the British Admiralty communiqué adroitly to his own purpose, he made so jubilant an impression upon the German mind that the great new German war loan was voted with enthusiasm, and the effect of the Verdun defeat was almost blotted out of the memory of the German people, who for the time became absorbed in problems of sea-power.

Even the strange German admission that the loss of the Lützow and Rostock had been denied for military reasons does not seem to have undone the effect of the British blunder in reporting the battle. The German educated class may gradually have become doubtful whether the High Sea Fleet was quite so victorious as had been pretended, for the blockade continued unbroken; but the German peasantry, the force on which the military caste chiefly relied, remained convinced that the huge sea-power of Great Britain could be overthrown eventually by the same Prussian genius for war which was destined to overthrow the huge military power of Russia.

An impartial American critic, Captain W. S. Sims, whose authority stands deservedly high, contends that there was no need whatever to fight a battle. "The military situation," he says, "did not require the British Fleet to fight a decisive action or any action at all, because it already had practically as complete control of the sea as would have resulted from the defeat of the enemy fleet. Control of the sea is accomplished when the enemy is defeated or 'contained'—*i.e.*, watched by superior force in such a way that it can only fight against great odds—and the German Fleet had been 'contained' since the beginning of the war, is now (in June, 1916) 'contained,' and doubtless will remain so."

He believed that there was nothing to prevent the British from concentrating by "very simple manœuvres," assembling their entire fighting force, and then with nine battle-cruisers, four fast battleships, and the entire strength of Admiral Jellicoe's Grand Fleet striking at the enemy. And he argued: "Considering the great superiority of the British both in numbers and power, one of two things must have happened: (1) Either the German Main Fleet would have been decisively defeated, or (2) it would have declined decisive action by retiring behind its defences, and even the latter (course) would have inflicted upon the Germans a humiliation impossible to conceal, much less to claim as a victory for the encouragement of their people. The latter (forcing the Germans to retreat before a concentrated superior force) could have been accomplished with little or no material loss, and if the Germans had elected to fight a decisive action there could be no doubt that both their proportionate and actual losses would have been vastly greater than the British. Also, in either case, the various types of vessels, including battle-cruisers, would have been employed to the best advantage in the legitimate rôle for which they were designed."

An American critic's opinion

Such criticism, coming as it does from a capable and thoughtful student of war, can only be answered when the full facts can be disclosed as to the plans of both sides. If, as has been reported, the German Staff had intended to employ the German Fleet during the summer in co-operating with Marshal Hindenburg for the reduction of Riga and an attack on Petrograd, the battle may have had far greater results than appear on the surface. Without naval aid Hindenburg could not expect to accomplish much—and, in fact, he did nothing. It may or may not be a mere coincidence that the great Russian offensive on the Austrian front, which was crowned with so wonderful success, began immediately after the battle. In any case the fact that most of the formidable ships in the German Navy were out of action—at all events for the time being—must have left the Russian commanders perfectly secure as to any menace against their northern and most vulnerable flank.

No unprejudiced person was likely to accept the German claims of a German victory. These were answered by the continuance of the blockade with undiminished vigour and by a curious fact which the German Staff was so simple as to report—that a weak British squadron of old ships during the afternoon of June 1st, when Admiral Jellicoe had vanished, cruised in the waters of Heligoland Bight. If the German Fleet had been victorious, here was an opportunity for it to strike a tremendous blow and annihilate the British force. The old battleships were not molested. They steamed to and fro, according to the German account, for some hours, and then they, too, vanished to their distant bases across the North Sea.

Our Fleet's efficiency

Something has already been said of the superb spirit of the British Fleet and the extraordinary efficiency shown by officers and men. The tribute which Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, no mean judge, paid to those under his command will ever remain on record, a monument to the valour of the Grand Fleet:

> The conduct of officers and men throughout the day and night actions was entirely beyond praise. No words of mine could do them justice. On all sides it is reported to me that the glorious traditions of the past were most worthily upheld. . . . Officers and men were cool, determined, with a cheeriness that would have carried them through anything. The heroism of the wounded was the admiration of all. I cannot adequately express the pride with which the spirit of the fleet filled me.

Sir David Beatty, one of the most gallant men who ever went to war, was just as emphatic in his testimony:

> As was to be expected, the behaviour of the ships' companies under the terrible conditions of a modern sea battle was magnificent without exception. The strain on their moral was a severe test of discipline and training. Officers and men were imbued with one thought—the desire to defeat the enemy.

Every branch surpassed itself, every arm covered itself with glory. The engine-room department did magnificent work and maintained amazing speeds; it showed, said Admiral Beatty, "the highest qualities of technical skill, discipline, and endurance." "Failures in material," said Admiral Jellicoe, "were conspicuous by their absence." Under the enemy's fire the control and drill of the British guns proceeded as though the German ships had been firing blank, and as though men were not falling and showers of deadly splinters flying at each successful German salvo. The medical department displayed special resourcefulness and devotion, while the chaplains, one and all, proved themselves heroes. One of the finest deeds of that day was that of the Rev. Anthony Pollen, in the 5th Battle Squadron, who plunged into a cordite fire which was burning with fearful violence to the rescue of two boys. He brought them out alive but himself was terribly burned. For this he received the Distinguished Service Cross.

Some days after the battle the Germans revealed the fact that they had rescued a certain number of men from the lost British ships, and paraded it as fresh evidence of

CAPT. HON. H. MEADE, D.S.O.

CAPT. J. M. CASEMENT.

CAPT. H. B. PELLY, C.B., M.V.O.

CAPT. F. L. FIELD, C.B.

CAPT. M. WOOLLCOMBE, C.B.

CAPT. L. C. S. WOOLLCOMBE, M.V.O.

CAPT. PERCY ROYDS.

CAPT. R. W. BENTINCK, C.B.

CAPT. A. C. S. H. D'AETH, C.B.

CAPT. A. CHATFIELD.

CAPT. A. C. SCOTT.

CAPT. V. H. G. BERNARD.

CAPT. H. M. DOUGHTY.

CAPT. F. C. DREYER.

CAPT. A. W. CRAIG.

CAPT. C. D. ROPER.

CAPTAINS HONOURED AND COMMENDED FOR SERVICE IN THE JUTLAND BATTLE.

(Photos by Heath, Lafayette, and Russell & Son.)

their victory. The survivors were as follows: Queen Mary, one officer, two men; Indefatigable, two men; Tipperary, seven men; Nomad, four officers, sixty-eight men; Nestor, two officers, seventy-seven men; Turbulent, fourteen men. The first four ships were sunk shortly before the time when Admiral Beatty turned and retired before the Germans. The enemy's vessels would pass over the waters in which they had gone down, and the Germans would then naturally—if they showed any spark of humanity—rescue the men in the water. The Tipperary was sunk during the night attack in the midst of a great mass of German ships, so that there again there would be no difficulty in rescuing men from her. The rescue of men from the Turbulent is more curious, because the Germans were then in flight and the Turbulent was close to other British ships. No light on this matter is shed in any of the British or German reports. It is possible that the fourteen men were picked up by the four German destroyers which were seen late in the night steaming across the rear of the British line.

The battle has been compared with that of Quiberon Bay, when Hawke defeated Conflans in 1759. This comparison is not sound, for Conflans was seen no more at sea, whereas within three months of the Battle of Jutland, on August 19th, the German Fleet was out in a strength variously estimated by neutral captains at forty or sixty ships, of which at least twenty were Dreadnoughts, though, it is true, they manifested no eagerness to fight. Conflans' fleet, however, was of very different quality from Admiral von Scheer's. Under the basest of the Bourbons, Louis XV., the French Navy had lost its force and fire.

Germans rescue British sailors

The Admiralty Board, in a despatch to Admiral Jellicoe some weeks after the battle, made some effort to undo the mischief caused by the timorous and half-hearted early reports. It declared that "the ships of every class were handled with skill and determination; their steaming under battle conditions afforded a splendid testimony to the zeal and efficiency of the engineering staff; while individual initiative and tactical subordination were equally conspicuous. The expectations of the country were high; they have been well fulfilled. My Lords desire . . . . to convey to you their full approval of your proceedings on this occasion."

There was a touch of unconscious humour in this last sentence, coming from a Board on which civilians—who knew nothing whatever of naval war—were so numerous.

No extravagant haste was shown in bestowing honours for the battle, and not until September 15th was the "London Gazette" published with the list of distinctions and promotions awarded. Sir John Jellicoe received the Order of Merit and Sir David Beatty the Grand Cross of the Bath. On the two admirals who had died so gloriously at the post of duty, Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Arbuthnot and Rear-Admiral Hood, posthumous K.C.B.'s were bestowed. Besides Boy Cornwell, to whom, as has already been stated, the Victoria Cross was granted posthumously, the same honour was given to Major Francis John William Harvey, R.M., who by an immortal deed, himself mortally wounded in a stricken turret, before he died ordered the magazine to be flooded and thus saved his ship. No man rendered nobler service on that great day; no name should be held by a grateful country in more affectionate remembrance. A third Victoria Cross was granted to Commander Bingham, who fortunately survived, though a prisoner, after leading the wildest and fiercest torpedo attack in history. No summary can do justice to the innumerable gallant deeds enshrined in that issue of the "Gazette"; it is a long record of heroism that transcends human praise and gratitude.

The Honours List

APPENDIX: THE COMPOSITION OF THE OPPOSING SQUADRONS.

The most probable composition of Admiral Hipper's Battle-Cruiser Squadron was:

	GUNS.	TONS.
Lützow	Eight 12 in., fourteen 6 in.	28,000
Derfflinger	Eight 12 in., fourteen 6 in.*	28,000
Seydlitz	Ten 11 in., twelve 6 in.	24,600
Moltke	Eleven 11 in., twelve 6 in.	22,600
Von der Tann	Eight 11 in., ten 6 in.	18,700
or Salamis	Eight 14 in., twelve 6 in.	19,200

The highest speed would have been about twenty-five or twenty-six knots as a fleet.

The German Battle Fleet under Admiral von Scheer appears to have been composed somewhat as follows:

Grosser Kurfürst .. }
Markgraf .. .. } Each ten 12 in. (or 14 in.) guns, and fourteen 6 in. 26,500 tons. Twenty-three knots.
König .. .. .. }

Kaiser .. .. .. }
Friedrich der Grosse .. }
Kaiserin .. .. .. } Each ten 12 in. and fourteen 6 in. guns. 24,300 tons. Twenty-one knots.
König Albert .. .. }
Pr. Luitpold .. .. }

Helgoland .. .. }
Thüringen .. .. } Each twelve 12 in. and fourteen 6 in. guns. 22,500 tons. Twenty-two knots.
Ostfriesland .. .. }
Oldenburg .. .. }

Nassau .. .. .. }
Westfalen .. .. } Each twelve 11 in. and twelve 6 in. guns. 18,600 tons. Twenty and a half knots.
Rheinland .. .. }
Posen .. .. .. }

Deutschland .. .. }
Pommern .. .. }
Hannover .. .. } Pre-Dreadnoughts. Each four 11 in. and fourteen 6·7 in. guns. 13,000 tons. Eighteen and a half knots.
Schlesien .. .. }
Schleswig-Holstein .. }
Lothringen .. .. }

All the above ships have two funnels, except the six pre-Dreadnoughts and the four ships of the Helgoland class, which have three.

The British Fleet, so far as its force may be disclosed, was composed thus:

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR D. BEATTY'S BATTLE-CRUISERS.

	GUNS.	TONS.
Lion	Eight 13·5 in., sixteen 4 in.	26,000
Princess Royal	Eight 13·5 in., sixteen 4 in.	26,000
Queen Mary	Eight 13·5 in., sixteen 4 in.	27,000
Tiger	Eight 13·5 in., twelve 6 in.	28,000
Indefatigable	Eight 12 in., sixteen 4 in.	18,750
New Zealand	Eight 12 in., sixteen 4 in.	19,000

The highest speed as a fleet would be slightly in excess of twenty-six knots.

REAR-ADMIRAL HOOD'S 3RD BATTLE-CRUISER SQUADRON.

Invincible .. .. }
Inflexible .. .. } Each eight 12 in. and sixteen 4 in. guns. 17,600 tons. Twenty-five knots.
Indomitable .. .. }

REAR-ADMIRAL EVAN-THOMAS'S 5TH BATTLE SQUADRON.

Barham .. .. .. }
Valiant .. .. .. } Each eight 15 in. and twelve 6 in. guns. 27,500 tons. Twenty-five knots.
Warspite .. .. }
Another .. .. .. }

CRUISER SQUADRONS.

1st.—Rear-Admiral Sir R. K. Arbuthnot.
2nd.—Rear-Admiral H. L. Heath.

LIGHT CRUISER SQUADRONS.

1st.—Commodore E. S. Alexander-Sinclair.
2nd.—Commodore W. E. Goodenough.
3rd.—Rear-Admiral T. D. W. Napier.
4th.—Commodore C. E. Le Mesurier.

The battle squadrons mentioned as present with Admiral Sir J. Jellicoe, the Commander-in-Chief, whose flag was hoisted in the Iron Duke, placed in the 4th Squadron, were:

1st.—Vice-Admiral Sir C. Burney.
2nd.—Vice-Admiral Sir M. Jerram.
4th.—Vice-Admiral Sir D. Sturdee.

The destroyer flotillas mentioned as present were:

1st.	11th.
4th.	12th.
9th.	13th.
10th.	

First-Class Boy John Travers Cornwell, V.C., H.M.S. Chester.

[Official photograph.

Serbian cavalry equipped as infantry marching past at Salonika.

[Official photograph.

Italian troops on their way to camp after landing at Salonika.

[Official. Crown copyright reserved.

General Sarrail inspecting Russian troops upon their landing at Salonika.

[Official. Crown copyrigh reserved.

British military band playing the Russians ashore at Salonika.

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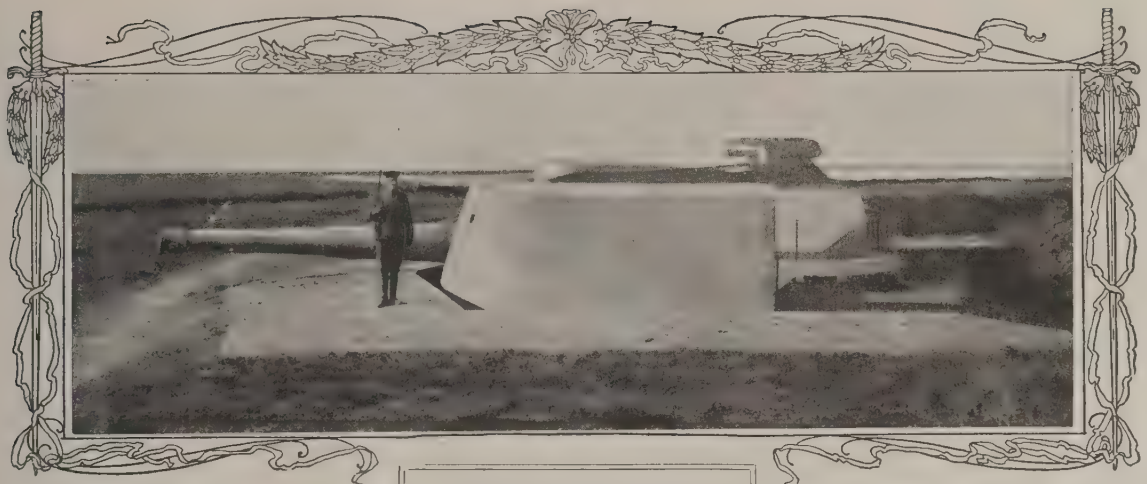
Opening of the Allies' offensive in the Balkans: Russians advancing to the fighting-line from Salonika.



BRITISH GUARD AT THE GREEK FORT OF TUZLA.

CHAPTER CXLV.

THE SALONIKA EXPEDITION AND THE INTERVENTION OF RUMANIA.

By Robert Machray.

Deceptive Beauty of Salonika—Geographical Importance of the City—How the Allies Went There in October, 1915—Inception of the Expedition—The Greek Invitation—Strength of the Forces of the Allies—Enemy Attack Fails to Materialise—Salonika Made Into a Great Entrenched Camp—Significant Precautions Taken—Islands Occupied Against the Submarine Menace—The Allies Move North Towards the Frontier—Marvellous Reconstitution of the Serbian Army—Problem of Transferring the Serbs to Salonika Solved—Unfriendly Action of Greece—Sinister Influences at Work—Small Beginnings of the Campaign—General Milne Succeeds General Mahon—Greece Surrenders Fort Rupel to the Bulgars—Indignation of the Majority of the Greeks—Venizelos Thunders—Action of the Allies—Pacific Blockade—Greece Yields—Advance of the Serbians—Entente Reinforcements—Vast Change in World-War—Bulgar Offensive—British Take Horse-shoe Hill—Serbs Lose Florina and Retire to Lake Ostrovo—Bulgar Advance Checked—Strange Doings of the Greek Government—Greek Macedonia Surrendered to Bulgars—Rage of the Pro-Ally Greeks—Christodoulos Makes a Stand—Revolution in Salonika—Fresh Action by the Allies—German Espionage Crushed—The New Factor in the War—Rumania Takes the Field—Her Reasons—The Oppressed Rumanians in Hungary—The Balkan Imbroglio—The Russian Victories—Rumania Strikes Hard—Invasion of Transylvania—Check in the Dobrudja—Greece Still Hesitating.

IN previous chapters we have explained something of the intrigues and counter-intrigues that have made the Balkan question the most difficult and complicated of all the international matters with which diplomacy and statesmanship have ever had to cope; and the story has been told of the military events which resulted in the overrunning of Serbia by the Bulgarian hordes and the occupation of Montenegro by the Austrians. Now we come to deal with the inception and development of what is known as the Salonika Expedition, and the intervention of Rumania in the war on the side of the Allies.

Viewed from a ship out at sea, or from an aeroplane in mid-heaven, Salonika appeared a picturesque and even a romantic-looking city. With its white houses, domes, minarets, and battlemented walls, set off by the foliage of elm, cypress, and mulberry trees, it gradually rose from the shore, at the top of the bay of the same name, to the heights on which stood the Heptapygrion, or Castle of the Seven Towers, and seemed to present a fascinating and beautiful spectacle. But never was there a better instance of the truth of the words that "distance lends enchantment." Apart from its ancient and splendid Byzantine churches and a few modern buildings of some size, the place as a whole was dirty, squalid, and mean, and as offensively odoriferous as any town in all the Orient. Like shabby neighbours, the old and the new jostled each other in its architecture, and made a medley of the people in its streets; not, however, without contrasting notes of colour to intrigue the eye and give an interest to the scene.

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LEADERS IN THE LEVANT.
General Mahon, who commanded the 10th Division at Salonika (centre), with Lieut.-Colonel Cunliffe Owen, of the General Staff (on the left). In May, 1916, General Mahon was transferred to a command in Egypt.

For many centuries Salonika had been a city of great importance, coming next in fame only to Constantinople and Athens in the Near East. Founded several hundred years before the Christian era, it had seen many of the strange and stormy fluctuations incidental to such a lapse of time. Macedonians, Romans, Berbers, Normans, and Venetians had ruled over it. In more recent days the Turks had held it, and from it had sprung the Young Turk movement, which, though promising well at first, was

[*Official photograph.*

GATHERING THEIR STORIES.
Serbian Staff officers explaining the fighting to British official correspondents.

destined to lead the Ottoman Empire to ruin. The Balkan Wars left it in possession of the Greeks, and one of the grimmest touches in its history was supplied by the murder in its streets of the Greek king under whom it had passed into their hands.

The reason why so many races fought for it lay in the special significance of its geographical position; it was the key of the Levant, as was explained in Chapter XCIX. A sure commercial instinct led the Sephardim Jews to settle there when, in the sixteenth century, they fled from Spain to escape religious persecution in that country. Under the Turks, these Jews and their descendants made Salonika a great and flourishing port, and it was they who did by far the most of its business, and were the most numerous element in its population at the outbreak of the war.

With October, 1915, there opened a fresh page in the long story of the vicissitudes of Salonika. On the first day of that month three or four British and French officers arrived in the city, and immediately conferred with the Greek functionaries in charge of the port. And on the fifth day the bay was alive with a huge fleet of warships and transports of the Allies, from which, from eight o'clock in the morning, French and British troops disembarked. First came the 2nd French Division, brought in British vessels from Cape Helles in Gallipoli, and another French division from elsewhere, and then the 10th British Division from Suvla, also in Gallipoli, under Sir Bryan Mahon. This was the beginning of the Salonika Expedition, and crowds of wondering Greeks, Turks, Jews, and other nationals looked on and greeted the soldiers of the Entente Powers according to their varied predilections. A week later both General Sarrail, in command of the French, and General Mahon, in command of the British, were in Salonika. On October 17th about 14,000 French troops were on their way to Gevgeli and the southern Serbian front, to initiate what soon took on the aspect of being one of the most desperate enterprises of the whole war, but which in the long result turned out to be one of the best moves of the Allies.

Conference with Greek officials

At that time the British Government had not yet reached its decision that the allied troops should evacuate Gallipoli, though the subject was being considered seriously, for it had become perfectly certain that no success of high value could be anticipated any longer in the Dardanelles. Nor had it made up its mind what was to be done at or from Salonika. Misled by its false idea that Bulgaria was pro-Entente, it apparently failed to realise the vast strategic importance of Serbia, or that Salonika might very well be of hardly less cardinal significance in certain circumstances. Yet as far back as March or April, 1915, M. Briand, then not in power but afterwards, in the same year, Prime Minister of France, had urged that Salonika should be occupied by the Allies. On the British side the most distinguished advocate of this view, though that was months later, was Mr. Lloyd George. The fact of the matter would seem to be that from the beginning of the Dardanelles operations the British Government for a considerable period was completely obsessed by them, and that the Salonika Expedition, with its ultimate success, partook of the nature of a gigantic "fluke."

[*Official photograph.*

THE ENTENTE IN THE LAND OF DISCORD.
Group of allied officers, showing (in the foreground) General Howell conversing with General Gérome, of the French Army, on the Salonika front.

While the Entente Powers were still engaged in their negotiations with Bulgaria, they offered to her, about September 15th, a liberal readjustment of Balkan territory which, it was supposed, would satisfy her and bring her to the side of the Allies. As was shown in Chapter LXXXIV., Bulgaria was committed to Germany long before that date, but ignorant of this, the Entente went so far as to suggest —as a guarantee to her that she would really obtain that coveted territory after the war was over—that the Valley of

the Vardar, in Macedonia, should meanwhile be occupied by troops of the Allies. These negotiations proved abortive, but in the suggestion was, perhaps, the first hint of the Salonika Expedition.

Then came the Bulgarian mobilisation, followed forthwith by that of Greece. Previous to the latter, M. Venizelos, then Prime Minister of Greece, had asked the French and British Governments, on the ground that Bulgaria had announced a policy of "armed neutrality," to despatch a force of 150,000 men to Salonika. The widespread belief among the Allies that Greece fully intended at this time to fulfil her treaty obligations to Serbia was greatly encouraged by a speech made by M. Venizelos in the Greek Parliament on September 29th, in which he said that the Greek nation was ready to resist every attempt on the part of any of the Balkan States to establish a predominance in the Balkans that would mean the end of the independence of the other States. But the Greek General Staff, backed by the pro-German elements in Greece, violently objected to the landing of the allied troops. In spite, however, of this opposition, M. Venizelos, under cover of a formal protest, gave in reality the sanction of the Greek Government to the expedition on October 2nd, and two days later, in the Greek Chamber, said that his country would "not take material measures to prevent the passage of Franco-British armies which were hastening to the assistance of the Serbians, the allies of Greece, who were threatened by the Bulgarians."

Origin of the expedition

Such, then, was the origin of the Salonika Expedition. The same day which witnessed the beginning of the landing of the Allies at the port also saw the fall of M. Venizelos from power, owing to King Constantine's refusal to endorse his policy. Speaking in the House of Commons on April 18th, 1916, Viscount (then Sir Edward) Grey, in reply to a question whether any protest had been made by the Greek Government in connection with the recent occupation of Greek territory by the Allies, said that certain protests had been received from the Hellenic Government to the measures which the Entente Powers had been obliged to take in Greece or in Greek territorial waters. He added that the circumstances which had rendered these measures necessary were that the French and British Governments in the beginning decided to send troops to Salonika on the invitation of the then Greek Prime Minister, and though shortly afterwards there was a change of Government in Greece, accompanied by a change in her policy, the Allies could not then recede from the undertaking to which they had committed themselves. M. Venizelos had a majority in the Greek Parliament, and all the subsequent troubles of Greece arose from the determination of King Constantine to maintain what he called neutrality, in defiance of the Greek Constitution which placed him under it, and in disregard of the wishes of the great bulk of his people.

Change of Greek policy

Instead of the 150,000 men for whom M. Venizelos had asked, only some 40,000 men were disembarked by the Allies in the first and second weeks of October, 1915. Of these two-thirds were French, the remainder being British. As late as October 26th, when Lord Lansdowne made an extremely discouraging statement on the matter in the House of Lords, the strength of the British force was no more than 13,000 men; though a larger force was held in reserve. A third French and a second British division arrived in November. Large contingents coming in December and on into January brought up the total of the British in this area to five divisions. Even adding the three French divisions, the number which M. Venizelos had required was scarcely reached by the beginning of 1916. At no time prior to the Franco-British retreat from Serbia into Greece, of which an account was given in Chapter XCIX., would the combined force in the battle-line appear to have numbered much above 40,000 men, as against certainly quite five times that number of Bulgarians

GENERAL STAFF OF THE BRITISH ARMY ON ITS WAY TO FRENCH HEADQUARTERS AT SALONIKA.

ADRIATIC SEA
ÆGEAN SEA
ALBANIA
SERBIA
BULGARIA
GREECE
TURKEY
SCUTARI
Lake Scutari
Antivari
Dulcigno
S. Giovanni di Medua
Alessio
G. OF DRIN
DURAZZO
DURAZZO BAY
C. Lagbi
ELBASAN
Tirana
C. Rodoni
C. Pala
VALONA BAY
VALONA
C. Linguetta
Sasseno I.
Merlera I.
Fano I.
St. Quaranta
Corfu
CORFU
Paramythia
Margarition
Philiatais
Lapsista
Karusades
Samorakii
YANINA
Konitsa
Aryirokastro
(Argyrokastron)
Mesarya
Delvino
Premeti
Korcha
Ostrovitsa
Lavani Dagh
Berat
Fieri
Mifoli
Sfiri
Arta
Preveni
Kanina
Floch
Tepeleni
Dukati
Himara
Fr. Paterma
Gropsi
Franguzes
Mecovon
Meritza
Kalabaka
Trikkala
Gardikion
Pindus
Phanari
Karditsa
Sophades
Myliana
Dervitsana
Tsourmakli
LARISA
Tyrnavos
Elassona
Papadopouli
Platamona
Makrokhórion
Aggia
Velestinon
VOLO
Mt. Olympos
Selfidje
Petra
Livanovon
Verria
Vardar
Yenidje
Gida
Kulakia
SALONIKA
Polygyros
CHALCIS
GULF OF SALONIKA
G. OF CASSANDRA
CASSANDRA
G. OF HAGION ORÓS
HAGION ORÓS
G. OF ERIBOS
Mt. Athos
LONGOS
THASOS
Kara Burun
Langaza
L. Beshik
G. OF RENDINA OR ORFAND
Rendina
Orfano
Neohori
Tahinos
Lake
KAVALLA
G. OF KAVALLA
Liman
Pravishta
Angista Sta.
Porna
Nigrita
Eshik Dagh
Avret Hissar
Aivatli
Yahyali
Karasuli
Kilindir
SERES
Ziliahovo
Doksat
Prosenik
Komariani
Demirhissar
Vetrina
Rupel
Petrich
Melnik
Nevrokop
Dragotin
Papaskeui
Kushevo
Starchista
Buk
Eskeje
Drama
Spatovo
Barakli Jumá
Krusha Balkan
DOIRAN
L. Doiran
Gevgeli
Mt. Kovil
Mayadag
Mt. Kukuruz
Pojaro
Strupino
MONASTIR
Mt. Vetrenik
Allkhar
Cherna R.
Boshava
Pardovitsa
Gradets
Rabrovo
Belashitsa Planina
STRUMITSA
Lipintsa
Radovishta
Inova
Negotin
Krivolak
ISHTIB
Gradsko
Brod
Izvor
KÖPRÜLÜ
(VELES)
Trabotivishte
Bregdintsa
Bresnitsa
Simitli
Razlog
Jumaa-i-Bala
Kocharinovo
Charevo
Kamenicha
Karatova
Hadjarlar
Pchinya
ÜSKÜB
(SKOPLYE)
Kumanova
Egri Palanka
KYUSTENDIL
Dupnitsa
Gyuyesheva
Majdivyak
Strotsin
Makresh
Tatar Bazarjik
PHILIPPOPOLIS
R. Maritsa
Peshtera
Batak
Stanimak
Voina
Filipovo
Dovlen
Dospat Dagh
Bashmakli
Trigrad
Kara Balkan
Toz Burun
Ismilan
R. Arda
Kurshova
Mesta-Karasu
Libiahovo
Papaskeui
Kushevo
Lise (Elesh)
Starchista
Buk
Eskeje
Okhlar
Doksat
Ziliahovo
Prosenik
Komariani
Pirin Pl.
R. Strumitsa
Dragotin
Petrich
Rupel
Vetrina
Demirhissar
Melnik
Nevrokop
Dospat Dagh
Trigrad
Kara Balkan
Toz Burun
Ismilan
R. Arda
Kurshova
Mesta-Karasu
Libiahovo
Papaskeui
Buk
Eskeje
Drama
Spatovo
Barakli Jumá
Krusha Balkan
DOIRAN
L. Doiran
Gevgeli
Mt. Kovil
Mayadag
Mt. Kukuruz
Pojaro
Strupino
MONASTIR
Mt. Vetrenik
Allkhar
Cherna R.
Boshava
Pardovitsa
Gradets
Rabrovo
Belashitsa Planina
STRUMITSA
Lipintsa
Radovishta
Inova
Negotin
Krivolak
ISHTIB
Gradsko
Brod
Izvor
KÖPRÜLÜ
(VELES)
Trabotivishte
Bregdintsa
Bresnitsa
Simitli
Razlog
Jumaa-i-Bala
Kocharinovo
Charevo
Kamenicha
Karatova
Hadjarlar
Pchinya
ÜSKÜB
(SKOPLYE)
Kumanova
Egri Palanka
KYUSTENDIL
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Filipovo
Dovlen
Dospat Dagh
Bashmakli
Trigrad
Kara Balkan
Toz Burun
Ismilan
R. Arda
Kurshova
Mesta-Karasu
Libiahovo
Papaskeui

On April 10th, 1916, the British War Office issued a despatch, dated March 6th, from General Sir Charles Monro, covering the period from October 28th, 1915, to January 9th, 1916, during which that general was in command of the Eastern Mediterranean. In this General Monro furnished particulars of the Salonika Army, which was the official title accorded to the combined French and British troops in the district, related the circumstances that made necessary the retirement from Serbia, and mentioned the fact that the troops thus withdrawn were used as a protecting screen on positions forming a strong defensive line while the new British divisions were being disembarked at Salonika. This defensive line was about thirty miles from the port, and stretched from Karasuli, on the Vardar and the Salonika–Nish railway, to Kilindir, on the Salonika–Constantinople railway.

[*French official photograph.*

TWO THOUSAND YEARS AFTER.

French machine-gunners athwart the remains of an old Roman bridge in the Macedonian marshes. French sailors are standing behind the gunners.

In the meantime the operation of disembarking was being carried out with all possible speed, which, however, was not very great. The Allies had been given the quay space reserved for Serbia, under an arrangement which had been agreed to between that country and Greece in May, 1914; and the accommodation thus provided was so limited that only about eight hundred tons of stores could be landed in a day. The organisation and resources of the allied Staffs on the spot were equal to the strain, and General Monro reported that it spoke highly for their capacity that they were able to shelter and feed the troops as they arrived. Further, in his despatch the general gave special prominence to the difficulties to which General Mahon had been exposed from the time of his landing at Salonika, and the ability that he displayed in overcoming them.

General Mahon's difficulties

At this time the impression among the Allies in general, and in Greece in particular, was that the Bulgarians, with German and Austrian supports, would press on across the Serbo-Greek frontier, attack the Franco-British force, march, if they could, to Salonika, and attempt to drive the soldiers of the Entente into the sea. It was in anticipation of this programme that the Karasuli–Kilindir line was selected and held. General Monro informed the Greek authorities, by Colonel Pallis, their representative from Athens, that it was the intention of the Allies to send up to this line the reinforcements which were being disembarked; and he stated in his despatch that this intimation was taken in good part by the Greek generals, who commenced to withdraw their troops farther to the east, where they did not hamper his plans, and that otherwise they showed a disposition to meet his demands in a reasonable and friendly spirit. Yet within a few weeks the British Fleet was compelled, by two significant demonstrations of its power, to bring the Greek Government and its master, the King, to their senses, and only then was full liberty of manœuvre accorded to the Allies within the region in which they were operating. King Constantine expressed his desire that the Allies should quit his country, and said that his Army would protect the re-embarkation of their troops; but by now the Entente Powers were wide awake to the genuinely great importance of Salonika, and resolved not to leave it.

The fortification of the advanced defensive line and of Salonika itself was pushed forward by the Allies with feverish haste. For some weeks the impression persisted that the enemy, who, according to report, had handed over to Marshal Mackensen the chief command in this area, would advance in force across the border; but it was erroneous. Germany, having got control of the trunk railway through Serbia to Constantinople, seemed to be satisfied with this result of the campaign. She transferred most of her troops northward; and perhaps she was afraid of Russia, at this time massing large forces close to the Rumanian frontier, who accordingly had to be watched in that region. It may be that Greece intimated to her, as was alleged — though subsequent events hardly bore out the statement—that the Greek Army would fight the Bulgarians if they invaded Greek Macedonia, and therefore the Kaiser forbade a forward movement.

Whatever was the reason, the attack expected by the Allies did not materialise; and Teodoroff with his Bulgarians and Mackensen with his Austro-Germans remained on the north side of the boundary. In her arrogance Germany made a tremendous mistake, for if she had exerted her strength at once she probably would have been able to take Salonika. Her vainglorious overconfidence found ludicrous expression in the historic meeting at Nish on January 19th, 1916, of her Kaiser and the Bulgarian Tsar. The former greedily accepted the flattering phrases addressed to him in quaint Latin by the latter, which hailed him as Cæsar and *Imperator gloriosus*. But all the while there lay on their southern front the Salonika Army and its ever-growing menace.

Kaiser as Imperator gloriosus

It was to Salonika rather than the advanced defensive positions that the Allies turned their attention. Salonika had to be made secure, and their first effort was to see that enough territory was included within the fortified zone to prevent any enveloping movement on the flanks and keep hostile guns at a sufficient distance away. Nature, it might be said, had already come to their assistance. On the west of the city a swampy terrain extended to the Vardar, there a deep river, and the sea. On the north the

[Official photograph.

MAN-POWER AND GUN-POWER.

Hauling a field-piece up a Macedonian incline. Officers and men are seen putting their shoulders to the wheel with truly workmanlike effect.

[Official photograph.

EXPERT OPINION.

General Zimbrakakis, of the Greek Army, admiring the quality of British ordnance at Salonika.

place was shut in by ranges of hills, with a valley to the east which contained Lake Langaza and Lake Beshik, and on the south sloped down to the Gulf of Redena (or Orfano). From this gulf to the mouth of the Vardar the whole allied line was about sixty miles long, and it took in a hinterland in the shape of the fork-like peninsula of Chalcis, the entire area forming a large and powerful sea base. While the fear of attack was still strong, trenches and other works were rapidly constructed and developed, numerous Serbian and other refugees adding their labour to those of the soldiers; and heavy guns, many of them naval, were emplaced at selected points. The French held the line on the west along the Vardar and on the north to the track of the Salonika–Constantinople railway, whence the British carried it on through the hills to the lakes, and past them southward to the sea.

General Castelnau's arrival

Favoured by fine weather, the fortifying of Salonika was nearly completed by the end of December. On the 20th of that month the city had an unexpected visitor in the person of General Castelnau, who, only a fortnight before, had been promoted by General Joffre to be the Chief of the French General Staff, and whose opinion therefore carried great weight. Both in Paris and London deep anxiety was felt regarding the fate of Salonika and the Salonika Army, and Castelnau had come to see how matters really stood. After long conferences with General Sarrail and General Mahon, he made a full inspection of the place during the next few days, and pronounced himself thoroughly satisfied with what he saw. He told the two commanders that he approved of the dispositions they had made, and also of the general plan of defence. He wired to the French Government that he considered that the Salonika Army was perfectly safe, and doubtless the news was communicated to the British Government. On the other hand, the German Press boastfully announced that Salonika would be taken from the Allies by January 15th; but this prediction, like many another from the same source, was falsified. General Castelnau, after paying a call on King Constantine at Athens, quietly and confidently returned to headquarters in France.

No precaution was neglected by the Allies at Salonika. They had to provide against the attacks of enemy submarines in Greek territorial waters near the port, and take measures with regard to the hardly less dangerous activities of the spies with which the town, like all Greece, was infested. How the enemy consuls and vice-consuls—German, Austrian, Turkish, and Bulgarian—were rounded up and sent off on a warship was recorded in Chapter XCIX. These men were the centre of the spy-system, and a great many other spies were got rid of at the same time. The submarine problem was tackled with determination and success. Early in the morning of January 28th an allied naval squadron appeared before the fortress of Kara Burun, fifteen miles south of Salonika, on the east side of the bay, and landed French troops, who quickly took possession of the place. By the evening it was held by detachments of British and French soldiers, as well as by landing-parties from British, French, Russian, and Italian ships—the presence of nationals drawn from every member of the Quadruple Alliance thus demonstrating the solidarity of the Allies. General Moschopoulos, the commander of the Greek forces in Salonika, had been apprised of the intended occupation, and his troops promptly evacuated the fortress a few minutes before those of the Entente appeared. This military measure the Allies justified on the ground that some days previously a German submarine had torpedoed a British transport in the channel giving access to the port; they stated that it was impossible any longer to allow hostile submarines to

Precautions against espionage

navigate with impunity within range of the Kara Burun batteries. The Greek Government made the customary protest.

The same reason governed the action of the Allies in the case of the island of Mitylene, whence they removed the German, Austrian, and Turkish consular officials at the beginning of January. A British contingent was landed in the island of Chios, lying west of the Gulf of Smyrna, and arrested the German and Austrian consuls in mid-February. A week earlier a French detachment occupied Othoni (or Fano), an island about a dozen miles north-west of Corfu, to which the Serbian troops were being transferred. Here again the submarine peril had to be faced and overcome.

French occupation of Thasos

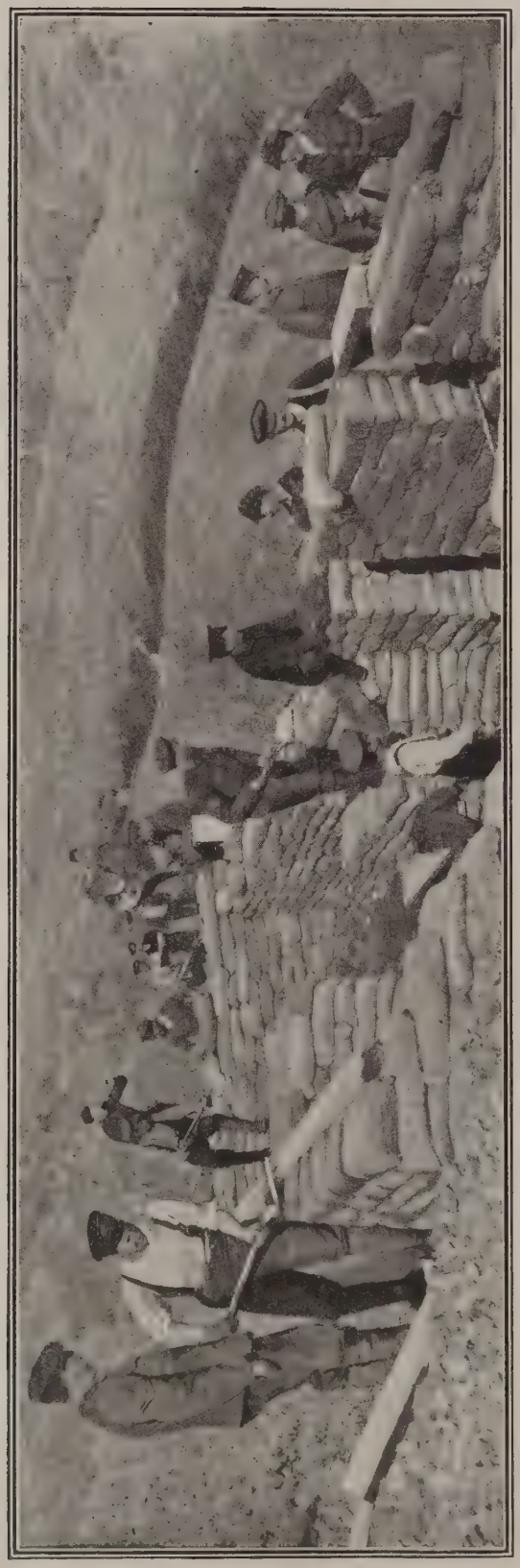
The same cause in April led the British and French Ministers at Athens to inform the Greek Prime Minister that a naval observation station at Argostoli Bay, in Cephalonia, an island of the Ionian group, was urgently necessary, and that this would be established but that there would be no disembarkation of troops, and the island would not be occupied. Once more the Greek Government protested against a "violation of the neutrality and sovereignty of Greece." In June French soldiers took possession of the considerable island of Thasos, close to the port of Kavalla, and held it as an anti-submarine base. Greece did nothing to put down the submarine menace, either in the Ægean or in the Adriatic, and the Allies had to take it in hand themselves.

January of 1916 passed over Salonika without the appearance of the much-advertised offensive of the enemy, though Mackensen was said to be holding inspections as near as Monastir, and getting ready. There were air-raids by both sides, but of no particular importance. On February 1st a Zeppelin bombarded the city, and killed or wounded many Greeks, including some soldiers. In the course of that month the French raided with aeroplanes Bulgarian camps at Strumitza and other places with considerable effect. Five days after the Zeppelin raid the first encounter with the troops of the enemy since the Allies had crossed the border was reported near Lake Doiran, but it was a trifling outpost affair, and that month also went by without a sign of the expected offensive. On the contrary, there were intimations that the Allies, and not the enemy, might attack, particularly as large reinforcements were constantly arriving.

[*Official photographs.*

REPAIRING A BROKEN GUN AT A FIELD WORKSHOP NEAR THE SALONIKA BASE.

A remarkable feat of rapid gun-repairing was recorded from Salonika. A faulty fuse caused the shell to explode in the mouth of a field-gun. All the crew escaped injury, and, bracing the weapon to a tree, they pulled out the broken inner tube and replaced it. The smaller illustration was secured as the gun was being chained to the tree.



MARTIAL TOWN-PLANNING IN MACEDONIA: BUILDING A SANDBAG VILLA SOMEWHERE AMID THE BALKAN HILLS.

A Bulgarian communiqué, issued two months afterwards, noted that in March the Franco-British forces moved out from the entrenched camp of Salonika and approached the Bulgarian frontier. It went on to say that the principal Franco-British forces were disposed in the Vardar Valley, and extended eastward to the Struma Valley, and westward to Florina. Sarrail, indeed, had been making reconnaissances from Salonika as early as the second week of February, and about that time occupied the terrain on the west side of the Vardar to a depth of six miles, to ensure the city from any assault from the direction of Monastir. On March 16th a French detachment took possession of some Greek villages close to the frontier in the Gevgeli-Doiran sector, which had been roughly handled by Bulgarians, and an exchange of artillery fire occurred near Machukovo, on the boundary. The Allies had moved north.

Handy-men at work

Salonika was passing through a period of change, according to a telegram from Mr. G. Ward Price, the official correspondent at the British Headquarters, which were in the city. He mentioned that the Castle of the Seven Towers was being modernised, as its battlements were being used as a signal station by British sailors, who also had built a hen-run on the top, and laid out a flower-garden with earth carried up bucketful by bucketful. They had even installed a bath there, and "where tortured prisoners groaned the British bluejacket now nonchalantly took his tub." Electric light and water had been laid on inside the grim old castle, on the second story of which another British institution had been brought into existence—a museum of the archæological remains in which Salonika and the country round about were rich. The Allies had decided to take steps to preserve the relics that they discovered for the benefit of the Greek Government, to whom such treasure-trove naturally belonged, and they found a curator for this museum in a well-known English professor of archæology, who was serving as a lieutenant of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve with the British forces in Salonika. The Allies did an even greater amount of good to the place by attending to the sanitation of the city and its neighbourhood, and in making roads throughout the district that were something like roads, and not merely successions of dirty mud-holes, with rough, slippery stones in between, and the peasants thereafter got to market with their produce in such comfort as they had never dreamed could exist in the world.

Serbia's fighting remnant

Towards the end of March, Alexander, Crown Prince and Regent of Serbia, arrived in London, where he was warmly welcomed. He had previously spent a few days in Paris, where also he had been exceedingly well received. He had gone through the terrible retreat, and the story of the sufferings of the Serbians had endeared him to the peoples of the Allies. With him was M. Pasich, the veteran Prime Minister of Serbia. The courage and hope of neither were abated. They had dark tales to tell of the dreadful excesses perpetrated on their unhappy country by its cruel Bulgarian and Austrian conquerors; but they also declared that the Serbian Army, which was recruiting its strength and refitting in Corfu, was burning to avenge the wrongs of Serbia, and soon would be in a position to add reinforcements to the Salonika Army. They spoke of a contribution to the common cause of 130,000 men, practically all of whom were combatants. It was a considerable survival from the wreck of the Serbian armies, and no such survival, probably no survival at all, would have been possible but for the co-operation of the British, the French, and the Italians. Food was supplied jointly by the British and the French, while the Italians provided the greater part of the shipping which conveyed the Serbians to Corfu.

But without exaggeration it could be said that the Serbian Army would have perished if the British Adriatic

Mission, at the head of which was General F. P. S. Taylor, C.M.G., had not saved it, with the help of the French Mission, and that these Missions would have worked in vain without the generous and ungrudging assistance of Italy. At Durazzo, on the Voyusa River, and at Valona British and Italians worked together. The latter did a very fine thing for the starving Serbians on the Voyusa. No ordinary means of transport being available, the pick of the Italian forces carried boots and food from Valona to the river on their backs for the helpless, worn-out, and famished Serbian soldiers. In bringing the Serbians from the eastern shore of the Adriatic Italy employed two hundred and fifty

[*French official photograph.*

FRENCH OUTPOST ON THE ALERT. A symbolical impression. Sturdy and alert, a French sentry is seen looking out for Bulgars or Austro-Germans.

[*Official photograph.*

RARE FIGHTERS IN A RUGGED ENVIRONMENT.

Scottish sentries on the watch for the enemy from behind rocks on the Macedonian front. The allied army at Salonika was the most heterogeneous host ever gathered together for one ideal.

steamers, under the escort of units of her Fleet and of warships of the other Allies, and in spite of attacks by enemy aeroplanes, torpedo-boats, and submarines did not lose a single Serbian soldier at sea, an altogether remarkable achievement, for which she scarcely got sufficient credit at the time.

There had long been a certain amount of friction between Italy and Serbia with respect to the coast of the Adriatic on the east, and the splendid services that Italy rendered the Serbian Army naturally led to a better understanding between them. While in Rome during March M. Pasich called on Admiral Corsi to thank the Italian Fleet for having evacuated the Serbian Army from Durazzo, and in a published interview, while in London, he recognised the legitimacy of Italy's aspirations to supremacy in the Adriatic, not doubting that Serbia would be accorded her place on its shores. Germany had striven with characteristic, tortuous diplomacy to foster the view that the interests of Italy and Serbia in the Adriatic were quite irreconcilable. The distinguished Italian statesman, Signor Barzilai, speaking at Genoa on the topic, maintained that there was no need for their respective interests to clash, and that to a sincere policy of reciprocation there was no obstacle which goodwill on both sides would not remove.

Having solved the problem of transporting the reconstituted Serbian Army to Corfu, the Allies next had to solve the further problem of conveying it to Salonika, a much more difficult undertaking, as the far longer passage by sea gave the enemy submarines more scope. There was a chance, however, of curtailing the voyage. It was thought that Greece might be willing to help the Serbians, still regarded by many Greeks as their allies, by permitting them to use her railways, a proceeding which would have materially reduced the risks from U boats by cutting off several hundred miles of the sea route. Accordingly, the Entente Powers proposed to the Greek Government that it should allow the Serbian troops to disembark at Patras, or some other port on the west side of Greece, on the railway which went on to Athens and thence to Salonika, the two cities having just been connected by the completion of the line to the latter. But the Greek Government declined on the now familiar plea of neutrality, and though the Entente Ministers at the Greek capital persevered for some time in pressing the suggestion, they withdrew it in the end. The whole Serbian Army from Corfu was sent all the way by sea to Salonika. The first detachment of it arrived there about the middle of April, and towards the end of July it was holding the left flank of the Allies, over against its old southern Macedonian frontier, and fighting the Bulgarians. While it lay in Salonika its perfect military fitness and the fine physique of its personnel attracted general admiration.

Serbians again in action

Greek neutrality from the start had been a very dubious thing, and it continued to bear the same character. If Greece—or, rather, the Greek Government—showed no

[Official photograph.

SNIPING FROM THE TRENCHES.
British officers at ease while the rank and file do a little sniping.

disposition to help the Allies in the matter of the railway transportation of the Serbian Army, its neutrality in at least two other arguable questions appeared to take on a distinctly pro-German complexion. One of these, of which there was very little doubt, was that it was permitting, or at any rate conniving at, the use of some of the smaller Greek islands as bases for German submarines. The other was that which developed into what came to be known as the "Sacks Crisis." Of the two, the former was the more important, but the latter was extremely significant.

Sinister influences were unmistakably at work in Greece. The country, speaking generally, was divided into two parties, the Neutralists and the Ententists, and in effect the Neutralists were anti-Ententists. They were headed by M. Skouloudis, who had succeeded M. Zaimis as Prime Minister in the preceding year, and M. Gounaris, and behind them were the King and the openly pro-German propagandists. The other party was led by M. Venizelos, who, after once more withdrawing himself from political life, had returned to it again, and ceaselessly maintained a pro-Entente campaign.

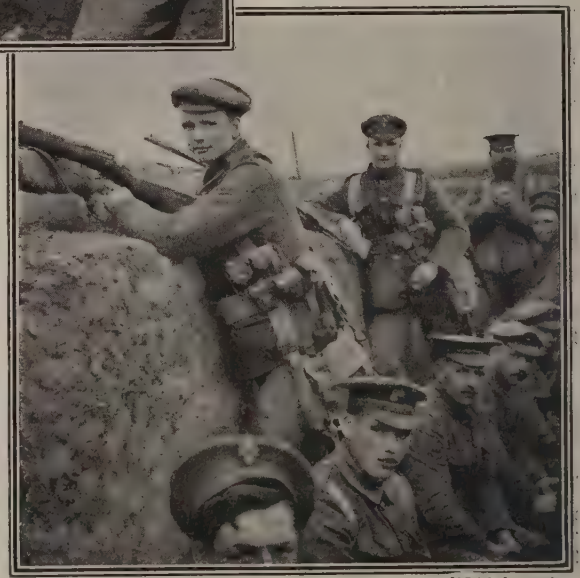
Greek Neutralists versus Ententists

The Greek Parliament met in February, but as the Venizelists had nearly all abstained from going to the polls at the last General Election because it was unconstitutional, the composition of the Chamber was Skouloudist. Later, M. Venizelos felt that a mistake had been made, and his party became active in politics in March and April, he himself in May being elected for Mitylene, where a vacancy had occurred.

In April huge commotion was caused in Athens by the disclosure of an alleged Greek breach of neutrality by the sale to Bulgaria by Greece of some 40,000 sacks which belonged to Russia and were stored at Salonika. A transaction of the sort had undoubtedly taken place in the preceding November, and the Entente Legations at Athens took the matter up. At first the Greek Government denied all knowledge of the business, but could no longer persist in this attitude when the "Patris," the organ of the Venizelists, reproduced in facsimile the original typewritten copy of the telegram, which had been seized by the Allies at the Bulgarian Consulate at Salonika, and which revealed the complicity of the Government. The subject was ventilated in the Greek Parliament, and M. Skouloudis admitted that Bulgaria had asked for the sacks, but said that the request had been refused. The Russian Consul-General in Salonika replied to M. Skouloudis that, on the demand of the Greek authorities, the sacks had been taken by Greek agents, and had disappeared from the place. Never thoroughly cleared up, the affair left a bad impression on the Allies in general and in particular on the Venizelists, who in the interests of the Entente were at this time holding a series of public meetings, which, however, were broken up by the Skouloudists, with the consequent intervention of the Government (Skouloudist) police, who arrested several of the Venizelists. Nevertheless, these meetings abundantly testified that M. Venizelos was as popular as ever with the bulk of his countrymen.

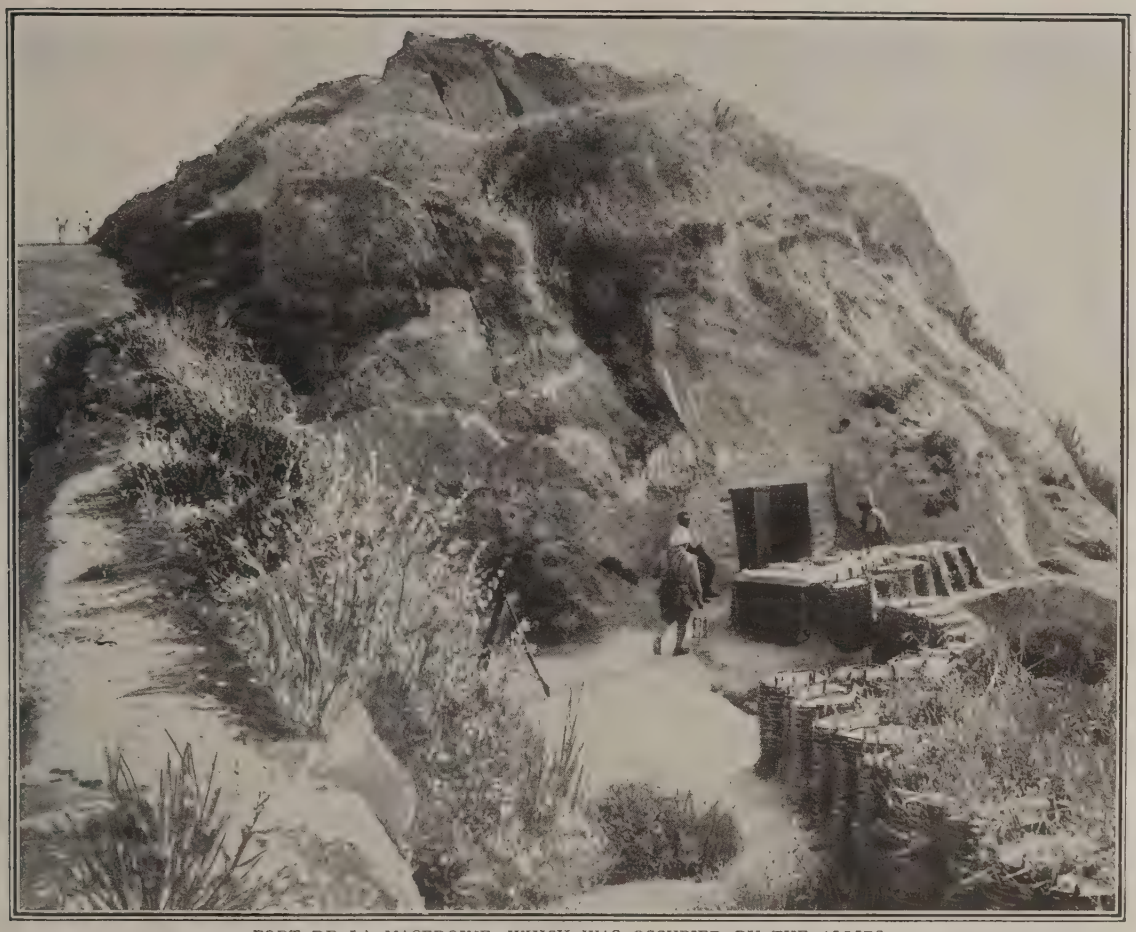
Mystery of the sacks

At the beginning of April the forces of the Allies daily were in touch with the enemy on the frontier, artillery duels and skirmishes between outposts occurring constantly. Many of the Greek villages in the vicinity were abandoned by their inhabitants, while other villages were plundered by Bulgarian comitajis, and there was some desultory fighting between them and Greek soldiers. The Allies made frequent air-raids on Bulgarian camps, and in the fourth week Salonika was again bombed by enemy aeroplanes. Heavy rains and snowstorms in the Balkans interfered with operations, yet on April 30th the British were engaged for the first time, but only in patrol encounters.



[Official photographs.

BOMBS AND RIFLES ON THE SALONIKA FRONT.
A lull in the fighting. Above: An officer lobbing Mills grenades.



FORT DE LA MACEDOINE, WHICH WAS OCCUPIED BY THE ALLIES.
Natural stronghold further consolidated with baskets of sand. The entrance to the fort is seen in the centre of the illustration.

On May 2nd a detachment of French troops suddenly appeared at Florina, twenty-three miles south of Monastir, arrested an Austrian consular official and some Turkish spies, and occupied the town. At three o'clock in the morning of May 5th a Zeppelin approached the harbour of Salonika, was picked out by the searchlights of the Allies, heavily fired on by the fleet, and hit by a naval shell. The airship dropped into a morass, and what of her had not been burned and destroyed was wrecked by the fall. Of her crew four officers and eight men survived and were captured, among them being her commander, who said that his object had been to bomb not the city but the warships in the bay. The situation on both banks of the Vardar underwent no change during May; but to the north of Lake Doiran the Allies took possession of Dova Tepe, close to the Bulgarian boundary, which before the month closed was to be the scene of great excitement. Along the whole front the organisation of the Franco-British line went on systematically.

New Salonika command

An alteration in the British command was notified by the War Office on May 20th. General Mahon was transferred to Egypt, where he assumed command of its western frontier, and his place at Salonika was filled by General George Francis Milne, C.B., D.S.O., who had served with the Nile Expedition in 1898 and in South Africa. In the Boer War he was mentioned in despatches, and more recently he had also been mentioned twice in despatches for his services in France, where he had acted as Chief Staff Officer at the headquarters of the Second Army. He was one of the younger British generals, being forty-nine years old when he went to Salonika. General Mahon, who had been very popular both with military men and civilians in Greece, left the city on May 19th, General Sarrail and other high officers, including Serbians and Greeks, bidding him a cordial good-bye at the landing-stage. As a correspondent wrote, the period Mahon had spent at the head of the British forces was one rather of hard work than of glory. In all the arduous and incessant labour which had converted Salonika into a vast and powerful entrenched camp, and of which not a trace was in existence in the previous October, he had taken a great share, laying, in connection with General Sarrail, the sure foundations of future victory for the Entente in the Balkans.

Honour to General Mahon

In the last week of May the political—and to some extent the military—situation in Greece took a turn for the worse, which led the Allies to take a stronger line with the Government of the country. On the 26th a large force of Bulgarians, estimated at 25,000 men, accompanied by German officers and a few German troops, advanced from Petrich, appeared before Fort Rupel, and summoned its garrison to surrender, giving it two hours in which to clear out. Rupel was one of a chain of forts which the Greeks had established after the Second Balkan War to guard their Macedonian frontier from Bulgarian attack. It dominated the Struma Valley and the region of Demirhissar and Seres. About fifty-two miles north-east of Salonika, it lay on the most direct route to Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, and was of high strategical importance. Greece had spent half a million on its works, and it was well fortified. The commander of the garrison opened fire on the enemy, but after a few rounds held a parley under a white flag with a German officer, and shortly

after surrendered the fort to the invaders. He had received orders from the Greek Government to hand it over. That they were most distasteful to his men was shown by the fact that many of them wept as they marched out. Rumour asserted that two other forts of only little less military value, in the same locality, had also been relinquished to the Bulgarians, but this was not the case at the time. It was also said that the enemy was about to cross the River Mesta, which formed the boundary of Greece on the east, and that he had designs on Kavalla.

The great majority of the Greek people, who regarded Bulgaria as their determined and implacable hereditary enemy, expressed the utmost alarm and consternation. At first the Greek Government tried to influence popular feeling by representing that the surrender of Fort Rupel had not been made to Bulgaria but to Germany, who had given satisfactory assurances with respect to the preservation of the sovereign rights of Greece and the return of the place after the war, with compensation for any damage that might be incurred. But this was too flimsy a plea, and a storm of indignation and anger swept over the land. Especially was this the case among the population of Greek Macedonia, the threatened territory, who had the most painful recollection of the horrible excesses the Bulgarians had perpetrated in this district during the Balkan Wars, and now saw it passing into the hands of their savage foes once more. Many of them fled in panic. In Salonika there was a great demonstration against the surrender of the frontier to the Bulgarians; ten thousand citizens marched in procession through the streets, carrying Greek flags at half-mast and hung with crape. Athens, controlled by the Government police, took the matter more quietly; but the Venizelist Press, which came out with black mourning borders, was extremely outspoken, and asked why the Greek Army was mobilised if its mobilisation was used only for Rupel evacuations? "Who could have imagined," said M. Venizelos himself, "a Greek Army witnessing the Bulgarian flag replacing that of Greece?" The Greek Government replied by justifying its action on the double ground that resistance would have been useless, and that to offer it would have been inconsistent with its policy of neutrality. It professed to be putting the Central Powers on an even footing with the Entente, but it made a formal protest to Germany and Bulgaria. An official communiqué from Berlin announced that German and Bulgarian forces occupied the important Rupel Pass, on the Struma, as a safeguard against an obviously-intended surprise by the Entente troops. It added that "Our superiority obliged the weak Greek forces to give way; and, for the rest, the sovereign rights of Greece were respected." By the end of May the enemy had advanced to Demirhissar, murdering and plundering as he marched southward, and it was plain that it was his intention to make for Kavalla.

Bulgarian invasion of Greece

The Allies could not view these proceedings with indifference; and M. Briand, the French Prime Minister, declared that France, in conjunction with Great Britain, would begin energetic measures as a result of the Bulgarian invasion of Greek territory. On the morning of June 3rd Sarrail took the first step by proclaiming a state of siege in the whole zone held by the Salonika Army, and occupied the principal Government offices in the city, including the post and telegraph offices, the wireless station, the police headquarters, and the water, gas, and electricity works, as well as the custom-house. He also demanded that certain Greek officers openly hostile to the Allies should be recalled from Salonika by the Greek Government.

But the Allies did a great deal more than that. On Tuesday, June 6th, they began a blockade of the whole Greek coast, an action similar to that taken in the previous November. The blockade was of the nature which is known as "pacific," but that it was sufficiently powerful was demonstrated by a semi-official Greek statement which said that "this virtual blockade of Greek ports threatened the starvation of the entire population of the kingdom and the ruin of Greek commerce." The Greek Government pretended that it was unable to understand why such a measure should be thought necessary; but on June 8th it ordered a partial demobilisation of the Army, stating that this was done so that the presence of Greek troops should not interfere with the operations of the belligerents, and to reduce the financial pressure on the country, whose Budget showed a revenue of less than ten millions and an expenditure of over twenty millions.

Blockade of Greek ports

[*Official photograph.*

INFORMATION BY FLASH AND FLAG.
British signalling party in communication with Headquarters at Salonika.

Disgraceful demonstrations against the Entente occurred at Athens on June 12th, and an employee of the British Legation was attacked by the secret police. Threats against Great Britain and the other Allies were openly made by Government supporters. M. Skouloudis appeared to be resolved on resisting the blockade to the utmost, and the Allies were compelled, after relaxing it somewhat, to enforce it with much greater rigour than before. Meanwhile the Entente Ministers, who had been preparing a Note to Greece, revised it, and made its terms more drastic. They presented it to the Greek Government on June 21st, and the crisis was brought to an end forthwith by the resignation of the Skouloudis Cabinet and the appointment of M. Zaimis to the Prime Ministership, with his acceptance, in the name of King Constantine, of all the demands of the Allies.

In this Note, which was signed by the representatives of France, Great Britain, and Russia, the Protecting Powers of Greece, it was stated that Greece was not asked to emerge from her neutrality, though there were numerous and legitimate grounds for suspicion against the Greek Government, whose attitude towards the Allies had not been in conformity with its repeated engagements, nor even with the principles of a loyal neutrality. The Note accused the Greek Government of permitting the activities of certain foreigners hostile to the Entente. It pointed out that the entrance of Bulgarian forces into Greece and the occupation of Fort Rupel and other strategic points, with the connivance of the Greek Government, constituted for the allied troops a new threat, which imposed on the three Protecting Powers the obligation of taking immediate measures. It next alluded to the unconstitutional character of the existing Greek Government, and declared it was the right and the duty of the three Powers to see that this should be done away with.

[*Official photograph.*

ROUTE-MARCHING AMONG THE HILLS OVERLOOKING SALONIKA.

Highland battalion on the march during manœuvres at Salonika. During the long interval between their occupation of Salonika and the opening of hostilities in August, 1916, our troops were kept in hard training for the arduous work before them.

The note said the Greek Government was hostile to the Entente, and it therefore demanded: First, the real and complete demobilisation of the Greek Army, and its return to a peace footing; second, a business Government that should be genuinely neutral; third, the dissolution of the Chamber, to be followed by a General Election; and fourth, the dismissal of certain officials who were responsible for assaults on peaceable citizens, and for insults levied at the Allied Legations and their members. It concluded by announcing that while the Protecting Powers continued to be friendly towards Greece, and were determined on the application of the indispensable measures without discussion or delay, they left to the Greek Government entire responsibility for what might happen if their just demands were not immediately accepted.

France, Great Britain, and Russia had been careful in this Note to differentiate between the Greek Government of M. Skouloudis and Greece as a whole, and this made a profound impression throughout the country. The Government Press was bitterly resentful of the Entente's interference with the internal affairs of Greece; but most Greeks were well pleased. In an interview M. Venizelos said the Note solved a situation from which there was no other issue. He spoke of the just severity of its tone, and the sincerity of its motives. The Protecting Powers, he maintained, had acted only like parents reclaiming a son's birthright. Henceforth Greece would be able to take up her life anew, and face the future with unbandaged eyes. M. Zaimis declared that everything would be straightened out with the Allies, and that he would continue in the same path to the end. In all Greece there was no meeting called to protest; the general feeling was one of relief when it was known that the crisis was over. More than once the tension had been very acute. M. Skouloudis had advised King Constantine to resist, and it was said that the King really thought of doing so but was dissuaded only at the last moment by Prince Nicholas and M. Zaimis. Had he declined to accept the demands of the Allies, there were plenty of Entente warships with troops not far from Athens, and they had instructions how to act. A German Mission, under a Major von Schweinitz, with promises that meant nothing less than an offer of military assistance, arrived in Athens a day too late to influence events. A decree ordering the general demobilisation of the Greek Army took effect on July 1st, but a fresh element in the situation appeared in the formation of "Reservists' Leagues," which were hostile to the Allies, and sought to make mischief.

M. Venizelos and M. Skouloudis

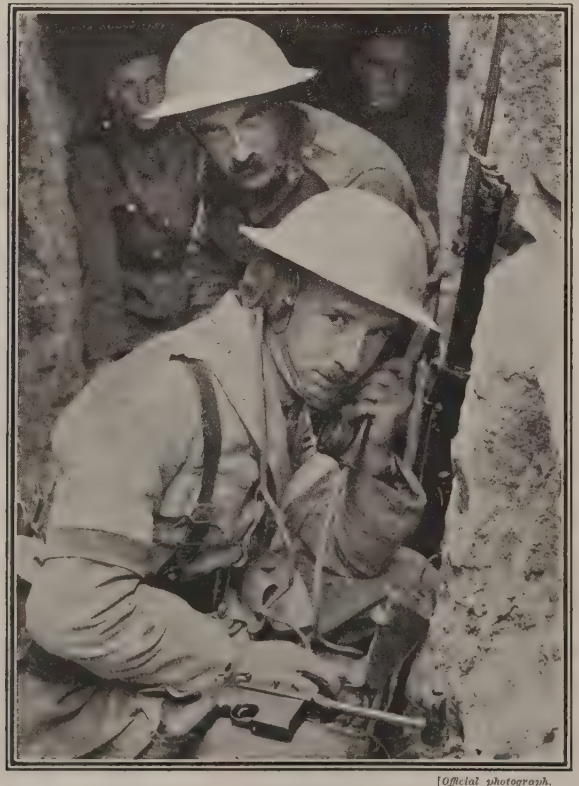
German Mission too late

During July Greece gradually became more tranquil, under the guidance of M. Zaimis, though he retained as members of his Cabinet several Ministers who were not exactly in sympathy with the Allies. The Franco-British Fleet, with considerable contingents of troops, still remained cruising near the Greek capital, reminding its unstable elements of the iron hand under the velvet glove. On the frontier heavy artillery duels continued, with apparently little result, and only on one part of it was there an advance, which was made by a Serbian division in the Moglena (or Karadjova) district, some twenty miles north of Vodena, west of the Vardar and south-east of Monastir. The Serbian force attacked the Bulgarians

in this sector on July 24th, and on that day and the two following days carried the heights held by the enemy to the north of Serbiana, Kovil, and the slopes of Strupino. The Bulgarians counter-attacked on the 27th, but were repulsed with appreciable loss. The Serbians were only too happy to be fighting their old foes again, and their assaults were characterised by both dash and determination. As a result of this offensive the allied front was pushed forward in this region to within a few hundred yards of the boundary. On July 31st the Crown Prince Alexander landed at Salonika, and assumed the chief command of all the Serbian troops in the country.

At the beginning of August the front of the Allies stretched from Lake Prespa on the west to the Struma on the east, a distance of about two hundred miles. Reinforcements were still coming forward. Russian and Italian troops had landed at Salonika in some strength to join the British, the French, and the Serbians in the prosecution of the campaign. The first detachment of the Russians disembarked on July 30th, and that of the Italians arrived on August 10th. As the Russians came ashore they were greeted with the solemn benedictions of the Orthodox Greek clergy. The Italian Press commented on the appearance of their countrymen by the side of the soldiers of the other Allies in Greece as a special proof of the solidarity of the Entente Powers against Germany, upon whom Italy had not yet declared war. The spectacle of the unity of the Allies and their action in common, as demonstrated by this junction of the forces of five of the allied nations, to which presently was to be added an Albanian representation, headed later by their chieftain, Essad Pasha, could not but create a deep impression on the rulers and peoples of the Balkans. And this the more particularly because the aspect of the entire war had recently undergone a tremendous change, and one that was wholly favourable to the Entente, owing to the success of Brussiloff's magnificent offensive on the Russian southern front in Europe and of the Franco-British offensive on the Somme. In Greece many regretful searchings of heart found expression because of the opportunities which the nation had lost for an alliance with the Entente Powers. But the Skouloudists—or Gounarists, as they were sometimes called from M. Gounaris, another anti-Ententist ex-Minister—remained impenitent.

Enter Russia and Italy



[*Official photograph.*

EARS IN THE WALL OF ROCK.

A British signal officer at a listening-post in a trench cut through the solid rock in a section of the Salonika front.

British troops were in contact with the Bulgarians in the first week of August near Lake Doiran, and under cover of a dark, rainy night they rushed into the village of Doljeli, a short distance west of Doiran town, drove the enemy out of it, and returned to their lines. On the 9th the French bombarded Doiran, which lay on the south-west shore of the lake, and about thirty-five miles north-north-west of Salonika. Columns of smoke were seen to arise from the town, and following up the artillery preparation French infantry advanced, captured Height 227, two miles to the south-east, and took the railway-station, thus gaining possession of the line from Salonika as far as Poroi.

On the 10th a change in the allied commands was announced, by which General Sarrail became Commander-in-Chief of all the Entente forces in the Balkans, his place at the head of the French divisions being taken by General Cordonnier, one of the French officers who had emerged from comparative obscurity and achieved high positions during the course of the war. Cordonnier had been a professor at the École Supérieure de Guerre, and had published a careful study of the Russo-Japanese War, which had attracted attention, but at the outbreak of hostilities he was merely in charge of a battalion. He had evinced, however, such consummate military skill at Verdun that his rapid promotion was a certainty. It was at General Sarrail's special request that this brilliant soldier was sent to Salonika, where he landed on August 10th.

General Cordonnier arrives

In the middle of August the forces of the Allies were advancing northward, though gradually and slowly, and, on the 15th, Doljeli was occupied by the French without opposition. But this capture appeared to be the signal for the onset of a powerful Bulgarian offensive, which next day developed along the whole battle-line. At Doljeli the infantry of the enemy, marching out from their permanent entrenchments close to that village, attacked the French in superior numbers and expelled them from it. Having been reinforced, the French vigorously assaulted the place and retook it. But the Bulgarians counter-attacked with energy and success, and it changed hands several times amid fierce fighting, in which the British participated. On the night of the 17th a British battalion had its first experience of hand-to-hand work in an assault of Horse-shoe Hill, an eminence which commanded the village, and by the free use of bayonets and bombs it drove the enemy off it, subsequently repulsing all his efforts. General Sarrail, speaking of the capture of this hill, said it was a splendid operation, especially the final bayonet charge, and though the men were untried troops, they behaved with admirable dash and courage—which, however, was only, he added, to be expected of British soldiers. On the 22nd the Bulgarians attacked the allied positions west of Horse-shoe Hill, but were driven back by steady machine-gun and rifle fire.

While thus active in the centre, or the Gevgeli-Doiran sector, of the front of the Allies, the Bulgarians showed still more activity on its flanks. Over against the allied left wing, or western part of the line, the Bulgarians had concentrated large forces under General Bojadieff at Monastir and Kenali, on the Monastir-Salonika Railway, and on August 16th they suddenly sprang a strong offensive against the front from Lake Prespa to Lake Ostrovo, which

[Official photograph.

ONE OF THE GREAT TRIUMVIRATE OF GREECE.
General Zimbrakakis, Minister for War in the Provisional Government established by M. Venizelos, in conversation with Lord Granard at Salonika.

was held by the Serbians, but towards its western extremity in weak force. At Florina, a small town in Greek territory, sixteen miles south of Monastir, there were only some Serbian advanced guards, or "observation-posts," which, after an exchange of shots, withdrew as the Bulgarians came on in overwhelming numbers, and the enemy thereupon occupied the place and its railway-station. A Berlin communiqué pompously announced that after the fruitless attacks of the Entente Powers during the past few days, the allied (Bulgaro-German) troops proceeded to deliver a counter-offensive, and that Florina had been captured after a fight against the Serbian Danube Division. Debouching from Florina, the Bulgarians in the next two days entered Biklishta, south of Lake Prespa, and took Banitsa, a station some miles farther on upon the railway to Salonika, and close to Lake Ostrovo.

On the 18th of the month the enemy, six battalions strong, attacked the Serbians along the front to the east and north of the railway, starting from Moglena, in the Karadjova Mountains, and ending above the villages of Strupino and Pojar, the sector in which the Serbians had been victorious in July, and though he fought with the utmost fury, he was thrown back on his original position with a loss of over a thousand men. On the following day the Serbians in this district counter-attacked the Bulgarians, and drove them across the frontier at Kukuruz, occupying the spurs of that mountain as well as those of another, Kaymakchalan.

Farther to the west the enemy continued his advance from Banitsa along the railway in an attempt to gain Vodena, and so to get in rear of the Serbians, who, according to a German statement, belonged to the Drina Division, in the Moglena (or Karadjova) district. The Serbians, still outnumbered, held them up for a while on the Malka Nidje Planina, but, giving way before the vastly superior strength of the invaders, slowly retired to Lake Ostrovo, where very heavy fighting took place. They occupied a defensive position between that lake and the little lake called Petrsko, and from midnight to five o'clock in the morning of August 22nd they stoutly maintained themselves in it, notwithstanding repeated and violent Bulgarian onslaughts. The progress of the enemy, who lost over 10,000 men in this sector, was completely checked, while all the time the Serbians in the Karadjova district were storming one peak after another, and threatening a descent into the Valley of the Cherna (Tserna) which lay beyond.

Kastoria, a town on the high-road from Florina, which eventually reached the Ægean through Larisa at Volo, was occupied by the Bulgarians on August 22nd, the Greek local authorities retiring and leaving it in the hands of the enemy, as they had done when he appeared at Florina. The Bulgarians tried to resume their advance at Lake Ostrovo, and their official communiqué announced various victorious encounters with the Serbian forces, but the latter strengthened their front by recapturing Hill 1,506, three miles north-west of the lake, which they had previously lost. By the 25th of the month the Serbians were counter-attacking in their turn in this region, and had pushed back the Bulgarians for a considerable distance. Rumours at Athens said that the enemy had overcome the resistance of the Serbians at Ostrovo, and was marching on to Vodena, but this news, like so much other news from the Greek capital, was entirely false.

Greeks give way to Bulgars

The anti-Ententists spread these stories for the purpose of discrediting the Allies. As a matter of fact, reinforcements were constantly coming up for the Serbians, who in any case fought with admirable courage and tenacity; and though on August 27th the Bulgarians brought new heavy guns to bear on the Ostrovo sector, and under their cover made three violent assaults, they were successfully repulsed with great slaughter. On the other hand, the Serbians in the mountains to the north conquered fresh positions on the slopes of Vetrenik, west of Kukuruz.

[Official photograph.

GREEK PATRIOTS WHO DREW THE SWORD FOR THEIR COUNTRY'S HONOUR.
Colonel Christodoulos (in centre) arriving at Salonika with his men who, resenting the Bulgars' invasion of Greek territory, forcibly resisted their occupation of the fort at Seres. General Zimbrakakis is seen on the colonel's left hand.

Copyright

The Great War

MAP OF THE VALLEY OF THE VARDAR: SCENE OF THE MAIN ACTIVITIES OF THE FRANCO-BRITISH FORCES.

The key map shows the proportion of the area taken in by the detailed map to the entire theatre of operations in the Balkans, exclusive of Rumania.

On the Allies' right, lying along the Struma, east of Salonika, the Bulgarian offensive was launched both from the north and the east. From the former direction the enemy advanced from Fort Rupel and Demirhissar on Seres, and along the roads farther east from Nevrokop, in South-Western Bulgaria, on Seres and Drama; and from the latter from across the Mesta River, also known as the Nestos and the Kara Su, towards Kavalla, which was only about twenty miles from the Ægean end of his eastern boundary. His first object was the occupation of the entire extent of Greek territory east of the Struma, a region which he knew was not held in any strength by the troops of the Entente Powers, and therefore could be easily seized —provided the Greeks made no resistance.

Greek collusion with the foe

As soon as his march southward began it was evident that he was acting in collusion—or, at all events, in agreement —with the Greek Government. For at the outset the authorities at Athens ordered the withdrawal of the Greek forces which had stood in his path, and thus permitted him to descend into the plains of Seres and Drama without opposition. On August 17th-18th Krushevo, Starchista, and Lise—three fortified places immediately south of the frontier, east of Fort Rupel—were surrendered to him. Not a few of the Greek soldiers, indignant at this betrayal of the interests of their country, were very unwilling to quit these strategic points, and they offered some resistance at Krushevo and Starchista; but the Bulgarians got all three practically without an effort. The garrison of Fort Pheapetra, near Krushevo, fought more stoutly, but its action had no real influence. At the same time the enemy crossed the mouth of the Mesta, and sent forward patrols towards Kavalla, many of whose inhabitants straightway fled for refuge to the Island of Thasos, which had been in the hands of the Allies for some little time back.

BLACK LABOUR IN MACEDONIA.
African natives on the Macedonian front digging a shelter—extending many feet under the ground—from bombardment.

TOUCH AND GO: A GRENADE EXPLODES.
Instantaneous impression of a rifle-grenade bursting at the head of an entrenchment on the Balkan front.

The west bank of the Struma and Lake Tahinos, the expansion of that river towards the sea, formed the right flank of the Allies, and so far as the Salonika Army was concerned, the Bulgarians, if the Greeks had no objection, could have occupied the district east of it and marched to Kavalla long before August. On the east bank of the stream the Entente Powers had only scouting squadrons of cavalry, and these made no real attempt to stem the Bulgarian tide, but merely to watch and delay its advance. On August 19th and 20th French and British detachments were in touch with the enemy at various points from Barakli Juma, west of Demirhissar, to near Kavalla, and retiring according to instructions with very little fighting, though Bulgarian communiqués boastfully spoke of great victories, particularly over the French, in all this region. On the 20th a party of British Yeomanry destroyed the railway bridge at Angista Station, on the railway between Seres and Drama, to hinder the movement of supplies for the invaders. By the 22nd the Bulgarians were throwing up entrenchments on the east side of the Struma, between Lake Butkovi on the north and Lake Tahinos on the south, with their heavy artillery at Yenikeui; but an attack on French troops holding the Komarian bridge was repulsed, and north of Butkovi Franco-British forces easily defeated several assaults by which the enemy tried to recover positions he had lost. On August 23rd the British, in the face of a heavy fire, blew up three bridges at Neohori, where the Struma debouches into the sea. Special reference was made by

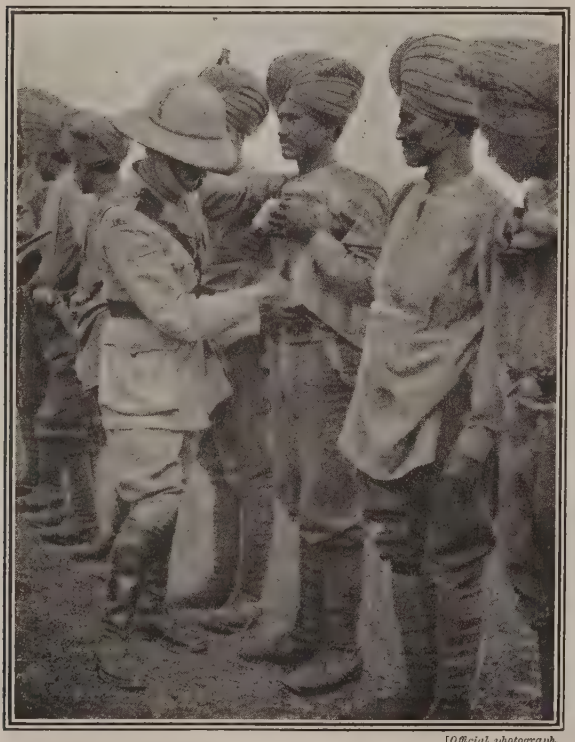
Bulgarian boasts of victory

General Sarrail to the excellence of the work performed by the British Yeomanry in the operations on the east side of the river.

On August 24th the Bulgarians were in Kavalla, and with one exception occupied all its forts, which were armed with many heavy guns, and with the other forts lost elsewhere had cost Greece more than four millions sterling.

On the 25th the place was bombarded by two British monitors and a cruiser. Though the enemy was now in possession of nearly the whole of Eastern Greek Macedonia, he had not gained it without encountering an increasing amount of opposition from certain portions of the Greek Army. According to a telegram to a Paris journal, the soldiers at Fort Stratila put up so determined a fight that the Bulgarians entered it only after Major Changas, its commandant, and all its garrison had been killed or wounded.

But it was at Seres that a part of the Greek forces made something of a stand. As the troops of the enemy had



[*Official photograph.*

PARADE BEFORE THE DOCTOR.
Indian mountain artillerymen on service at Salonika undergoing medical inspection.

closed in on the Greek guard at Demirhissar, one man, who slew a Bulgar to prevent his escape, succeeded in reaching Seres, and gave the alarm to Colonel Christodoulos, the temporary head of the demobilised 6th Division, which, about 5,000 strong, was stationed there. The general in command was absent on leave, and Christodoulos on his own responsibility immediately took up a defensive position outside the town, summoned the disbanded local reservists to rejoin him, and prepared to oppose the Bulgarians with all the energy that was possible in the circumstances.

When two regiments of the enemy approached him and demanded the surrender of the town, with its arms and munitions, he refused to comply. The Bulgarians began to shell the place, and a struggle ensued; but the odds were too great, and Christodoulos was compelled to withdraw his men. However in the first week of September he arrived at Kavalla, where he drove the Bulgarians out of some of the forts which they had taken.

If the seizure by Bulgaria of Fort Rupel in May had created a very painful impression throughout Greece, the news of the further Bulgarian invasion of Greek Macedonia, east of the Struma, produced a much greater and more painful sensation among the Greek people. The Skouloudist (or Gounarist) Press, which was largely subsidised by the Germans, stood alone in expressing satisfaction with the situation, and many anti-Ententists condemned the action of the enemy in quite as strong terms as did the Venizelists. At Athens the Government announced that it had received assurances from the Central Powers and Bulgaria that Greek sovereignty and the rights and liberties of the inhabitants would be respected in the occupied districts, and that the whole region would be evacuated after the war. But these promises were insufficient for true Greek patriots, and when it became known that Christodoulos and others were resisting the Bulgarians, the sympathies of the vast majority flowed out rather to these brave men than to the Government, which placed faith in the inveterate enemy of Greece. At Salonika a great meeting was convened to protest against any abandonment of national territory, and shortly afterwards recruiting commissions were formed who issued a proclamation calling on the disbanded reservists to enlist and fight the foe.

Invasion of Greek Macedonia

On August 27th a demonstration was made at Athens by fifty thousand Greeks, who called for M. Venizelos and begged his assistance to expel the Bulgarians. The appearance on his balcony of the statesman who had saved Greece before was acclaimed with tremendous cheering. In an intensely eloquent speech he thrilled an audience such as never had been seen previously in the capital. He told the people to send a deputation to King Constantine to say that he was the victim of military advisers obsessed by Germany, who had wrongly persuaded him that she was invincible. The anti-Ententists held a counter-demonstration, but it was not a success. That events in Greece were again coming to a crisis was shown by the retirement of General Dousmanis as Chief of Staff, and the appointment of General Moschopoulos in his place; as the latter had been on friendly terms with Sarrail at Salonika, it was thought that he would favour the Allies.

It was the city of Salonika itself that, on the last day of August, took a step, in the name of Greek Macedonia, that went much further in protest against the attitude of the Government than anything that had gone before, for it rose in rebellion, and formed a Committee of National Defence and a Provisional Government. At the head of this serious revolutionary development stood Colonel Zimbrakakis and Colonel Mazarakis, commanding the artillery brigade of the 11th Division of the Greek Army. They issued a two-page manifesto, one page being addressed to the Greek people and the other to the Army, which maintained that an unnatural state of affairs had lasted long enough, and urged the Greek soldiers to pay no attention to orders from Athens, but to ally themselves with the Entente and drive the Bulgarians out of the country. It denounced the surrender of Greek forts and territory as an act of disloyalty and treason on the part of King Constantine and his Government, and declared that the time had arrived for Greece to take her stand by the side of the Allies.

Greek Provisional Government

The local police, who were well drilled, and equal in fighting quality to the men of the Army, supported the Committee of National Defence. They numbered over a thousand, but were not nearly so numerous as the three

German prisoners captured on the Balkan front on their way to prison camp at Salonika. Some of them wear labels inscribed with their names and regiments. [Official photograph

Bulgarian prisoners interned at a Serbian camp near Monastir. Circle (official): Interrogating captured Bulgarian soldiers.

[Official. Crown copyright reserved.

In their compound at Salonika: Types of German infantry photographed behind barbed-wire. These men were fighting, under Mackensen's command, in conjunction with the Bulgarians on the Balkan front.

BULGAR AND TEUTON PRISONERS AT MONASTIR AND SALONIKA.

KING FERDINAND OF RUMANIA.
His Majesty threw in his lot with the Allies on August 27th, 1916.

Greek regiments stationed in the town, and these declined to take part in the rebellion. In the afternoon the police, accompanied by hundreds of volunteers, paraded the streets, and Colonel Zimbrakakis led the column to the headquarters of the French, where he proffered the services of himself and his men to General Sarrail. During the night the revolutionaries attempted to coerce the soldiers at the barracks into joining them; bloodshed resulted, and Sarrail intervened to prevent further disturbances. The soldiers subsequently were disarmed and interned outside the town, the insurgents remaining in control, and sending deputations to Vodena and elsewhere for the purpose of encouraging the enrolment of volunteers.

Allies' new demands

Meanwhile the Allies had made a fresh move at Athens. On the morning of September 1st twenty-three of their warships, with seven transports filled with troops, anchored four miles outside the Piræus, while other vessels of their Fleet lay in Salamis and Phaleron Bays. The most sensational reports instantly spread abroad, among them being a statement that King Constantine had abdicated, and that his son, the Crown Prince, had been appointed Regent, while another declared that Venizelos had formed a coalition with Zaimis, and that orders had been given for a general mobilisation of the Greek Army. None of these stories turned out to be true, but they were significant of the strain from which Greece was suffering. On September 2nd the allied warships landed parties who took possession of the wireless station at the arsenal, while several German vessels were seized, and their officers and crews arrested. France and Great Britain, on the evening of the same day, presented a Note to the Greek Government, in which they said—first, that having heard from a sure source that the enemy received information in divers ways, and notably by means of the Greek telegraphs, they demanded control of the posts and telegraphs, including the wireless system; second, that enemy agents employed in corruption and espionage must immediately leave Greece, and not return till after the conclusion of hostilities; and third, that the necessary measures must be taken against such Greek subjects as had rendered themselves guilty of complicity in that corruption and espionage.

Both of the Allies made a point of telling the Greek Government that the Note was not directed against Greece, but against Germany and the pro-Germans in Greece; and on the 3rd their demands were formally accepted. Thereupon British police agents, wearing red armlets specially marked, proceeded to round up a number of persons known to have been engaged in espionage work, but later this hunting down of the Germans and their minions was handed over to the Greek Government. The notorious Baron von Schenck, who had been the head of the German intriguers, and about fifty Germans and Austrians were secured, and on September 7th deported to Kavalla in a Greek steamer. A few days later the Allies had to make a new demand on Greece. It arose from a band of anti-Venizelists, belonging to the Reservists' Leagues, bursting into the garden of the French Legation at Athens and firing several revolver shots. The Entente Ministers called for the suppression of these leagues, and the Government agreed to dissolve them.

Exit Von Schenck and his spies

But it was not only the distracted internal situation that was affecting at this time King Constantine, his Government, and the Greeks in general A new factor had appeared in the war which at once profoundly influenced them, the whole of the Balkans, and the entire aspect of the colossal conflict everywhere. This was the entrance into the struggle of Rumania, who declared war on Austria-Hungary on August 27th, and thereby definitely espoused the cause of the Entente Powers.

CROWN PRINCE CAROL OF RUMANIA.
A portrait which shows the Rumanian heir in officer's uniform

CHEERS FOR VENIZELOS: IMPRESSION OF THE GREEK PATRIOT AND HIS SUPPORTERS.
Greek public opinion was divided between the Germanophil King Constantine and the pro-Ally patriot Venizelos. Some idea of the popularity of this fearless statesman may be gathered from the dense crowd to whom he is responding from his automobile.

On the same date, by a significant coincidence, Italy, with whom Rumania was warmly sympathetic, declared war on Germany, after more than a year had passed since she had begun hostilities against the second of the Central Powers. During that month of August Italy had been doing splendid work for the Entente. North of her own territory she had won a magnificent victory by the storming and capture of the fortress of Gorizia on August 9th, and in the Balkans she had been harrying and pressing the enemy on the Voyusa River, north of Valona (or Avlona), which town on the Adriatic had been seriously menaced by the Austrians in the preceding spring. Further, she was encouraging and assisting a revolt in Albania against the German Prince William of Wied, who had come again on the scene as the Mpret, or ruler, of that principality. She was also doing something to help the Montenegrins, who had risen in their mountains against their brutal conquerors.

Italy's timely victories

Rumania had bided her time. For some weeks previous to her declaration of war report had been busy with regard to her probable action, and in Germany especially there had been a good deal of apprehension that at last, after two years of neutrality, she would come out against Austria, and, as that involved the allies of that empire, against the whole Germanic League. Hope had alternated with fear in the Dual Monarchy itself. But thinking that Rumania would continue in the same course as before, as she fancied there were some grounds for believing, the news fell upon her with a horribly jarring shock of surprise. When Germany, on August 28th, published her official notification of war on Rumania, she had the hardihood to allege that the latter country had "disgracefully broken" treaties concluded with Austria-Hungary and herself.

That this charge was false was sufficiently demonstrated by the policy, now one of entreaty and cajolement, and again one of threat and objurgation, which the Central Powers had maintained towards Rumania since the beginning of the war. They made offers to her which they trusted would purchase her support, and they said much of the pains and penalties she would incur if she refused them. These would not have been necessary if she had been really bound to them by such obligations as were indicated by the Berlin communiqué. But whether flattered or contemned, she preserved throughout a sphinx-like silence, a perfect obduracy of composure. She was waiting on events, and governing herself accordingly. She knew as a certainty there was no chance of her realising her national aspirations through Austria, and while she was doubtful of the success of the Entente Powers she marked time. Perhaps the first definite signs of her preference for the Allies were shown by her acceptance of a loan from Great Britain in January, 1916, and the subsequent contract by which she sold to the British Government an enormous quantity of wheat.

Entente diplomacy had, of course, been active all the while in the interests of the Allies in Rumania, and it was widely known that many of her prominent statesmen, like M. Jonescu, and the bulk of her people were hostile to the Austro-Germans. But Rumania had before her eyes the tragic fate of Serbia, due to the inadequate help given that unfortunate land, and she was bound to see that she made no mistake which might entail upon her a like calamity. Her destinies were chiefly in the hands of M. Bratiano, her Prime Minister and Minister of War, and the leader of the Liberal Party in her Parliament. Able and far-seeing, but cautious and infinitely patient, he was not to be moved till he was satisfied that the general situation in all the main theatres of the war clearly betokened the defeat of Germany as the ultimate result of the contest. By August it was plain that the Germans had failed at Verdun, that the Franco-British forces on the Somme were making good progress, and, what probably appealed to him most of all, that Brussiloff's armies had dealt Austria shattering, crushing blows in Volhynia and Galicia. The opportunity of joining up with those triumphant Russians on the frontiers of Hungary had come, and was far too good to be missed. Then there was the huge cosmopolitan army of the Allies at Salonika

Rumania's essential caution

flanking Bulgaria. On every front of vital importance Bratiano saw that the enemy had lost the initiative, the principal thing in war, and had been reduced to the defensive. Rumania's day had arrived.

In the evening of August 27th the Rumanian Minister in Vienna called at the Austro-Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and presented to the Dual Monarchy a Note, in which was set forth in considerable detail the case of Rumania against that empire, and which concluded with the declaration of war. The Note was a temperate, true, yet dignified, statement of the position of Rumania with respect to Austria and Hungary, particularly the latter. The chief feature emphasised was the wretched condition of the Rumanes, as the Rumanian population of the Dual Monarchy was called, in Transylvania, a province of Hungary, who were kept ignorant and in a servile state by the Magyars. The Note candidly gave expression to the feeling of Rumania in this matter, which was the basis of her action, in the words: "Governed by the necessity of safeguarding her racial interest, Rumania sees herself forced to enter into line with those able to assure to her the realisation of the national unity." For her suffering kinsfolk in Hungary, groaning under Magyar oppression, the war was a war of deliverance, of emancipation, of redemption. "For a period of over thirty years," as the Note averred, "the Rumanians of the Dual Monarchy not only never saw a reform introduced of a nature to give them even the semblance of satisfaction, but, on the contrary, they were treated as an inferior race." It was to free these poor people of her blood from their tyrants that Rumania primarily unsheathed her sword.

Rumania takes the field

FIGHTERS WITH A LATIN TRADITION.
Rumanian artillery. There is a marked similarity between the appearance of Rumanian soldiers and their Italian allies.

Anticipating the line that Germany would take, Rumania in this Note announced what were the real facts regarding the alliance between her and Germany and Austria. She admitted there had been a compact between her and what had been known as the Triple Alliance, which was composed of Germany, Austria, and Italy when the war broke out, but this agreement was essentially of a conservative and defensive character, its object being to guarantee the parties to it from any attack from outside. It contained no provision which constrained any of its subscribers to endorse or participate in aggressive action on the part of the rest or of any of them. So, at the very outset of the struggle, Italy, as well as Rumania, rightly viewing the belligerency of Germany and Austria as aggressive, emphatically declined to undertake hostilities with them against the Entente Powers. The Triple Alliance, however, existed till 1915, when Italy, by declaring war on Austria, broke it up. Thereafter Rumania no longer considered herself bound by the alliance, which had in point of fact ceased to be, because of the withdrawal of Italy, and she was fully entitled to do what seemed to her to be best for herself as an independent State. And, further, she had looked on the treaty as securing peace to her. But with the power of Germany and Austria challenged by the Entente, of what value was it as a guarantee? And still further, the alliance had wrought no improvement in the lot of the wretched Rumanes of Hungary, though she had hoped the opposite.

There was yet another important subject of solicitude for Rumania. Though she was not, properly speaking, one of the Balkan States, and the origin of by far the most of her population was entirely different from that of the races inhabiting the area known as the Balkans, her adjacent position had brought her well within the Balkan orbit, while the march of recent events had placed her at the head of the Balkan States. Her intervention in the Second Balkan War almost immediately resulted in the termination of that conflict, and at the same time gained for her a slice of territory from Bulgaria, who bitterly resented its loss, and was eager for an opportunity of getting it back—with interest.

Rumania wanted peace in the Balkans. But a new situation developed when Austria declared war on Serbia in July, 1914, and she could not see it without being seriously perturbed. She therefore asked Austria at the outset to say what were her intentions with respect to Serbia, and was told in reply that Austria was not inspired by the spirit of conquest, and sought absolutely no territorial acquisitions. Rumania witnessed what happened—Serbia overwhelmed in the end, notwithstanding the most glorious resistance, and her land apportioned between Austria and Bulgaria. The situation in the Balkans was changed much for the worse for Rumania, with Serbia gone, however temporarily, and the common enemy triumphant. Here was another reason for the entry of Rumania into the war.

When her day came Rumania struck at once and struck hard. Her king immediately placed himself at the head of her armies. Germany had found it difficult to believe that King Ferdinand, who was a prince of the House of Hohenzollern, and had been trained as a German officer, would ever appear in the field against her; but he was a constitutional sovereign, and, unlike King Constantine of Greece, was faithful to the oath he had taken on ascending the throne. He bowed to the will of his advisers and of his people, and cordially accepted their mandate. He had convoked the Crown Council which pronounced the momentous decision, and showed that he was a Rumanian before everything else, as he had announced on his accession. His consort, moreover, was a British princess, being a daughter of the deceased Duke of Edinburgh, and thus first cousin to King George. He issued a stirring proclamation to his people, in which he told them that the war had brought them the day that had been awaited for centuries by the national conscience, by the founders of the Rumanian State, by those who united the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in the War of Independence, and by those responsible for the national

King Ferdinand's fidelity

Rumanian infantry, arrayed in full winter kit, on the march in the snow.

Rumanian lancers, dexterous fighters and expert horsemen, in training for the offensive against the Central Powers.

Stirring illustration of Rumanian cavalry charging. These photographs were taken by special permission of the Rumanian Government.

A NOBLE ALLY NOBLY HONOURED.
General Mahon, in command of the British troops at Salonika, investing General Sarrail, of the French Army, with the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

renaissance. "It is the day," he continued, "of the union of all the branches of our nation. To-day we are able to complete the task of our forefathers, and to establish for ever that which Michael the Brave was only able to establish for a moment—namely, a Rumanian union on both slopes of the Carpathians." In an Order of the Day he reminded his Army of its former victories, and said that the memory of its ancient leaders, Michael the Brave and Stephen the Great, whose remains lay in the earth it was going to set free, called to it to advance in triumph. "Show yourselves worthy of the glory of your ancestors," he concluded, "and in the centuries to come the whole race will bless you and sing your praises." King Ferdinand was at the front the day after war was declared, and within the next twenty-four hours his soldiers were in possession of every important pass leading into Transylvania.

Before the night of August 27th was over the Rumanians were marching into Hungary. An Austrian communiqué stated next day that on the "south-eastern and eastern frontier passes of Hungary our new enemy, Rumania, exchanged the first shots last night with our outposts in a treacherous surprise attack at the Roter Turm (Red Tower) Pass, and in the passes to the south-west and south of Brasso—or, giving it its German name, Kronstadt—advanced guards entered into combat on both sides early this morning, and the first Rumanian prisoners were taken." It observed a discreet reticence as to the number of prisoners the Rumanians had made. On the 29th Vienna issued a ludicrous message in which it said that, at all the crossings of the mountains along the three hundred and fifty miles of the Hungarian-Rumanian frontier, the Rumanians, wherever they met Austrian battalions, had to withdraw "with bleeding heads," but at the same time it admitted that the far-reaching encircling movement of the Rumanian armies had obliged an equally widespread Austrian retirement. Rumania took the offensive on the whole of her western frontier, from the neighbourhood of the Borgo Pass, on the borders of Bukovina, to the Iron Gates of the Danube at Orsova.

Vainglorious Austrian communique

By the end of August she had driven the enemy back into his own territory for many miles, made striking gains along the strategic railways, captured Brasso as well as Petroseny, an important commercial centre, besides several other towns and a score of villages, and was threatening Hermannstadt. In the beginning of September, after a desperate battle which lasted five days, she took Orsova, at the southern extremity of her western line, and forced the Austrians to retreat to the western bank of the Cerna, a tributary of the Danube, a few miles beyond the frontier. Meanwhile, a highly-significant telegram from Berlin had announced that in the Carpathians Austro-Germans were engaged with Russo-Rumanian troops. This meant that the Russians and the Rumanians had joined up in the north-west, and that the eastern front of the Allies, well over a thousand miles in length, now extended from the Dwina on the Baltic to the Danube, where it touched the north-eastern corner of Serbia.

From Orsova to the Black Sea the front of Rumania was approximately four hundred miles long, making with her other front a total length of nearly seven hundred and fifty miles—a tremendous line, to cover which her own forces, though nearly a million strong, were hardly sufficient. She had looked for Russian support, nor was she disappointed. As August closed thousands of Russian soldiers, under General Zaionchkovsky, formerly head of a Siberian division, were marching into the Dobrudja to the assistance of Rumania, as less than forty years before thousands of other Russians had advanced through the same region for the deliverance of Bulgaria, since turned a renegade and a traitress. Russian warships arrived at Constanza for the defence of the Rumanian coast. The southern part of the Dobrudja, the name given to the district in Rumania lying between the Danube and the Black Sea, and north of Bulgaria, had no strong defensive positions, and an attack was comparatively easy from that side.

Russia joins Rumania

After Rumania declared war there was some uncertainty as to what attitude Bulgaria would take up, but this was dispelled when the latter, on September 1st, declared war on the former in a Note, in which she reminded the other of what she called the "robbery" of a piece of Bulgarian territory after the Second Balkan War, the tract of land, in fact, that formed the boundary of the Dobrudja on the south. Next day Bulgarian and German troops, under the leadership of Marshal Mackensen, crossed this frontier, the Rumanian guards withdrawing before them, and on the 4th Russian mounted detachments came into collision with Bulgarian cavalry in this area. On the same day the enemy captured Dobric (Dobritch), and on the 6th took Tutrakan, also called Turtukai, inflicting on the Rumanians considerable losses. Silistria fell to the Bulgaro-Germans on the 10th, but the tide of invasion was stemmed at Dobric by Russo-Rumanian forces. And while this was going on in the Dobrudja the Rumanians were making steady progress with their advance into Hungary.

As a matter of course, Greece was deeply affected, and most of her people declared that she also must cast all hesitation and doubt aside, and stand in with the Allies. But in the middle of September, 1916, when this chapter was written, the old anti-Entente influences were still sufficiently powerful to prevent her from taking that course, M. Zaimis had resigned, and confusion worse confounded reigned in Athens.

General Cordonnier, appointed to command the French Balkan forces August, 1916.

The first stage homewards: Regimental stretcher-bearers bringing wounded in from the battlefield to the collecting posts.

The second stage homewards: R.A.M.C. men conveying wounded from the collecting posts to the advanced dressing station.

[Official photograph]

Carrying in the wounded under fire: This man brought in twenty of his comrades.

MILITARY HONOURS FOR HEROES: CHAPTER CXLVI. AN INVESTITURE IN FRANCE.

"FOR VALOUR": HEROES OF THE VICTORIA CROSS IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR.

By E. C. Buley, Author of "Glorious Deeds of Australasians."

Analysis of the List of Victoria Crosses Awarded in the Second Year of the War—Eight Crosses to the Navy, Six of them in Connection with the Landing on V Beach, Gallipoli, One at Cape Helles, and One at Kut-el-Amara—Four Crosses Awarded to Airmen: Captain Liddell, Captain Hawker, Sec.-Lieut. Insall, and Squadron-Commander Bell Davis, D.S.O.—Sixty-six Crosses Awarded to the Army, Thirty-one to Officers and Thirty-five to N.C.O.'s and Men—The Lancashire Fusiliers Elect Three Recipients of the Cross—Nine Crosses Won by Anzacs on Gallipoli in the One Month of August—Other Gallipoli V.C.'s—Captain Butler Wins the Cross in West Africa and Lieut. Dartnell in East Africa—Two Crosses Won in Mesopotamia—Three Indian V.C.'s—Two Crosses Won at Ypres—Lieut. Campbell Wins the Cross for Canada—The Rev. E. N. Mellish Wins the First Cross Awarded to a Chaplain in the War—V.C.'s Won at Loos, Hill 70, the Hohenzollern Redoubt, Hulluch, La Houssoie, Hooge, Vermelles, and Le Rutoire—Double Deeds of Heroism of Acting-Sergt. Raynes, R.F.A., and Lance-Corpl. Wyatt, Coldstream Guards—Crosses Won at Cuinchy and La Brique—Corporal Meekosha on the Yser—Sec.-Lieut. A. V. Smith—Captain Swinton, of the Indian Medical Service—Amazing Endurance of Lance-Corpl. Cotter, of the East Kents—Some Other Peers of Peerless Men.

BETWEEN August 4th, 1915, and August 4th, 1916, seventy-eight officers and men were gazetted as having been awarded the Victoria Cross. Thus fewer V.C.'s were awarded during the second year of the Great War than in the first year, when the total reached the number of eighty-three. When it is considered that the number of men on active service was far greater, this slight decrease might be held as evidence that the supreme reward for valour was more sparingly bestowed as the war progressed. The figures are deceptive, however, for during the first month of the "great push," which began in the month of July, 1916, a great number of V.C.'s were won, though the actual date of award takes them into the third year of the war.

A first analysis of the list shows that eight V.C.'s went to the Navy in the second year of the war, as compared with four in 1914-15. The Air Service also doubled its total of V.C.'s, earning four in the second year of the war as against two in the first twelve months. Of the sixty-six crosses which went to soldiers, twenty were won in Gallipoli, and of these nine fell to Anzac soldiers and one to a Gurkha. Crosses were won in Mesopotamia and in East and West Africa, and the remaining forty-two fell to soldiers fighting on the western front.

The magnificent services rendered by the Navy in the landing operations upon Gallipoli on April 25th, 1915, were rewarded by six crosses on August 16th. Five of these were won at the landing on V Beach, when a collier, the River Clyde, was crammed with troops and run aground in order to provide cover for the soldiers until the actual stepping ashore. The ship had been specially prepared for the purpose by Commander Edward Unwin, R.N., who had seen that large portholes were cut in the sides of the vessel, through which the men were to pass down gangways to lighters, from which it would be easy to step ashore.

Unfortunately, when the River Clyde was beached, and when the lighters were run out, they failed to reach their proper place, and a gap was left between two lighters, over which the men could not pass. Some of them jumped into the water and waded ashore, but this method was too slow and costly. A heavy fire from machine-guns and rifles soon littered the first lighter with dead and wounded, and the men were ordered back into the River Clyde again.

CORPL. C. R. G. BASSETT, V.C.
New Zealand Divisional Signal Company.

Commander Unwin set about getting the lighters into their proper places, and in order to do so he exposed himself to the heavy fire, and, standing up to his waist in the water, directed the operations of a number of men as devoted as himself. Unprotected from the murderous fire, Commander Unwin worked on until the effects of the immersion became intolerable, and he returned to the ship, where he was wrapped in blankets until his vitality was restored.

He then returned to his dangerous post in defiance of the doctor's order, and saw the work finished. He was treated on his return for abrasions caused by three bullets, after which he entered a lifeboat and went ashore to the rescue of some wounded men. His magnificent efforts only ended when sheer exhaustion came upon him. For his services he was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Two midshipmen associated with him in this work were similarly honoured. The first was Midshipman George L. Drewry, R.N.R. He, too, stood under the hail of bullets in the numbing water, and worked oblivious of the danger in which he stood. Twice he tried to swim with a line from one lighter to the other, though he was wounded in the head and suffering from loss of blood.

After his double attempt to pass a line from one lighter to the other had failed, another gallant lad, Midshipman Wilfred St. A. Malleson, R.N., attempted the task, and succeeded in reaching the second lighter with the line. Unfortunately it broke, and he had to make the attempt again. Twice more he tried, being taken out of the water each time in a state of extreme exhaustion.

Only once before has the V.C. been won by a midshipman—at Tientsin in 1900.

Two able seamen of H.M.S. Hussar also won the V.C. during these difficult and dangerous operations. One of them, Able-Seaman W. C. Williams, exposed himself breast-deep in water for an hour under the heavy fire, holding a line. In the end the gallant fellow was killed. Seaman George McK. Samson, R.N.R., also of the Hussar, worked all day under fire in one of the lighters, tending the wounded and hauling on the lines. Eventually he was dangerously wounded by a machine-gun bullet. Apart from these two men, there is only one instance of a seaman winning the V.C., and that happened in Japan as long ago as 1865.

LCE.-SERGT. O. BROOKS, V.C.,
3rd Coldstream Guards. Loos.

CORPL. ALFRED A. BURT, V.C.,
1st Herts. Cuinchy.

PTE. JOHN CAFFREY, V.C.,
2nd York and Lanc. La Brique.

PTE. HARRY CHRISTIAN, V.C.,
2nd R. Lanc. Western front.

Russell.

LT.-COMMANDER E. C. COOKSON,
V.C., D.S.O., R.N.
Kut-el-Amara. (Killed.)

CORPL. W. COSGROVE, V.C.,
1st R. Munster Fus.
Gallipoli.

LCE.-CORPL. W. R. COTTER, V.C.,
6th East Kents. Western front.

Nearly a year after his death, the V.C. honour came to the name of one more naval hero of V Beach, whose glorious bravery was described at the time, but whose identity was not traced until long after his death. Sub-Lieutenant Arthur Waldene St. Clair Tisdall, R.N.V.R., heard wounded men calling for help from the beach, while the attempts were being made to effect the landing from the River Clyde. He jumped into the water, and pushing a boat before him as cover, went to the rescue of the men on the beach.

Four or five times he made the journey, assisted by Chief-Petty-Officer Perring and Leading-Seamen Malia, Curtiss, and Parkinson. "Time after time," wrote an eye-witness, "they visited that awful beach, and brought back wounded officers and men. Darkness came on, and the officer was nowhere to be found. All the petty-officer and bluejackets could say was, 'He's one of those Naval Division gents.' Days and weeks passed away, and I and others never ceased trying to find out, if we could, who and where the unknown hero was."

Before he was identified as the hero of this daring, Sub-Lieutenant Tisdall was killed, leading his men into action on May 6th. Poet, scholar, and athlete, he was the first "Chancellor's Medallist" of Cambridge to gain the V.C.

The seventh naval V.C. of the year was earned by Commander Eric G. Robinson, R.N., who was in command of a party put ashore from the fleet at Cape Helles on February 6th, 1915, their mission being to destroy the guns of Fort Seddul Bahr. The men were dressed in white, and so made a good mark for the snipers concealed in the rough ground behind the fort. For this reason Commander Robinson would not let them advance, but undertook the work of destruction single-handed. Under heavy fire he advanced alone to the guns, not knowing whether a force had not been left there to protect them. He blew up one 4 in. gun, and returned for another charge of explosive. With this he succeeded in blowing up the second gun and returned without losing a man.

Commander Robinson, who was awarded the V.C., had previously taken part in four attacks on the mine-fields in the Dardanelles, always under heavy fire.

The scene of the exploit which won the eighth naval V.C. for the year was laid at Kut-el-Amara, and its hero was Lieut.-Commander Edgar Christopher Cookson, D.S.O., R.N. The Turks had placed an obstruction in the river, to the great disadvantage of the relieving force, and on September 28th, 1915, Lieut.-Commander Cookson took the river-gunboat Comet, with other river-gunboats and similar craft, to examine the obstruction, and to destroy it if possible.

The enemy was in ambush, waiting for them, and as they approached the obstruction the little flotilla came under heavy fire. It was found that a number of dhows had been fastened by wire ropes in the centre of the stream, completely closing the fairway. An attempt to sink the central dhow, which was the pivot of the barrier of boats, was made with gun fire; but it proved unsuccessful. Then Lieut.-Commander Cookson ordered the Comet to be taken alongside this dhow, and with an axe in his hand he jumped aboard her and tried to sever the wire ropes which bound her to the other vessels. While at this work he was struck by several bullets and killed.

Lafayette.

LIEUT. WILBUR DARTNELL, V.C.,
25th Royal Fus. East Africa. (Killed.)

CORPL. J. L. DAWSON, V.C.,
187th Coy. R.E., Hohenzollern Redoubt.

Airmen are only awarded the V.C. under most exceptional circumstances, as the exploits of the airmen V.C.'s of the second year of the war will prove. The first was Captain John Aidan Liddell, of the 3rd Battalion (Princess Louise's) Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and R.F.C. On July 31st he was engaged upon a long-flight reconnaissance over Ostend-Bruges-Ghent. While flying at a great height he was wounded by anti-aircraft artillery, a piece of shell breaking his right thigh. The pain and shock of the wound rendered him unconscious, and his observer found the machine dropping with an ever-increasing velocity, while he was quite powerless to avert the imminent catastrophe.

Captain Liddell recovered partial control after a drop of 3,000 feet, and by a great effort righted the 'plane. He was continually fired at, but stuck grimly on, though in a state of collapse. His magnificent grit was rewarded by his bringing the aeroplane back to the British lines, after half an hour of indescribable effort and agony. When examined, it was found that the control wheel and throttle control of the machine were smashed, as well as one of the under-carriage struts; so that the feat the officer accomplished was one well-nigh impossible, even to a man in full possession of his strength and faculties.

CORPL. A. DRAKE, V.C.,
8th Rifle Brigade.
(Killed.)

MID. G. L. DREWRY, V.C.,
R.N. Reserve. Dardanelles.

PTE. R. DUNSIRE.
V.C.,
13th R. Scots.
"Hill 70."

LT. W. T. FORSHAW,
V.C.,
1/9th Manchester.
Gallipoli.

[Vandyk.

BREV.-MAJ. FOSS, V.C.,
D.S.O.,
2nd Bedfords.
Neuve Chapelle.

SEC.-LT. B. H. GEARY,
V.C.,
4th East Surreys.
"Hill 60."

TEMP. SEC.-LT. R. P
HALLOWES, V.C.,
4th Middlesex.
Hooge.

Major Hawker, who will be remembered as a famous sea-flyer in pre-war times, was awarded the V.C.

The third airman V.C. of the year was Second-Lieutenant Gilbert S. M. Insall, No. 11 Squadron R.F.C. With an observer, First-Class Air-Mechanic T. H. Donald, he was patrolling the German lines on November 7th, 1915, in a Vickers' battle-plane, when a German machine was sighted. Lieutenant Insall gave pursuit, and the German led him over a rocket battery, the only effect of the manœuvre being that the Vickers' machine made a great dive, which brought it so close to the German that the gunner was able to fire a drum of cartridges into the enemy machine at close range.

This had the effect of stopping the German's engine, driving him to the desperate remedy of diving through a cloud, with the British machine hot in pursuit. Again the English mechanic got a chance, and this time brought the German down. The two occupants of the fallen machine scrambled out, and Lieutenant Insall made another great swoop of five hundred feet, permitting his gunner once more to get into effective range. The two men were driven away, one obviously wounded, and then the lieutenant completed his work by dropping a bomb upon the fallen machine, which was last seen wrapped in smoke.

The two airmen had then to run the gauntlet of the German trenches at an elevation of only 2,000 feet, and they passed this barrier, the lieutenant driving his machine and the gunner working cheerfully away at the machine-gun. Their adventures were not yet at an end, for their last exploit had been rewarded with a damaged petrol tank, which caused them to descend to the cover of a wood five hundred yards inside the British lines. Here they had to submit to a bombardment, quite one hundred and fifty shells being fired at them. Under this fire they worked all night at repairing the damage, and at dawn flew the machine home.

[Elliott & Fry.

TEMP.-LT.-COL. DOUGLAS-
HAMILTON, V.C.
6th Cameron Highlanders.
"Hill 70." (Killed.)

[Lafayette.

CAPT. P. H. HANSEN, V.C.,
6th Lincs Regt. Gallipoli.

A naval airman won the fourth and last airman's V.C. for the year. This was Squadron-Commander Richard Bell Davis, D.S.O., R.N. He took part in an aerial attack upon Ferrijik Junction, in company with Flight-Sub-Lieutenant Wyllie. The latter officer had his machine brought down, and in order to prevent it falling into the hands of the enemy he set fire to it. While he was at his work, Commander Davis swooped down and, in spite of the near approach of the enemy, picked him up, and reached the aerodrome in safety with him.

The soldiers who won the Victoria Cross number sixty-six, of whom thirty-one were officers, and thirty-five non-commissioned officers and men. The officers include two majors and nine captains, as well as one chaplain. Seven lieutenants and twelve second-lieutenants complete the total of thirty-one.

Included among the non-commissioned officers and men were seven sergeants, nine corporals, three lance-corporals, and twelve privates. A piper, a Gurkha rifleman, an

HONOURED GUESTS OF THE ANZAC CLUB IN WESTMINSTER.
Four of the Anzac V.C.'s who attended an "At-home" given in their honour by the Anzac Club and Buffet, Westminster. Left to right: Lieut. W. J. Symons, V.C. (7th Aust. I.F.), Capt. F. H. Tubb, V.C. (7th Aust. I.F.), Lieut. H. V. H. Throssell, V.C. (10th Aust. L.H.), Private J. Hamilton, V.C. (1st Aust. I.F.).

Indian lancer, and a sepoy made the list complete. Forty-one of these sixty-six Army V.C.'s were won by line regiments, and three more by Guardsmen, making a total of forty-four for the regular infantry. The remaining twenty-two included nine Anzac soldiers, one among them being a light horseman, five members of the Indian Army, one Canadian, two engineers, one yeoman, one chaplain, one officer from the R.A.M.C., one from the Indian Medical Service, and an artilleryman.

The honours were widely distributed, but the outstanding feature of the awards, next to the Anzac record of nine V.C.'s in a month, was the number won by Lancashire regiments. The Lancashire Fusiliers took three crosses, the East Lancashire Regiment two, the York and Lancaster Regiment two, the Manchester Regiment two, the Royal Lancasters one, and the Loyal North Lancashires one.

Other regiments with two V.C.'s were the Coldstream Guards, the Cameron Highlanders, the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, and the King's Royal Rifles.

The V.C. awards to the Navy for the miraculous landings on Gallipoli on April 25th, 1915, have already been detailed. A number of Army awards were also made, and notable among these were the V.C.'s awarded by the process of election. Three companies of the Lancashire Fusiliers were concerned in the exploit for which the three crosses in question were given. On landing, these companies were met by a deadly fire from hidden machine-guns, causing extremely heavy casualties.

Chosen trio of heroes

The uninjured men charged boldly up the face of a steep cliff, being checked in their advance by thick wire entanglements, which they cut. In the face of a murderous fire they gained the summit of the cliff and seized a position which made it possible for their comrades to land more safely.

Where all had shown such dash and bravery, the selection of the three men for special honour was left to the soldiers themselves. Their choice fell upon Captain Richard Raymond Willis, Sergeant Alfred Richards, and Lance-Corporal William Keneally. The lance-corporal, who was picked up badly wounded, died shortly afterwards in a Malta hospital.

On the day following the landing, April 26th, Corporal William Cosgrove, 1st Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers, took part in an attack on the Turkish positions east of Cape Helles. He led his section into action from the beach with great dash, and on the way encountered a high entanglement of barbed-wire. He approached it single-handed and under heavy fire, and actually pulled down the posts which supported the wire. This fine example of resource and courage was effective in making a way through this formidable obstacle, and contributed so much to the successful clearing of the heights that Cosgrove was awarded the V.C. The whole Gallipoli campaign was resplendent with single-handed feats performed in extreme emergency and against overwhelming odds. Of this character was the conduct by which Lieutenant Herbert James, of the 4th Battalion Worcestershire Regiment, won the V.C. Two gallant feats stood to the credit of this young officer. On June 28th, when an attack was being made in the southern zone of Gallipoli, a portion of a regiment near him had been checked in its advance, owing to all its officers having been put out of action.

Critical situations saved

Lieutenant James, acting on his own initiative, gathered some men together and advanced under heavy fire. Leaving these new-comers to collect the checked soldiers, he went back for another party, whom he also brought up, with the result that fresh life was instilled into the attack on this section of the line.

Later, in the night of July 3rd, he led a party of bomb-throwers up a Turkish communication-trench, and in the fight that followed lost all his men. Single-handed, he kept the head of the trench under a heavy fire and showers of bombs until a barrier had been built behind him and the position made secure.

A similar feat was performed by Captain Gerald Robert O'Sullivan, 1st Battalion Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, on the night of July 1st-2nd, at Krithia. An important section of trench had been lost, and although Captain O'Sullivan did not belong to the troops detailed for its recapture, he volunteered to lead a bombing-party for the purpose. They had to advance across the open, under heavy fire, and having reached their objective, to bomb the Turks out of the captured position.

In order to see where his bombs were falling, this officer climbed upon the parapet, and from this exposed position directed the assault. He was wounded, but had stimulated his men to the recapture of the trench. Captain O'Sullivan, who had previously saved a critical situation on the night of June 18th-19th by his splendid courage, was awarded the V.C. for the two feats.

Another Inniskilling Fusilier, Sergeant James Somers, also of the 1st Battalion, remained alone in a sap which the Turks were attacking, waiting for bombs to be brought up for the defence. When they came, he climbed over to the Turkish trench and made a spirited attack upon its

occupants. Later, he crossed the open under heavy fire, in order to bomb the Turkish flank, and several times ran back under fire for fresh supplies of bombs. Thus he played an important part in the recapture, on the night of July 1st-2nd, of a section of lost trench, and was awarded the V.C. for the service.

The first important military operation by the British forces in the second year of the war was the ill-fated landing at Suvla Bay. This operation was covered by a number of gallant demonstrations executed by the Anzacs, who already held the beaches nearer Fort Gaba Tepe; and among these assaults the capture of Lone Pine Plateau stands out by itself. The overwhelming charge of the 1st Brigade of Australian Infantry which carried the Turkish positions, and the stubborn defence during the ensuing four days, in which the 2nd Brigade of Australian Infantry also participated, will rank among the most glorious of all the brave deeds of the Anzacs.

Seven V.C.'s in four days

In those four days no fewer than seven V.C.'s were won, three by officers, and the others by men who had not then attained to commissioned rank. Captain Alfred John Shout, of the 1st Battalion, had won the Military Cross when the Anzacs landed on Gallipoli and was the hero of a dozen dazzling exploits in subsequent affrays. On August 8th, 1915, he was attached to the headquarters of the 1st Brigade on Lone Pine Plateau, when a large body of Turks came down a long communication-trench which led from their position across the plateau. They came into sight around the last traverse, within fifty yards of headquarters, under the astonished eyes of Brig.-General Smythe himself.

They were checked, and then Captain Shout and his friend, Captain Sass, resolved to drive them back by the way they had come. Captain Shout went first, with a liberal supply of bombs, and his fellow-officer supplemented his efforts with a rifle. They drove the Turks back, bit by bit, inflicting loss upon them at each traverse. When a satisfactory spot was reached, they decided that a barricade should be erected, and in order to drive the Turks effectively away during the execution of this work, Captain Shout endeavoured to throw three bombs, which he lit at the same time. The third exploded in his hands, inflicting mortal injuries. A memorial monument to him has been erected in Darlington, New South Wales, the town from which he came.

Captain Frederick Tubb, of the 7th Battalion, was in charge of a small band of men belonging to that battalion in the morning of August 9th. They were holding a newly-captured section of trench at Lone Pine, the preservation of which was of vital importance to the whole position. The Turks persisted for some hours in their attempts to capture it, renewing their bomb attacks from time to time with fanatical bravery. Three times they succeeded in blowing down the barricade behind which the Anzacs sheltered, and as often Captain Tubb led his men forward, drove them back, and rebuilt the shelter. He was wounded twice, and almost every man of his small company shared the same fate. But they retained the position through the crucial hours, and handed it over to a strong party finally sent to relieve them.

For this work Captain Tubb was awarded the V.C., as were two of his non-commissioned officers, Sergeant William Dunstan and Corporal Alexander Stuart Burton. Burton paid for the honour with his life, and Dunstan was seriously wounded. He returned to Australia, where his native city of Ballarat had promoted a subscription to mark the appreciation his fellow-citizens felt of his gallantry. The sum already gathered was a substantial one when Dunstan heard of it; but he at once telegraphed his wish that he should not be presented with money merely for performing his duty.

During the night of August 8th-9th, Lieutenant William John Symons, also of the 7th Battalion, was in charge of

A "SPLENDID SCRUM" AT BAZENTIN-LE-PETIT.

An officer present at the trench fighting at Bazentin-le-Petit on July 14th, 1916, described it as "a splendid scrum." One section commander picked up a German and flung him bodily over the parapet into the remains of his own wire.

PTE. SAMUEL HARVEY. V.C.
1st York and Lanc. "Big Willie" Trench.

TEMP.-MAJ. L. G. HAWKER, V.C., D.S.O., R.E. and R.F.C. Western front.

PTE. CHARLES HULL, V.C., 21st Lancers. Mesopotamia.

another section of trench not far from that so bravely held by Captain Tubb. The fury of the Turkish attack was divided between the two places. All night the enemy kept up their bomb attacks, but always they were driven off. Early in the morning the lieutenant was called to a sap-head, where six officers had been killed or wounded in succession, and where a portion of the sap had been captured by the enemy.

Revolver in hand, he led a charge which drove the Turks out of the sap. He then superintended the construction of a barricade across the sap, holding up a wooden screen to shelter his men from the Turkish rifle fire. The Turks came close to this screen, and managed to set it on fire, but the lieutenant extinguished the flames without allowing the work to be interrupted. He held the position until relief came, and was awarded the V.C. for his great services.

Lance-Corporal Leonard Keysor, of the 1st Battalion, was awarded a V.C. for continuous work in the south-eastern corner of Lone Pine Plateau, extending without intermission from August 7th to August 9th. Keysor was one of the best bomb-throwers in the Anzac ranks, and in this engagement he threw and fielded live bombs for fifty hours without rest. The bombs used by the Turks were furnished with a ten-second fuze, and Keysor caught many of these as they landed, and returned them among the enemy, where they exploded.

Keysor was wounded and marked for hospital, but he declined to go. Later he was again wounded, and ordered back to the dressing-station; but on his way there he encountered a company which had lost all its bomb-throwers and volunteered for service with them. He continued fighting until a very difficult situation was eased, and won the admiration and regard of all who fought with him.

Dare-devil bravery of a different kind was shown by Private John Hamilton, of the 1st Battalion, who won the V.C. at Lone Pine on August 9th. He was stationed in a section of trench from which a view of the main Turkish communication-trench could be obtained by taking extreme risks. Hamilton climbed up on to the parapet, exposing himself fully, and from this post gave warning of the approach of each party of Turks which passed along the communication-trench.

His comrades attempted to build a sand-bag shelter around him, but could only succeed in covering the lower part of his body. Hamilton stuck to his self-imposed task, shooting at the Turks whenever any came in sight, and risking his life every minute he stayed there. He marvellously escaped wounds for five hours, during which time he rendered the most signal service to his side.

While the Australian Infantry were holding Lone Pine, the New Zealanders made an irresistible assault on the hill mass of Chunuk Bair, from a point nearer to Suvla Bay. In this attack, which began on August 7th, Corporal Cyril Royston Guyton Bassett, of the New Zealand Divisional Signal Company, won the V.C. for the most conspicuous bravery. Bassett's name had been a synonym for devotion to duty ever since the New Zealanders first landed on Gallipoli, and the deed of August 7th is but one among many with which he is credited.

A splendid New Zealander

The New Zealand Infantry had taken the ridge, and the work of establishing telephonic communication was undertaken by Bassett, among others. In broad daylight, and under a heavy and continuous fire, he succeeded in laying a line to the advanced position, and was awarded the only V.C. which fell to New Zealand during the first two years of the war.

The last Anzac to win the V.C. on Gallipoli was Second-Lieutenant Hugo Vivian Hope Throssell, of the 10th Australian Light Horse. His chance came in what was practically the last British offensive operation on the Peninsula—the capture of Hill 60 on August 29th-30th. A section of trench at the foot of the hill was taken by a charge of the Light Horse, in which Captain Fry, the leader, was killed. Lieutenant Throssell then assumed command of this important section of trench, and defended it against repeated attacks delivered by the Turks in overwhelmingly greater numbers than the defenders.

The attacks were maintained all through the night of August 29th, and well into the morning of August 30th. The young officer lost most of his best men, and was himself wounded twice. His good spirits never flagged, and by his unfailing courage and resource he encouraged the handful of men under his orders to maintain the defence

SEC.-LT. G. S. M. INSALL, V.C., No. 11 Squadron R.F.C. Achiet.

[*Elliott & Fry.*
LT. HERBERT JAMES, V.C., 4th Worcs. Regt. Gallipoli.

TEMP.-SEC.-LT. F. H. JOHNSON, V.C., 73rd Field Coy. R.E. "Hill 70."

LCE.-CORPL. W. KENEALLY, V.C., 1st Lancashire Fus. Gallipoli.

PTE. HENRY KENNY, V.C., 1st Loyal North Lancs. Western front.

until the last. He succeeded in holding out until relief came, when he went away to have his wounds dressed. After that had been done, he returned to the trench to see that all was right there before going away to the beach.

Thus nine V.C.'s were won by Anzacs on Gallipoli in the month of August, 1915, a remarkable number when it is considered that the whole force at Anzac, at full strength, numbered no more than 30,000 rifles.

Of the Suvla Bay contingent, Captain Percy Howard Hansen, adjutant, 6th (Service) Battalion Lincolnshire Regiment, won the V.C. for remarkable bravery at Yilghin Burnu on August 9th, 1915. The advance of the regiment was checked by scrub fire, and eventually it had to retire, leaving some seriously wounded men behind it. Captain Hansen, gathering a few volunteers, dashed back through the scrub, and under a terrible fire crossed from two hundred to four hundred yards of open to the assistance of the men. He did this, not once, but several times, and saved from certain death, by burning, no fewer than six men.

Private Frederick William Owen Potts, of the 1st Berkshire Yeomanry (T.F.), won renown and the V.C. by dragging a wounded comrade to safety a distance of six hundred yards on a shovel. The incident took place at Hill 70, Gallipoli, on August 21st. Potts was himself severely wounded in the thigh, but he stayed with his comrade, who was unable to move, for two days under the very parapet of the Turkish trenches. He was fired at by the Turks when he started in the dark for our own lines with his comrade on his novel sledge, but escaped further hurt, and arrived in camp about 9.30 p.m. on August 23rd.

Devotion to a comrade

Another Gallipoli V.C. was Lieutenant William Forshaw, 1/9th Battalion Manchester Regiment (T.F.), who maintained an unequal fight against overwhelming numbers of Turks through the days August 7th-9th, in the north-west corner of the position known as the "Vineyard." Three separate trenches converged at this point, and the Turks attacked by all three trenches at once. Lieutenant Forshaw was the soul of the defence, directing his men to great advantage, and all the time throwing bombs with fine effect. For forty-one hours he was throwing bombs incessantly, so that he could not move his stiffened arm when he was finally relieved.

After the first twenty-four hours of this work, the detachment to which he belonged was relieved, but he volunteered to stay on. A crucial point of the defence was a sand-bag barricade, and over this the Turks managed to climb on August 8th. The officer led a charge against them, shot three with his revolver, and recaptured the position.

West African fighting yielded one V.C. during the year; but though gazetted on September 2nd, 1915, the feat by which Captain John Fitzhardinge Paul Butler, King's R.R.C., West African Frontier Force, earned it was actually performed on November 17th, 1914. With a party of thirteen men he went into the thick bush of Cameroon, and attacked an enemy force of one hundred, including several Europeans. His little band gained a victory and succeeded in capturing a machine-gun and a large quantity of ammunition.

Later, on December 27th, 1914, he made a reconnaissance under fire, by swimming the Ekam River with a few men. Having completed his observation, he swam back again, the total cost of the valuable knowledge he had gained being two men wounded while swimming the river.

East Africa provided an actor-hero in the person of Lieutenant Wilbur Dartnell, who left the stage to join the Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment). In an engagement at Maktau, East Africa, on September 3rd, 1915, it was necessary to retire, leaving several wounded men in a dangerous place. Lieutenant Dartnell knew that the black soldiers against whom we were fighting invariably murdered our wounded, and though himself wounded in the leg, remained behind in the hope of protecting them. He gave his own life in this gallant attempt to save others.

Among gallant deeds performed in Mesopotamia, that of Major George Godfrey Massey Wheeler, late 7th Hariana Lancers, Indian Army, was rewarded with a V.C. He took out his squadron at Shaiba, Mesopotamia, on April 12th, 1915, in an attempt to capture a flag which was the rallying-point of the enemy. The sortie was a gallant one, in which the enemy suffered heavily, and on Major Wheeler's retirement they came out of

PTE. THOMAS KENNY, V.C.,
13th Durham L.I. La Houssoie.

LCE.-CPL. L. KEYSOR, V.C.,
1st Australian I.F. Gallipoli.

TEMP.-LT. E. A. McNAIR, V.C.,
9th R. Sussex. Western front.

PIPER DANIEL LAIDLAW, V.C.,
7th K.O.S.B. Loos.

CAPT. J. A. LIDDELL, V.C.,
3rd A. & S. H. and R.F.C.

MID. W. ST. A. MALLESON, V.C., R.N.
Dardanelles.

TEMP.-LT. G. A. MALING, V.C., M.B.,
R.A.M.C. Fauquissart.

CORPL. S. MEEKOSHA, V.C.,
1/6th W. Yorks. Yser.

RIFLEMAN KULBIR THAPA, V.C., QUEEN ALEXANDRA'S OWN GURKHA RIFLES.
Himself wounded, this gallant Gurkha carried a wounded Englishman to comparative safety and stayed with him all night. Next morning he went back twice to the German lines for wounded comrades, and then carried the Englishman in under heavy fire.

cover to retaliate, forming an excellent mark for the Royal Horse Artillery's guns.

On the following day, April 13th, Major Wheeler was killed in leading an attack upon a position known as North Mound. When last seen he was spurring his horse against the enemy, far in advance of his squadron.

Another hero of Mesopotamia was Private (Shoeing-smith) Charles Hull, of the 21st (Empress of India's) Lancers. Captain Learoyd, the adjutant of the regiment, had his horse killed in a very hot engagement, and though the enemy was but a few yards away, Hull checked his own mount under heavy fire and took up the dismounted officer. This gallant act, which saved the captain's life, was performed entirely upon the initiative of the private soldier.

Rifleman Kulbir Thapa, 2nd Battalion 3rd Queen Alexandra's Own Gurkha Rifles, won his V.C. on September 25th by bravery and self-sacrifice that will ever be remembered when the splendid fighting qualities of the gallant little Indian hillmen come under discussion. He was himself wounded, and behind the first German line. Making his way back, he found a soldier of the 2nd Leicestershire Regiment badly wounded and helpless. The British soldier urged him to save himself, but the brave Gurkha preferred to remain with him, which he did throughout that day and night.

Taking advantage of a patch of mist in the early morning, he carried him on his back to a place of comparative safety. Leaving the Englishman there, he went back twice into the German lines for two of his own wounded comrades. It was now broad daylight, but he finished his work by carrying the wounded Briton in on his back, under the enemy's fire.

Two other brave Indian soldiers were awarded the V.C. for similar devotion to wounded Britons. Sepoy Chatta Singh, 9th Bhopal Infantry, Indian Army, saw his commanding officer lying wounded and exposed, and left his safe cover to render assistance to him. First binding up the officer's wound, he afterwards stood up under heavy fire to dig cover with his entrenching tool for the wounded man. From early afternoon till dusk fell, a vigil of five hours, he lay beside his officer, and between him and the enemy, thus sheltering him with his own body from the danger of further wounds. When the friendly dark came at last, he went back for help, and returned to assist in bringing his officer back to safety.

Lance-Naik Lala, 41st Dogras, Indian Army, rivalled this courageous and devoted conduct. Finding a British officer lying near the enemy lines, he dragged him into a comparatively safe place, where were already lying four wounded men whom he had rescued and bandaged. From this shelter he heard the calls of the adjutant of his own regiment, lying wounded and helpless within a hundred yards of the Germans.

Indian rifleman's heroism

Facing almost certain death, Lance-Naik Lala crawled out to the officer, and wished to crawl back with the wounded man on his back. As this could not be done, he remained by him, and actually divested himself of the major part of his clothing to keep his charge warm. When dark fell he made his way back to his shelter, carried the wounded officer he had first tended to safety, and then returned with a stretcher to rescue his adjutant.

Two V.C.'s won at Ypres were gazetted during the year, the first going to Sec.-Lieutenant B. H. Geary, 4th Battalion East Surreys. He held the left crater at Hill 60 on April 21st, 1915, with his own platoon and some men of the Bedfordshire Regiment, and had to submit to a night-long bombardment which broke down the defences. Furious bomb attacks followed, till the crater was choked

REV. EDWARD NOEL MELLISH, V.C.,
British chaplain, St. Eloi.

with dead and wounded men. The officer was the life and soul of a spirited defence. At times he used a rifle, again he could be seen hurling bombs at the enemy or mounting the parapet to scan the approaches in order to detect any Germans who might be coming to the attack. In these operations he continually risked his life, and eventually was wounded. He found time to arrange for fresh ammunition supplies, and to send reinforcements; and in every way proved himself a capable as well as a gallant officer.

Five days later, on April 26th, Acting-Corporal Issy Smith, 1st Battalion Manchester Regiment, also won the V.C. at Ypres. Leaving safe cover on his own initiative, he went out a long way toward the enemy lines to assist a severely wounded man. He had to face heavy machine-gun and rifle fire, and on his return journey with the wounded man this risk was intensified; but Smith brought him in safely. Later he displayed splendid bravery in bringing in many more wounded under fire, and in attending to them under fire at his own great, personal risk.

Among the last of the Neuve Chapelle V.C.'s to be gazetted was Captain Charles Calveley Foss, D.S.O., 2nd Battalion Bedfordshire Regiment. Captain Foss led a handful of eight men in a gallant counter-attack upon a section of trench which the Germans had captured from us. His attack was delivered with so much dash that the position was taken again, and the fifty-two Germans who held it were made prisoners. The position was a most important one, and its recapture with so few men was as serviceable as it was courageous.

PTE. G. PEACHMENT, V.C.,
2nd K.R.R. Corps. Hulluch.
(Killed.)

PTE. F. W. O. POTTS, V.C.,
1/1st Berkshire Yeomanry.
Gallipoli.

The V.C. which fell to Canada was won at Givenchy on June 15th by Lieutenant Frederick William Campbell, 1st Canadian Battalion. Lieutenant Campbell took a machine-gun over the parapet to the German first line, and under heavy fire and bombing maintained the position he had taken up until every man with him had fallen.

Finding himself single-handed, he advanced with his machine-gun, and occupied a higher and still more exposed position, from which he fired 1,000 rounds with excellent effect. To him is largely due the credit of holding back a counter-attack delivered by the Germans. In a subsequent engagement Lieutenant Campbell was so seriously wounded that he died of his injuries.

The second year of the war also saw the first V.C. allotted to a British chaplain. The Rev. Edward Noel Mellish, temporary chaplain, was formerly curate of St. Paul's Church, Deptford. At St. Eloi he displayed a marvellous devotion throughout three days of terrible fighting, and brought in single-handed no less than twenty-two wounded men, besides taking part as a volunteer in many concerted movements for rendering succour to the wounded. On the first day he passed continually from our original trenches to those we had captured, always under heavy fire. On this day he brought in ten men; and some idea of the risk he ran may be gathered from the fact that three of them were killed before him, when he was in the very act of dressing their wounds.

CORPL. J. D. POLLOCK, V.C.,
5th Cameron Highlanders.
Hohenzollern Redoubt.

On the second day he brought in twelve more men under similar circumstances, while on the night of the third day he headed a party of volunteers who performed similar dangerous but merciful work.

The magnificent bravery displayed in the September and October fightng at Loos, Hill 70, and the Hohenzollern Redoubt was productive of a large number of V.C.'s, the first to be gazetted being Lance-Sergeant Oliver Brooks, 3rd Battalion Coldstream Guards. Brooks had to meet and stem a desperate rush of German bombers on the night of October 8th near Loos. They had captured two hundred yards of trench, when the Coldstream, acting on his own initiative, led a counter-attack of bombers, and drove the enemy out of the trenches. "His bravery, in the midst of a hail of bombs from the Germans," says the official record, "was of the very first order, and the complete success attained in a very dangerous undertaking was entirely due to his fearlessness, presence of mind, and promptitude."

The award to Brooks was followed by a batch of eighteen other V.C.'s, won at Loos and in the neighbourhood.

ACT.-SERGT. J. C. RAYNES, V.C.,
71st Brigade R.F.A. Bethune.

CAPT. A. MOUTRAY READ, V.C. (Killed),
1st Northants. Hulluch.

SERGT. A. RICHARDS, V.C.,
1st Lancs. Fus. Gallipoli.

[Lafayette.

LIEUT. G. A. BOYD-ROCHFORT, V.C.
Scots Guards. Cambrin.

[Russell.

COM. ERIC G. ROBINSON, V.C., R.N.
Dardanelles.

SEAMAN G. McK. SAMSON, V.C.,
R.N. Reserve. Dardanelles.

SERGT. A. F. SAUNDERS, V.C.,
9th Suffolk.

TEMP.-SEC.-LT. A. J. T. FLEMING-SANDES, V.C.,
2nd East Surrey.

Temp.-Lieutenant Colonel Angus F. Douglas-Hamilton, commanding 6th Cameron Highlanders, was killed at the head of his men on September 26th at Hill 70. The troops on either side of him having fallen back, he led his own battalion to the charge four times. At the fourth charge he had only fifty men left, and in this gallant charge he fell. It was no useless sacrifice he made, for owing to his efforts the advance of the enemy at this point was checked.

Another V.C. hero of Hill 70 was Second-Lieutenant Frederick H. Johnson, 73rd Field Coy., R.E. Though severely wounded, he led several charges against the German position, and that under very heavy fire. His example was contagious, and was instrumental in saving the position which had been taken. He remained at his post until relieved.

At Hill 70 Private Robert Dunsire, 13th Battalion Royal Scots, went out under heavy fire on the night of September 26th and rescued a wounded man from No Man's Land. Later on the same night he heard a wounded man close to the German lines calling for help. He crawled amid the hail of bullets across the open and brought in that man also.

Hulluch also supplied its quota of V.C.'s, foremost among whom was Captain Anketell M. Read, 1st Battalion Northamptonshire Regiment, who paid with his life the price of the valuable services he rendered. When the first attack was made on September 25th, 1915, he was partially gassed. None the less he struggled out to rally disorganised and retiring units. Several times he led such parties back to the firing-line, and there, under a heavy fire, moved about among them, inspiring them with fresh confidence. In this brave work he met his death.

Private George Peachment, 2nd Battalion King's Royal Rifle Corps, lost his life and won the V.C. at the same place on the same night. Peachment died in trying to save his company commander, Captain Dubs. The captain was lying wounded in the open, and Peachment crawled out to him under heavy fire. He knelt there in the open, indifferent to his great danger, attempting to render aid to his wounded officer. There was a shell-hole close at hand, in which a number of men had taken cover, but this brave fellow had no thought for himself. He was wounded by a bomb on this errand of mercy, and later met his death from a rifle bullet.

ACT.-CORPL. ISSY SMITH, V.C.,
1st Manchester. Ypres.

SEC.-LT. A. V. SMITH, V.C.,
1/5th East Lancs. (Killed).

Private Arthur Vickers, 2nd Battalion Royal Warwickshire Regiment, displayed most serviceable heroism at Hulluch in this attack. Finding that the advance of his battalion was held up by the German wire, he went out upon his own initiative, under very heavy shell, machine-gun, and rifle fire, and cut the wires. It was broad daylight at the time, and his escape from what appeared certain death is miraculous. He had the satisfaction of knowing that he had largely contributed to the success of the assault by this action, for which he was awarded the V.C.

At Hohenzollern Redoubt many brave deeds were performed, and for one notable act Second-Lieutenant Arthur J. T. Fleming-Sandes, 2nd Battalion East Surrey Regiment, was awarded the cross. He had to take over a company which had run short of bombs, and had been much tried by continuous bombing and heavy machine-gun fire. Their own store of bombs was nearly exhausted, while they could see the men on their right retiring.

The lieutenant at once grasped the critical nature of the situation, and collecting as many bombs as he could gather, sprang on the parapet and hurled them at the Germans. The enemy was only twenty yards distant and the officer was fully exposed. He was soon wounded by a bomb, and it is remarkable that he was not killed.

But he disregarded the wound and continued his bomb-throwing until he was wounded a second time, and put completely out of action. He had saved the situation, however, for his men gained new heart from his example and "stuck it out" splendidly.

At Hohenzollern Redoubt Second-Lieutenant Charles G. Vickers, 1/7th Battalion Sherwood Foresters (T.F.), also won his V.C. by a fine single-handed performance on October 14th. He had lost nearly all his men, and had to meet an attack from front and flank. There was only a barrier between him and the enemy and he had but two men to carry bombs for him. Yet he held the barrier single-handed for some hours.

In order to strengthen the precarious position, he further ordered that a second barrier should be built behind him, thus cutting off his only means of retreat if the first barrier should be captured. He held his barrier long enough to allow the second one to be finished; and then he fell, dangerously wounded.

SERGT. J. SOMERS, V.C.
1st R. Inniskillings.
Gallipoli.

SUB.-LT. A. W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, V.C.,
R.N.V. Gallipoli.

SEC.-LT. A. B. TURNER, V.C.,
3rd Berkshire. Vermelles.

[Canadian official photograph.

THE ULTIMATE EXPRESSION OF HUMAN COURAGE: CANADIANS ADVANCING UNDER SHELL FIRE.

One cannot contemplate troops advancing under heavy shell fire without marvelling at the nerve control which impels them forward. A squad of Canadians are moving along a communication-trench. The ominous smoke of bursting shells, the three shorn trees on the extreme right, which remind one of a distant Calvary, and the barren aspect of the entrenchment lend this illustration an intensely dramatic reality.

The bravery and initiative of Corporal J. L. Dawson, 187th Coy. R.E., saved a great many men from being gassed at Hohenzollern Redoubt on October 13th, 1915. The trenches were full of men at the time, and a heavy gas attack was in progress. Dawson, in order to get the infantry out of the trenches that were full of gas, walked up and down upon the parados in full view of the enemy, giving directions. He discovered three cylinders of gas that were leaking and rolled them away from the trench, where he fired bullets into them in order to let the gas escape. For his great and meritorious services he was awarded the V.C.

"Pluck, endurance, and devotion to duty beyond praise" won for Private T. Kenny, 13th (Service) Battalion Durham Light Infantry, the V.C. With his officer, Lieutenant Brown, Kenny was on patrol duty in a thick fog near La Houssoie on November 4th. They drew the fire of some Germans who were lying in front of their lines in a ditch, and the officer was shot through both thighs. Kenny hoisted him on his back and began to crawl about with him in the thick fog.

In "Little Willie" trench

Hard as he tried, he could not discover the path back to the British trenches. For more than an hour he crept about, disregarding the officer's repeated request that he should save himself. Eventually he sank down utterly exhausted, only to find himself lying in a ditch with which he was familiar. Leaving Lieutenant Brown there under cover, he went back for assistance, and the officer was brought in under heavy fire.

The coolness and bravery of Corporal James D. Pollock, 5th Battalion Cameron Highlanders, checked a German attack made on the Hohenzollern Redoubt by way of "Little Willie" trench. The enemy were working dangerously along the trench, when Pollock climbed out, and from the top of it threw bombs down upon them. He was exposed to heavy machine-gun fire, but he held them for an hour single-handed. In the end he was wounded, but he had checked the rush, and richly deserved his V.C.

In the same neighbourhood there was a heavy bombing attack made on September 29th by the Germans at "Big Willie" trench. Bombs were desperately needed to meet the attack, and Private Samuel Harvey, 1st Battalion York and Lancaster Regiment, volunteered to fetch them. The communication-trench was choked by wounded men and by the supports who were coming up to the fight; so Harvey had to run across the open under heavy fire. He made many such trips, and had carried thirty boxes of bombs to the front before he fell wounded in the head. The V.C. was awarded him with the remark that it was mainly due to his cool bravery that the enemy was driven back.

An exploit with bombs

The devotion to duty shown by Lieutenant George Allan Maling, R.A.M.C., in the heavy fighting with which the Loos attack opened, was rewarded with the V.C. He worked in the open near Fauquissart, and during the twenty-four hours which began at 6 a.m., September 25th, 1915, treated more than three hundred cases under heavy shell fire.

Early in this trying experience he was knocked over and stunned by the bursting of a big high-explosive shell, which killed several of the men who were waiting for treatment. Another shell soon afterwards buried him and his instruments in debris; but he could not be deterred from his duty. His only assistant was wounded,

yet he persevered with his work of mercy until he dropped from sheer exhaustion.

Hooge was the scene of the devoted action by which Second-Lieutenant Sidney Clayton Woodroffe, 8th Battalion Rifle Brigade (Prince Consort's Own), lost his life while winning the V.C. on July 30th, 1915. On that day the Germans used liquid fire, and drove back the British centre so far that Lieutenant Woodroffe found his position attacked from the flank and finally from the rear. In this emergency he showed the greatest skill in withdrawing his men. Then he organised a counter-attack under extremely heavy fire and was shot down while attempting to cut the German wire.

Wonderful courage at Hooge

At Hooge, between September 25th and October 1st, Second-Lieutenant Rupert P. Hallowes, 4th Battalion Middlesex Regiment, behaved with unexampled bravery and energy throughout four heavy and protracted bombardments, heartening his men by his wonderful courage. On several occasions he climbed upon the parapet, oblivious of danger, in order to put fresh courage into the men. He is credited with a number of most daring reconnaissances of the German positions, and when bombs were needed he went back and brought them up under heavy shell fire. He did not live to know that his devotion had been rewarded with the honour of the Victoria Cross.

Piper Daniel Laidlaw, 7th Battalion King's Own Scottish Borderers, won the V.C. by one of those acts which will live for ever in history. His regiment was to open the attack between Loos and Hill 70, but while waiting for the signal, it was severely gassed. Noticing that the men were shaken by this experience, Laidlaw mounted the parapet and played his company into action, marching up and down on the edge of the trench.

The sound of the pipes acted like a charm, for the men dashed out of cover and went to the assault like inspired beings. Laidlaw continued to pipe from his exposed position until he was wounded.

"The bravest of the brave" was the epithet applied by his colonel to Second-Lieutenant Alexander B. Turner, 3rd Battalion Royal Berkshire Regiment, who was awarded the V.C. for services at Fosse 8, near Vermelles, which cost him his life, on September 28th, 1915. A great bomb fight was going on in Slag Alley, and it was only too apparent that the regimental bombers were held in check. Lieutenant Turner therefore volunteered to lead a fresh bombing-party.

He rushed down a communication-trench, almost unsupported, hurling bombs with such effect that the Germans were driven back one hundred and fifty yards. This gain not only allowed the reserves to advance without much opposition, but it covered the flank in a subsequent retirement, which otherwise would have cost some hundred men in its execution.

Posthumous honours were also paid to Sergeant Harry Wells, 2nd Sussex, who took command when his platoon officer had been killed in the advance of September 25th near Le Rutoire. He led them to within fifteen yards of the German wire, losing men at every yard. When half the platoon had fallen the men were checked, but Sergeant Wells rallied them splendidly and led them on again. He fell while once more urging the scanty remnant of the platoon forward to the attack, leaving behind him an imperishable record of valour and determination.

A double deed of splendid courage and self-sacrifice is credited to Acting-Sergeant John C. Raynes, of A Battery, 71st Brigade R.F.A. On October 11th, at Fosse 7 de Bethune, he rushed forward forty yards under heavy fire to the assistance of Sergeant Ayres, who was badly wounded. He bandaged him, and returned to his gun, only to return when the "Cease fire" order was given. With two gunners he carried Ayres in, when a gas-shell burst before the dug-out into which the wounded man had been carried. Raynes ran back for his smoke-helmet, which he put on the wounded man. Then, though badly gassed himself, he crept back to serve his gun again.

Next day, October 12th, Raynes was buried in the debris of a wrecked house in Quality Street. Eight men in all were buried, and Raynes was the first rescued. Though wounded in two places, he remained under heavy shell fire until all the men were extricated, and assisted in dressing them. His own injuries being dressed, he returned to his gun and reported himself for duty.

COMMANDER EDWARD UNWIN, V.C., R.N.
He was awarded the V.C. for his brilliant work at the Dardanelles in connection with the "Wooden Horse" ship River Clyde, of which he was commander.

Another dogged Briton was Lance-Corporal George H. Wyatt, 3rd Battalion Coldstream Guards, who was awarded the V.C. for two separate acts of bravery. The first occurred at Landrecies on the night of August 25th-26th. The enemy had kindled some straw stacks in a farmyard by means of incendiary bombs, and Wyatt knew that if they continued to burn, the British position would become untenable. The enemy was but twenty-five yards away, but twice he rushed from the trench, daring the bullets that were poured at him, and extinguished the flames.

Later, he was wounded in the head at Villa Cotterets, but continued to fight till the blood pouring into his eyes prevented his seeing. His wound was dressed, and he was ordered to the rear; but he preferred to return to the firing-line and continue the fight.

Corporal Alfred A. Burt, 1st Battalion Hertfordshire Regiment (T.F.), well deserved the V.C. for his promptness in tackling a huge trench-mortar bomb at Cuinchy on September 27th. The bomb fell in the front trench just when Burt's company was preparing to scale the parapet for a charge. He knew the great destruction its explosion would cause, and though he might have saved himself by taking cover behind a traverse, he disdained that course. He went forward to the fizzing bomb, placed his foot upon the fuse, and wrenched it out of the bomb, rendering it innocuous. The fuse he threw over the parapet.

Tackling a huge bomb

Two V.C.'s were won in the fighting at La Brique in November, the first falling to Private John Caffrey, 2nd Battalion York and Lancaster Regiment. Caffrey first went out with Corporal Stirk to the assistance of a wounded man of the West Yorkshire Regiment, who was lying about three hundred yards from the enemy's lines.

The two men were turned back by heavy shrapnel, but were not content with the rebuff. They ventured again, and this time they reached their man, though they had to run the gauntlet of accurate sniping and machine-gun fire.

While Stirk was lifting the wounded man upon Caffrey's back he was himself wounded in the head. Caffrey put down his burden, bandaged Stirk, and helped him back to safety. He then went out alone to the wounded man, this making his third journey across the danger zone. This time he had the satisfaction of bringing the man in single-handed. A splendid exploit!

A private's splendid exploit

Similar devotion was shown at La Brique, on November 23rd, by Corporal Alfred Drake, 8th Battalion Rifle Brigade. With an officer and two men he was patrolling near the German lines when the party was discovered and fired upon. The officer and one man fell wounded. Drake devoted himself to the officer, while the remaining man carried in his wounded comrade. The last glimpse he had of Drake revealed him kneeling by the officer under heavy machine-gun fire, calmly bandaging his wounds and tending him. A rescue-party went out later and, crawling carefully close to the enemy lines, found the two men. The officer was unconscious but living, with his wounds carefully bandaged. By his side was the dead body of the brave corporal riddled with bullets.

Another November V.C. was that won by Corporal Samuel Meekosha, 1/6th Battalion West Yorkshire Regiment, in an isolated trench near the Yser on the 19th of the month. The trench was held by a platoon of twenty men, of whom six were killed and seven wounded by a heavy bombardment. Then came a shell and buried all the sound men remaining, with the sole exception of Meekosha. The corporal managed to obtain a runner, by whom he sent a message for assistance. He himself set about the work of digging out the buried men. Big shells were falling all about him, something like a dozen landing within twenty yards of the spot where, in full view of the enemy and at close range, he was stolidly digging for his comrades. At least four men owed their lives to his courage, justly described in the official record as magnificent

One of the noblest sacrifices of the war—an act neither dated nor placed in the official notice—was that by which Second-Lieutenant Alfred Victor Smith, 1/5th East Lancashire Regiment (T.F.), lost his life and won the V.C. When in the act of throwing a grenade he slipped, with the result that the live bomb fell in his own trench near a group of officers and men. He shouted a quick warning and was able to get into cover. But as soon as he was safe he realised that the others could not find cover in time. Without a moment's hesitation he left his place of safety and threw himself upon the grenade in the moment of its explosion, paying with his own life for those of others whom he saved.

Lancashire man's self-sacrifice

The feat of the private who tore the fuse from a large minnenwerfer bomb was excelled by the conduct of Second-

(*Official photograph.*

WORK OF HIGH EXPLOSIVES: ENORMOUS CRATER IN THE SOMME AREA.

Mine-crater in High Wood. Its proportions can be gauged by comparison with the size of the figures in its deepest part and half-way up the side. Such craters, many of which were made along the French and Flemish fronts, tended to impede advances, particularly during the winter months.

L.L.L.

Lieutenant George Arthur Boyd-Rochfort, Special Reserve, 1st Battalion Scots Guards. While in the trenches between Cambrin and La Bassée, at 2 a.m. on August 3rd, 1915, a huge bomb from a German trench-mortar landed on the parapet near a working-party. The lieutenant could easily have taken cover, but he rushed forward with a warning shout and seized the big thing in his hands. One great cast sent it spinning clear of the parapet, where it forthwith exploded. Had it been allowed to remain where it fell, many lives would undoubtedly have been lost. This V.C. hero had the experience of being medically rejected before he was accepted for the Army in April, 1915.

Returning a German bomb

Another act of supreme devotion, performed amid the explosions of the large bombs cast by the minnenwerfer, won the V.C. for Private Harry Christian, 2nd Battalion Royal Lancaster Regiment. With half a dozen comrades he was holding a crater in front of our trenches when the men were driven back by a heavy bombardment from the German trenches. Christian found, after retiring, that three men had not come away from the crater; he therefore returned alone to the place and found them buried. Under showers of bombs he dug them out one by one and carried them back to safety.

PTE. A. VICKERS, V.C.,
2nd Royal Warwick.

TEMP.-CAPT. C. G. VICKERS, V.C.,
1/7th Notts and Derby.

Repeated acts of bravery and devotion to duty resulted in the award of the V.C. to Captain John Alexander Sinton, M.B., Indian Medical Service. Though shot through both arms and in the side, he worked under very heavy fire, dressing the wounded, and refusing to go into hospital while there was light to work. Many previous instances of great bravery had been credited to this fine officer.

Even the records of the Great War hold few parallels to the endurance of Lance-Corporal William Richard Cotter, 6th East Kent Regiment. His right leg had been blown off at the knee and he was wounded in both arms, yet he made his way unaided to a crater fifty yards distant, where his men were in a critical position. A fresh counter-attack of the enemy was imminent, and Cotter made a new disposition of the men in order to meet it.

For two hours he directed the defence by word of mouth, and only when the attack had quieted down did he allow rough dressing to be applied to his wounds. It was fourteen hours later before he was moved back to a dressing-station, yet in his great agony he maintained a cheerful demeanour, which had the most encouraging effect on all around him.

Another splendid soldier, who continued to fight when his foot had been blown off, was Captain Arthur Forbes Gordon Kilby, 2nd South Staffordshire Regiment. By his own request he was selected to lead a forlorn hope against a strong enemy redoubt, his well-known courage marking him out for this dangerous service. He ran at the head of his company along a narrow tow-path, under heavy machine-gun fire and a shower of bombs, and brought his men to the enemy's wire. Here he was shot down, and his foot was blown off by a bomb; but he continued to fire a rifle and cheer his men on by word of mouth. He never returned from the attack, and it is presumed that he died at the post of duty and extreme danger. He was awarded the V.C.

Gallant leader of forlorn hope

Severe and painful wounds did not deter Private William Young, 8th East Lancashire Regiment, from going to the rescue of his sergeant, who was lying wounded under heavy fire in No Man's Land. As soon as he left the trench, Young had both jaws shattered by a bullet, but persisted until, with the help of another man, he had brought the sergeant in. When he got to the dressing-station it was found that he had also been wounded severely in the chest by a bullet, and an official pronouncement that "his great fortitude could hardly be surpassed" was added to the "Gazette" notice in which the exploit which won him the V.C. was detailed.

Another Lancashire hero was Private Henry Kenny, 1st Battalion Loyal North Lancashire Regiment. Six times in one day he went out into the open under heavy fire, and every time he returned with a wounded man. As he was handing the sixth man over the parapet he fell wounded in the neck by a rifle bullet.

Sergeant Arthur Frederick Saunders, 9th Suffolk Regiment, earned the V.C. by magnificent work with machine-guns. When his officer was wounded, the sergeant took charge, and supported four charges of another battalion.

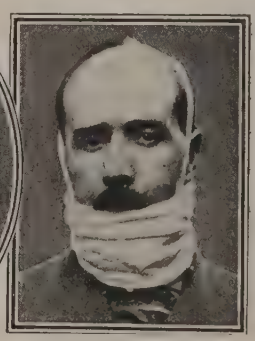
After being hoisted in the air with his men, by the explosion of a mine, Lieutenant Eric Archibald McNair, 9th Royal Sussex Regiment, was still capable of leading them with such great gallantry and skill as to be awarded the V.C.

MAJ. G. G. M. WHEELER, V.C.,
Hariana Lancers.

CAPT. R. R. WILLIS, V.C.,
1st Lancs Fusiliers.

SEC.-LT. S. C. WOODROFFE, V.C.,
8th Rifle Brigade.

LCE.-CPL. G. H. WYATT, V.C.,
3rd Coldstream Guards.



PTE. W. YOUNG, V.C.,
8th East Lancs.

RUMANIAN FIELD ARTILLERY IN COLUMN OF MARCH.

CHAPTER CXLVII.

RUMANIA: FIRST PHASES OF HER STRUGGLE WITH THE CENTRAL EMPIRES.

By Robert Machray.

Vital Importance of Rumania in the War—Glance at her History—Past and Recent Glories of her Army—Remarkable Interview with King Ferdinand—His Condemnation of Germany—Strategical Significance of Rumania—Threat to German Dreams of Eastern Empire—How Germany Sought to Meet It—Other Reasons for German Action—A Big Source of Supply—The Rumanian Army—Its Great Reserves—Avarescu its Finest General—Difficulty of Rumania's Two Long Fronts—Invasion of Transylvania—Bulgarian Treachery—Dobruja Front Not Sufficiently Protected—The Forcing of the Passes by Avarescu—Russian Forces March Into the Dobruja—Brilliant Rumanian Victory at Orsova—Deep Concern of Germany at Rumanian Successes—Outcry in Hungary—Mackensen's Offensive in the Dobruja—Its Success at First—Rumanians Advancing in Transylvania—Mackensen's Defeat—Increasing German Pressure under Falkenhayn in the North—Heavy Fighting for the Vulkan Pass—Rumanians Lose the Roter Turm Pass—They Begin to Withdraw in the North—Loss of Brasso—Views in Bukarest—Bitter Struggles in the Passes—Germans Gain Ground—Apprehension in the West—Allies Take Steps to Help Rumania—Mackensen's Renewed Offensive—His Capture of the Constantsa-Cerna Voda Railway—Ominous Situation.

IN Chapter CXLV., which was a general review of the situation in the Balkans, with particular reference to the Salonika Expedition from its inception up to the beginning of September, 1916, mention was made of the intervention of Rumania on the side of the Entente Powers, and a statement was presented of the reasons which led her to take that fateful step. A brief account was also given of the preliminary operations of the Rumanians and of the enemy.

The struggle, as it proceeded, was marked by sharp fluctuations of fortune, which universally attracted special attention to this new theatre of the world-war, and emphasised its extraordinary importance. In the west, and indeed outside the country itself and its immediate neighbours, little was really known of Rumania, and, as a rule, no adequate conception had been formed in the popular mind of the vital significance that was attached to her place and part in the ever-unfolding drama of the whole colossal conflict.

Rumania, as Rumania, had been in existence, comparatively regarded, for only a very short time. Many people were still alive who could remember when that name was conferred on the State which arose from the union of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, for its public proclamation at Bukarest dated no further back than December 23rd, 1861.

THE KING AND HIS COUNSELLOR.
King Ferdinand of Rumania in conversation with his Prime Minister, M. Ion Bratiano.

Previous to that time both Wallachia and Moldavia had been provinces of the Turkish Empire, nor was it until sixteen years afterwards that the political connection of Rumania with Turkey definitely came to an end.

On May 21st, 1877, representatives of the Rumanian nation, drawn from all quarters of the land, met in the capital, and solemnly declared its independence, which was confirmed by the Congress of Berlin, July 13th, 1878. Three years later Rumania became a kingdom, and Carol I., the reigning prince, its king. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 the Rumanians effectively cooperated with the Russians against their former rulers, and their soldiers brilliantly distinguished themselves in the fierce fighting around Plevna, which would hardly have fallen when it did had it not been

MAP OF RUMANIA INDICATING FRONTIER LINES AND PASSES.

The exceptional length of frontier lines from the Dobruja to Cernovitz will be noted. The Rumanian armies had to withstand Austro-German onslaughts from the north under General von Falkenhayn and Bulgarian and Turkish efforts from the south under General Mackensen.

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for their courage and endurance. As one of the results of that successful war, Rumania received a large part of the Dobruja, the territory lying south of the delta of the Danube, and in 1913, after the Second Balkan War, was further aggrandised by obtaining from Bulgaria the cession of another portion immediately below it. (Chapter LXXXIV.)

In the Russo-Turkish War the Rumanian Army exhibited the highest military qualities under tests that were extremely severe. But the Rumanians had always been a notably fine fighting race. For many centuries the history of both Wallachia and Moldavia was a record of almost continuous and bitter contests, now with one enemy and now with another. On the declaration of war on Austria-Hungary, King Ferdinand, in the stirring Order of the Day which he addressed to his troops, was using no mere rhetorical expressions when he spoke of the victories of former times, but was appealing with unerring and tremendous effect to memories and traditions that glowed warm and bright in the soul of every one of his subjects.

A nation of fighters

King Ferdinand's allusion to the "Voivodes (Generals) Michael the Brave and Stephen the Great" recalled the most heroic figures of the deathless past—Michael, who for a while realised the national ideal of a Rumanian union on both slopes of the Carpathians by his bravery and skill in the field, and Stephen, victorious in forty-three battles, and the conqueror of Mohammed II. at Rasova in 1475. Though the Rumanians—or, to give them their ancient appellation, the Moldo-Vlachs—were finally beaten by the Turks, their martial spirit, as well as political address, was strong enough to keep them from being reduced to the condition of abject slavery which was the common lot of Serbian, Bulgarian, and Greek under the old Ottoman tyranny.

IN MODERN BUKAREST.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Bukarest, a structure in Western European style with here and there a distinct Byzantine touch.

Yet Rumania was never a great State, either in territory or population. Dacia, the Roman province from whose colonists the modern Rumanians trace their descent, covered a more extensive area than any which could have been specifically described at a later period as Rumania. When the war broke out in 1914 its area was 53,689 square miles, or about a few thousand square miles less than the combined area of England and Wales, and its population was only a little over seven and a half millions. There was, however, a Greater Rumania, for just across her boundaries were between four and five million people of her own blood, thus making the number of Rumanians in the world upwards of twelve millions.

These outer Rumanians were found in Hungary, in Bukovina, in Bessarabia, and in scattered communities in the Balkans, but the vast majority of them were in Hungary, in the province of Transylvania, on the other side of the northern and north-western mountain ranges, and there the Magyars, the ruling nationality, treated them like serfs. Primarily, it was to emancipate these oppressed men and women of her own blood that Rumania took up arms against the Dual Monarchy.

Under Magyar tyranny

In a remarkable interview, accorded at Bukarest to Mr. Stanley Washburn, the famous special correspondent of the "Times," and published by that journal on October 13th, 1916, King Ferdinand said that it was right that the world, in view of the enemy's malicious misrepresentations, should know what Rumania stood for in the great conflict, and what were the sacrifices and dangers she was called on to face when entering the "maelstrom where the giants themselves were clutched in a life-and-death struggle." He continued:

Rumania has not been moved by a policy of mere expediency, nor has her determination to enter this war been the outcome of any cynical material policy, or of bad faith to the Central Powers, but it has been based on the biggest principles of nationality and of national ideas. In every nation there are elemental public opinions which are instinctive rather than political. In Rumania, as in Russia, the tie of race and blood underlies all other considerations, and the appeal of our purest Rumanian blood that lies beyond the Transylvanian Alps has ever been the strongest influence in the public opinion of all Rumania from the throne to the lowest peasant. Inasmuch as Hungary was the master that held millions of our blood in perpetual political bondage, Hungary has been our traditional enemy. The Bulgar, with his efficient and unquestionably courageous Army on a frontier difficult to defend, has, logically, become our southern menace, and as a latent threat has been accepted secondarily as a potential enemy.

ROYAL PALACE AT BUKAREST.

The city itself has been called the Paris of the East, and is strongly influenced by French tradition.

KING FERDINAND'S THRONE-ROOM.

Interior scene in the Royal Palace at Bukarest, a salon not incomparable in style to that at Versailles.

VETERAN RUMANIAN PATRIOTS RECEIVED BY CROWN PRINCE CAROL.
An interesting ceremony reminiscent of other days when Russia and Rumania were allied against the Ottoman Empire. This photograph, taken after Rumania's intervention against the Central Powers, shows Prince Carol receiving veterans who fought under King Carol in 1877.

King Ferdinand went on to say that at the beginning of the war Rumania did not sympathise with Germany, but was not instantly hostile to her; indeed, Germany had helped in the past to develop Rumanian industries and increase the prosperity of the country, and therefore Rumania had been friendly to her rather than otherwise. But after a time there appeared a moral issue which Rumania could not but appreciate. "As the war developed," the King observed, "the enemy's theory of frightfulness and lawlessness, which he had attempted to write into international law as a legitimate method of conducting war, came to affect opinion deeply." The principles that might is right, and that the end justifies the means, did not commend themselves to the Rumanians. These ideas were repulsive to them, but as they did not in their application touch the national life, the Rumanians stood outside the struggle.

"But with the progress of the war," the King added significantly, "Rumania began to feel the subtle force of enemy intrigue endeavouring in every way to force us into the war against our own real interests, using every argument to make the worse appear the better cause." Perhaps no more pointed condemnation of Germany was ever pronounced than that contained in these sentences, which fell from the lips of a prince of the House of Hohenzollern, a German by birth, and a German soldier by training, but a sovereign who put the interests of his kingdom of Rumania first, last, and all the time.

A Hohenzollern loyal to liberty

German pressure on Rumania was very severe during the whole of 1915. The general situation in that period did not look well for the Allies. It spoke eloquently of the stability and worth of Rumanian character, that with Russia apparently beaten, with Britain and France at a standstill, and with Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria, backed by German battalions, operating successfully in the Balkans, the Rumanians remained true to their better instincts, and would not permit themselves to be seduced from their neutrality. They were neither to be bought with bribes nor intimidated by threats, to both of which they were frequently subjected, according to circumstances, by Germany. On the other hand, there was some disposition among the Allies, and even among certain of the Rumanians, to criticise Rumania for her inactivity on behalf of the Entente Powers during that period.

Commenting on this, King Ferdinand stated the position of his country—"A small Power with a small Army, surrounded by giants." And he maintained that with a western frontier in length greater than the British and French fronts combined, with a Bulgarian frontier almost undefended near her capital, stretching for hundreds of miles in the south, and with Russia in retreat, Rumania would have suffered swift annihilation if she had taken action at that time. Having regard to the dark fate of Serbia then, and considering the fluctuations that took place after Rumania began her campaign—at a juncture, too, when the outlook for the Allies was much more auspicious than ever before—the King must be judged to have gauged the position with accuracy. Rumania waited for the day when she could join in the war with a reasonable assurance of protecting herself and of receiving effective help from France, Great Britain, and—most of all—Russia.

Rumania's critical position

Geographically, Rumania occupied a vitally important position with respect to the war and its strategy. On the north she had Russia, her ally, and Austria-Hungary, her bitter enemy, on the frontier. A peculiarity of her configuration in this direction was that her province of Moldavia was thrust up like a huge horn between Russian Bessarabia on the east and Austrian Bukovina and Hungarian Transylvania on the west. She was fronted on her western boundary by Hungary, Serbia, and Bulgaria, all practically German ground in 1916.

On the south, along the Danube and below her area of the Dobruja, lay Bulgaria. On the east was the Black Sea, for the defence of whose littoral she could rely to some extent on the Russian Black Sea Fleet, her own Navy being so inconsiderable as to be nearly negligible. On by far the greater portion of her frontiers she was encompassed by enemies when she opened hostilities. As against that, these frontiers were very strong by nature, except on the Dobruja line.

Nearly surrounded by enemies

From near Mamornitsa on the Pruth, where that river flows in from Bukovina to form the boundary between Rumania and Russia in that quarter, to Orsova on the Danube near the Iron Gates there stretched long chains of mountains, chiefly the Eastern Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps, forming a continuous and formidable rampart, only negotiable here and there by passes, some of which were easier than others, but all capable of effective defence. From Orsova eastward the Danube protected Rumania on the south till the Dobruja was reached. For a defensive campaign she was thus not ill-provided on the whole by the topographical features of the country.

Strategically, all Rumania, with the exception of the Moldavian horn, formed a big salient jutting out into the line of the Central Powers, and might become in strong hands a menace of the most formidable kind to the whole eastern front of the enemy. It was this that made Rumania's geographical situation of such enormous significance. The subjugation of Serbia—for the Entente one of the most unfortunate episodes in the war—had given Germany a broad passage from the north to the south and, what was even more valuable in her eyes, to the east. Germany and Austria were united with Bulgaria and Turkey, and the great trunk railway from Hamburg, through Berlin, Vienna, Belgrade, and Sofia to Constantinople and on into Asia Minor was to the enemy a visible sign of the probably complete realisation of Germany's ambitious scheme for an empire from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. The problem of the Allies was to break that union, to cut that railway, and so bring to naught the grandiose plan. If this salient of Rumania could be extended westward sufficiently the problem would be solved.

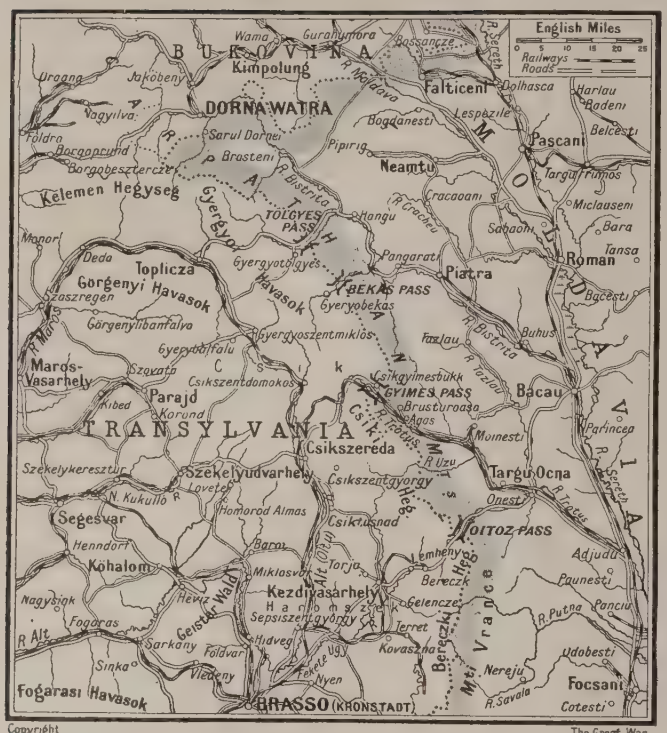
Immediately on hearing of Rumania's declaration of war on Austria, Germany declared war on the former, and at once set about in her arrogant way to organise a "punitive expedition" for the chastisement of the small State which had defied her; but she had something far deeper in her mind, and that was to destroy this salient with its threat to her dearest dreams. Once having succeeded in this effort, she not only would have consolidated her whole eastern front, and rendered any change in it to her disadvantage extremely difficult, if not impossible, but she also would have gained a flanking position with respect to Russia. So far as Russia was immediately concerned, the Rumanian frontier became to all intents and purposes an enormous extension of her own front from the moment that Rumania began hostilities. The new front in Transylvania formed the southern flank of the whole allied line from the Dwina to the Danube.

There was another reason why Germany was anxious, and in fact determined, to get into and occupy Rumania, and it was economic. Previous to the intervention of Rumania, both she and Austria had drawn from the Danubian kingdom large supplies of wheat, maize, and petroleum.

Rumania a valuable granary

The blockade of the German coast maintained by the British Navy was for a long time much less rigorous than it might and should have been, yet it produced a considerable effect, which was rendered all the greater by poor crops in Germany, with the result that "bread-tickets" and other devices for husbanding the resources of that empire had to be resorted to. But had it not been for the food and oil that Germany was able to procure

OFF TO THE WAR: RUMANIA'S CROWN PRINCE SPEEDING TROOPS UPON THEIR WAY.
A Rumanian infantry regiment starting for the front in presence of Prince Carol. War was declared August 27th, 1916, and Rumania struck hard and at once against Austria-Hungary in Transylvania, occupying all the mountain passes.



THE NORTHERN PASSES OF RUMANIA.
Map showing the northern passes, from the Bukovina down to Brasso, where the Carpathian Mountains link up with the Transylvanian Alps.

from Rumania, her plight would have been far worse. For her size, Rumania was a rich country agriculturally. All Rumania north of the Danube sloped down from the mountains to that great river; farming began on the lower foot-hills, and continued wherever practicable almost down to the water's edge. The great bulk of the population was engaged on the land; the nobles had their estates cultivated by peasants, while thousands of other peasants tilled their own holdings, usually of from ten to twenty acres.

Rumania had always exported wheat and maize, but for some years past the working of the petroleum wells had been the chief industry, nearly twenty millions sterling having been invested in it, and her output of the oil was not far short of two million tons annually. The principal centres of the business were at Prahova, Dambovitsa, Bacau, and Buzau. In 1915 Germany obtained about 150,000 tons, and Austria over 250,000 tons of petroleum from Rumania. The Central Powers needed the oil; one of their main sources of supply had been cut off by the destruction of the wells in Galicia by the Russians, and with Rumania at war with them another channel was closed.

German imports from Rumania

But there was more than this at stake. German finance and financiers had got such a grip on the commerce of the country that in that field Rumania was almost a dependency of Germany. The State had borrowed from the Germans nearly eighty millions sterling, and nearly half as much again had been invested by them in Rumanian banks and businesses. About ninety per cent. of the imports of Rumania were of Austro-German manufacture, nearly all her trade was in German or Austrian hands, and, in a word, practically the whole economic life of the nation had been directed and governed by Germans and Austrians. Germany, therefore, could desire nothing less than to see this rich little country slip out of her clutches; on the contrary, it was her intention to gain through the war entire possession of it. One of the first measures taken by Rumania after war was declared was the sequestration of all enemy businesses within her borders. Political as well as economic and military considerations urged Germany on. Just as Rumania knew that she could never hope to realise her national aspirations through the Central Powers because of Austria, so did Germany know that a victorious Rumania meant such loss to Austria-Hungary, especially when coupled with the restoration of Serbia and the creation of a big southern Slav State under Serbia's leadership, that Austria would be seriously crippled and be of vastly reduced value to her as a political asset. And there was the further point, springing out of the defeat of the Dual Monarchy if it came to pass, that the disintegration of Austria would lay Germany open to the attack of the Allies from the south, and would eventually lead to the defeat of Germany herself.

It thus was certain that the enemy would do his utmost to crush Rumania, but it was equally certain that the Entente Powers were bound to do their utmost to prevent such a catastrophe.

In the interview quoted above, King Ferdinand said that Rumania waited to declare war until she was reasonably sure of being able to protect herself and of the support of the Allies. During previous years the Rumanian Army had been greatly augmented. In the Russo-Turkish War Rumania had two army corps, practically all her available strength, fighting the Turks. Each of these army corps consisted of two divisions, and both together comprised about 60,000 men. Shortly after that war the Army was increased to four army corps, and as time went on and the State grew in wealth and population, it was made still stronger by various legislative and other measures. In 1914 Rumania could have put into the field a force of upwards of 250,000 rifles, 18,000 sabres, 800 guns of various calibre, including 600 modern cannon, and 300 machine-guns. But these figures by no means really represented the full fighting strength of the country, as there were in existence very large reserves.

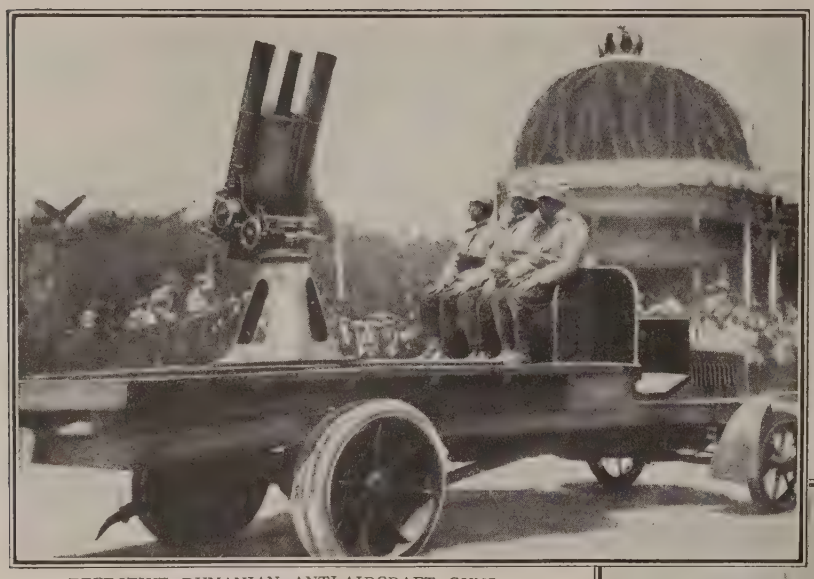
Men and machines of war

In Rumania military service was universal and compulsory. The system pursued was that young men aged nineteen to twenty-one received a certain amount of preliminary training at their homes; at the age of twenty-one they joined the Colours, serving two years in the infantry and three years in the cavalry, artillery, and engineers; thereafter these soldiers were placed in the reserve of the first line, where they remained for from four to five years; next they passed to the reserve of the second line; at the age of thirty-eight they joined the Territorial Force, in which they were classed till they attained forty-two years of age. Thus their total service lasted for twenty-one years. Such men as were not required for the annual contingent, as postulated by the laws governing conscription, or were exempted for any other reason, were placed in the supplementary reserve. The effect of the military system of Rumania was to accumulate very considerable reserves of trained soldiers.

In 1916 the Field Army of Rumania consisted of five army corps, known respectively as the Craiova, Bukarest, Galatz, Jassy, and Constantsa Army Corps, the names corresponding to the headquarters of the districts in which these corps were stationed. Each army corps comprised two divisions and a first-line reserve division of infantry, with a cavalry brigade of two regiments, and each infantry division had two brigades of two regiments, each of three battalions. And with each division went a battalion of chasseurs, an artillery brigade of two regiments

THREE GALLANT RUMANIANS SAVING THE REGIMENTAL COLOURS AT TUTRUKAN.

On September 6th, 1916, when things were going badly for the Rumanians, three soldiers of the 30th Regiment of Infantry swam the Danube, here a quarter of a mile wide and very rapid, in order to save the colours. Sec.-Lieut. Dimitrie Manu, who could not swim, bestrode a tree-trunk, holding the colours, and Sec.-Lieut. Aurel Mihnilescu and Sergt.-Major Constantine Sava swam, pushing the trunk with its precious load before them. The enemy were raining bullets on all who tried to escape across the river, but the dauntless courage of these heroes was crowned with success.



EFFECTIVE RUMANIAN ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS.
Bukarest was bombarded by enemy aircraft the very day after Rumania declared war, and subsequently suffered much from persistent raids by enemy Zeppelins and aeroplanes.

with six batteries apiece, three squadrons of cavalry, and a company of engineers. The Regular Army, in addition to the five army corps, had two divisions of cavalry, each of two brigades, both having two regiments; with each cavalry-division went two batteries of horse artillery.

In all there were one hundred and twenty battalions, nine rifle battalions, twenty cavalry regiments, twenty regiments of field artillery with six batteries (four guns) apiece, five howitzer divisions, three horse-artillery batteries, twenty-two companies of fortress artillery, and eight engineering battalions, including a railway battalion. The Army on a peace footing was officially put at about only 130,000 officers and men in 1914, but a few months after the war started Rumania commenced the mobilisation of her first-line reserves and, during the winter of 1915-16, of some of the reserves of her second line. It was estimated by good authorities that on August 27th, 1916, when she took the field, she had nearly 600,000 men under arms, either on her frontiers or at the depots, and that a number nearly equal could be called up in case of need from her still untouched reserves, her artillery being reckoned at about 1,500 guns.

Shortage of powerful guns

It was a well-trained Army, but lacked experience of actual campaigning. Not since Plevna, almost forty years back, had it been engaged in war, for its invasion of Bulgaria in 1913 was very little more than a military promenade. And while its artillery and other "machinery" were perfectly adequate for the Army on a peace footing and for a good deal more than that, they were not sufficient for a force of the size eventually mobilised. There was a marked shortage of really powerful guns. The horse and field artillery were armed with Krupp quick-firers of 3 in. calibre, and the heavy and mountain guns had come from the Creusot Works in France. The infantry was armed for the most part with Mannlicher rifles, but Rumania possessed hardly enough for 600,000 men, much less for the million soldiers and more she could summon to her standards. There was reason, however, to believe that for months prior to her declaration of war she had been acquiring large stocks of munitions of all kinds by way of Russia; and her Allies, as soon as she definitely ranged herself alongside them, began sending to her guns, particularly heavy weapons, machine guns, rifles, and other military supplies in very considerable quantities.

France was particularly active, as also in a less degree was Great Britain, in munitioning Rumania, but everything they despatched to her had to go for a long distance by sea, subject to the attacks of enemy submarines, and then by rail across Russia, from north to south, for several thousand miles, the time taken in effecting delivery being from four to six weeks. Russia had her own great and incessant needs; Brussiloff's magnificently successful offensive had increased them by adding another hundred miles to Russia's already lengthy front, but she at once did all that she could for Rumania, as indeed she

AIRSHIPS AND MEN OF RUMANIA'S FLYING CORPS.
Rumania was not ill-equipped with airships and with splendidly-trained pilots. The whole "machinery" of her Army was, indeed, remarkably good when she joined the Alliance.

was bound to do, not only for the sake of Rumania but for her own interest.

At the head of the Rumanian Army stood the King, whose early training, as of all German princes, was that of a soldier. M. Bratiano, the Prime Minister, was himself Minister of War. By profession an engineer, he first was connected with the Rumanian State Railways, but soon gave his whole attention to politics, joining the Liberal Party, which had so long been led by his father, the eminent statesman—called, like his son, Ion Bratiano—who induced King Carol to join forces with Russia against Turkey in 1877. M. Bratiano had held the rank of captain in the Rumanian Army which invaded Bulgaria in 1913, and therefore had some experience of war conditions. Shortly after the commencement of hostilities he resigned the portfolio of war, and was succeeded by his brother, Vintila Bratiano.

General Zottu was Chief of the General Staff, with, as his Deputy-Chief, General Iliescu, who formerly had been Secretary of the War Office. The five army corps were commanded respectively by Generals Avarescu, Cotescu, Aslan, Presan, and Georgescu, but the most famous

of them was General Avarescu. He belonged to the cavalry branch, and all the four others were artillery officers. As the campaign proceeded through its early stages, changes were made in the various high commands, but the name of Avarescu stood out ever prominent.

Like Sir William Robertson, Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, Avarescu had risen from the ranks. After serving in the Army as a private and becoming a subaltern he went to study at the military school at Turin He took part as a trooper in a cavalry regiment in the Russo-Turkish War, and gradually passing through all grades of rank was Chief of Staff in 1913, while the Second Balkan War was going on, and it was he who was responsible for the plan of the Rumanian operations which brought it to a close. He also had a wide experience of the political and diplomatic world. Speaking Russian fluently, he was sent on several missions to Petrograd. For a time he was Military Attaché at the Rumanian Legation in Berlin. He was in command of the troops in the peasant insurrection in the winter of 1907-8, and in the latter year became Minister of War. A man of great strength of character, with an extensive knowledge of international as well as local affairs, he had always been in favour of the Entente, and had never hesitated to say so. The Army had the utmost confidence in him; and just fifty-seven years of age when his country entered the lists, he was, comparatively speaking, a young general—several years younger than most of the other leaders who held the highest commands whether of the allied or the enemy armies. When Rumania commenced the invasion of Transylvania he was at the head of the Second Army fighting at Orsova and in the mountains east of that town, but within a fortnight was transferred to the Dobruja front as Commander of the Army of the Danube, and was successful in driving the enemy back for several miles. From the military point of view, Rumania's two long fronts—one facing Austria-Hungary and the other Bulgaria—constituted a serious and difficult problem. Rumania elected to attack from the former, while holding the latter, but, as it turned out, in insufficient strength. It was extremely natural for her to throw her main forces into the invasion of Transylvania, as from it came the call of the blood. No other action could so have commended itself to her people, burning to avenge the wrongs of their kinsmen and eager to regain their historic territory.

RUMANIAN ARTILLERY.
Rumania took the field in 1916 with twenty batteries of field artillery and seven batteries of horse artillery.

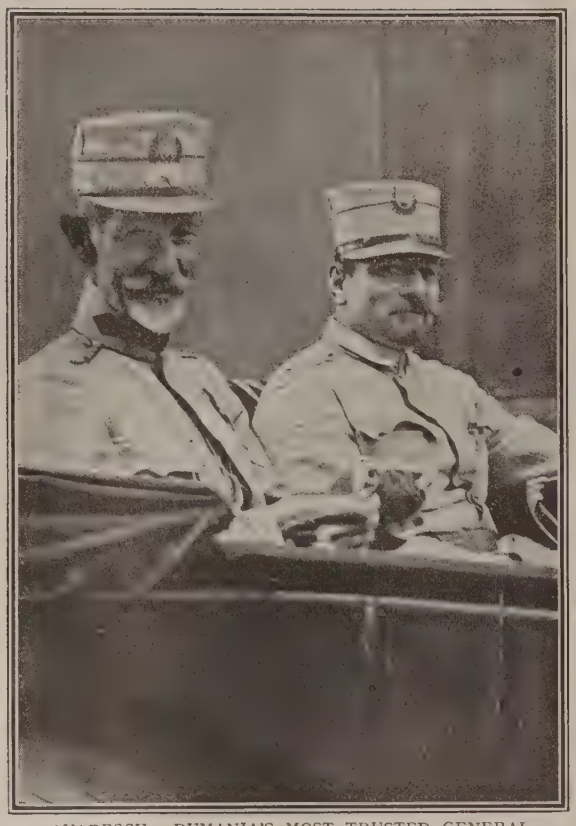
In the Order of the Day already mentioned, King Ferdinand said to his Army, "I have summoned you to carry your standards beyond the frontier, where our brothers are waiting for you impatiently and with hearts full of hope." It was an enterprise, however, for which the Rumanians required no urging, and further, they confidently reckoned on receiving sympathetic help as well as the warmest of welcome from these people of theirs on the other side of the mountains. That they were not disappointed was demonstrated in the most pitiful and tragic manner when the Austrians, after the Rumanian wave had receded, hanged hundreds of unfortunate Rumanes who had assisted or even greeted the Rumanian soldiers. The enemy here pursued a course precisely similar to that which he took in Galicia and Bukovina when, after the Russian retreat in 1915, he reoccupied these provinces.

Austrian atrocities begin

With respect to the Rumanian advance into Transylvania, it is only fair to add that it looked for support on the right wing from the operations of the Russians under Lechitsky in Galicia and especially in Bukovina, where the two allied armies could effect a junction and undertake combined movements which would have a promising prospect of outflanking the enemy in that quarter. Inside of a few hours after the declaration of war the Rumanians had forced the passes all along the frontier, and for several days their campaign went with a rush, town after town and village after village passing into their hands with almost incredible swiftness.

But while they were making this rapid progress in the north, things were very different with them in the south,

MODERN APPARATUS OF THE RUMANIAN ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE.
The Rumanian Army medical service was excellent, up to date in equipment and admirably served. In this photograph a modern disinfecting apparatus is seen passing before King Ferdinand's pavilion at a general review of all arms of the service held by his Majesty.



AVARESCU: RUMANIA'S MOST TRUSTED GENERAL.
General Avarescu (on the left) rose from the ranks to the pre-eminent position of Rumania's foremost general, charged with the most difficult task of holding the Transylvanian passes, and subsequently with the work of holding back Mackensen in the Dobruja.

and it soon unfortunately was evident that their plan of operations suffered from a defect of a grave character. This was that they had made a serious miscalculation with respect to the attitude of Bulgaria, and hence had not concentrated forces sufficient to protect their Dobruja frontier, much less to take the offensive from that direction. It was easy, as usual, to be wise after the event—to say that Rumania was wrong, and state that she should have declared war on Bulgaria and attacked her at once, even in preference to invading Transylvania. But the truth was that Rumania was misled by Bulgaria of deliberate purpose; though with the experience of the treachery of that country which she knew to be fresh in the Allies' mind, it was strange that she was so blind to the perils inherent in the situation. Everything was done to deceive her. She was assured that the Bulgarians sympathised with her efforts to set free the Rumanians of Transylvania from the Magyar yoke. Bulgaria did not immediately declare war upon her; for two or three days all seemed to be well, and doubt was everywhere expressed whether, in view of the great cosmopolitan army of the Entente Powers at Salonika, Bulgaria would dare to do anything against Rumania. One British expert took the view that Bulgaria, thanks to the menace of Sarrail, would be only too glad to remain neutral. Germany, who in reality knew perfectly what was going on, pretended not to be sure, and frantically besought her to be loyal and stand by her friends.

Bulgaria's two-fold treachery

Bulgaria revealed her true attitude by declaring war on Rumania on September 1st, but she tried in a characteristic fashion to keep the news from the latter as long as possible. On that day M. Radoslovoff, the Prime Minister, addressed a Note to the Rumanian Minister in Sofia, containing a string of allegations regarding injurious "incidents" on the Rumanian-Bulgarian frontier, which he maintained had occurred during the previous months, and all of which he declared were caused or provoked by Rumania. The document concluded with the announcement of the existence of a state of war between the two countries. The Rumanian Minister duly received the Note, but he was not allowed to communicate it by telegram to Bukarest, nor otherwise to acquaint his Government with what had taken place till a week had elapsed. Before then, as a matter of course, the information had reached Rumania through other channels, but Bulgarian duplicity and bad faith were apparent in the entire trasanction. And all the while Bulgaria had been quietly but effectively accumulating troops for an attack on Rumania's Dobruja front, and besides concentrating a considerable army of her own, had brought up strong contingents of Turks, the whole under German direction and supported by German soldiers.

Forcing the mountain passes

No suspicion of the treacherous part Bulgaria was playing was entertained when the main forces of Rumania were set, essayed, and succeeded in the task of forcing the passes of the Carpathians and of the Transylvanian Alps on the night of August 27th, 1916. The mountains, which locally have distinct names besides those by which the giant ranges are generally known, rise from 3,000 to 9,000 feet above sea-level, and the passes across them are of varying degrees of importance. Those over the Carpathians, from north to south, are in their order the Tolgyes, Bekas, Gyimes, and Oitoz Passes, the third being the best of them, as it had railway communication from Targu Ocna in Rumania to Csikszereda in Transylvania, the line there linking up with the circular strategic railway running from Brasso (Kronstadt) north to Toplicza and then south-westward down the valley of the River Maros.

The passes over the Transylvanian Alps are from east to west the Buzau, the Bratocea, the Predelus, the Predeal, the Tomos, the Törzburg (or Pasul Bran), the Roter Turm, the Vulkan, and the Varciorova. By the six mentioned first, roads led to Brasso, and the Predeal had a railway from Bukarest to the former centre, while at the foot of the Törzburg on the Rumanian side a line came up from Bukarest, the terminus being Campu Lung. The Roter Turm, along the valley of the Oltu, had a railway from Piatra in Rumania to Hermannstadt and thence on to Budapest in Hungary. The Vulkan was not crossed by a railway, but had railway termini on both sides of it within fairly easy distance; the chief towns on the Transylvanian side were Petroseny and Hatszeg. The Varciorova gave entrance to Orsova on the Danube. Of all the passes, the Predeal was nearest Bukarest.

An Austrian communiqué, dated August 18th, gave the earliest news of the Rumanian offensive by announcing that during the preceding night the Roter Turm Pass and the passes leading to Brasso had been suddenly attacked by the Rumanians. Next day Vienna stated that Austro-Hungarian troops were engaged at all the crossings of the mountains on the whole frontier; that the Rumanians everywhere had been repulsed, their losses being heaviest near Orsova, in the Roter Turm, and in the passes south of Brasso; but that the far-reaching enveloping movements of strong Rumanian forces had necessitated the withdrawal of all the Austrian advanced detachments to a position prepared in the rear, according to plans which had been made long beforehand in view of such an eventuality. The enemy had been taken by surprise. A Rumanian communiqué, issued very early in the morning of the same day, gave a long list of places captured by King Ferdinand's soldiers, and mentioned that the Fourth Army Corps had made prisoner over seven hundred and forty men.

King Ferdinand of Rumania: A portrait taken in June, 1916.

GENERAL CHRISTESCU.
ASSISTANT CHIEF, GENERAL STAFF

GENERAL I. CULCER.
COMMANDING THE FIRST ARMY.

GENERAL COANDA.
DEPUTY-INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ARMY

RUMANIAN CAVALRY SCOUT

Distinguished Rumanian generals attached to the General Staff and

GENERAL ILIESCU.
SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE WAR OFFICE.

GENERAL ZOTTU.
CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF.

TARTING OUT ON PATROL

GENERAL CRAINICIANU.
COMMANDING THE SECOND ARMY.

manding armies in the Transylvania and Dobrudja Campaigns, 1916.

Rumania's Red Hussars: Maxim section at driving practice.

By the last day of the month the Rumanians under Avarescu had progressed so rapidly with their invasion that they were in possession of Petroseny, north of the Vulkan Pass, and of Brasso, beyond the Predeal; their troops were pouring through the Tolgyes and Bekas Passes in the far north, and were threatening Maros Vasarhely, one of the principal towns of Central Transylvania and a military base; while their victorious advance by way of the Gyimes had compelled the enemy to retreat to the heights east of Csikszereda, a town situated about twenty-three miles within the frontier. At the same time a sharp struggle, with fortune turning to the Rumanians, was going on for the Varciorova Pass on the Danube.

As the month closed, Bukarest chronicled the significant fact that Russian troops had crossed the Danube into the Dobruja, where they were enthusiastically welcomed by the population, and that units of the Russian Black Sea Fleet had arrived at Constantsa to help to defend the Rumanian littoral. On August 31st, General Zaionchovsky, commanding the Russian forces in this area, and his Staff were in the Rumanian capital, and were received by the King. Everywhere the Russians, against whom there had been some prejudice in the past because of their occupation of Bessarabia after the war with Turkey in 1877, were greeted with the utmost cordiality, the Rumanians showering flowers upon the troops of the Tsar as they marched through the streets of the towns on their way to the front. General Zaionchovsky issued an Order, in which he spoke of the Russian expedition's purpose and aims, and exhorted his men to win the good opinion of the Rumanians by showing that their conduct was above reproach. Serbians, who had succeeded in escaping from the clutches of the Bulgarians in 1915, had been formed into a brigade, which was incorporated with the Russian force. But in the north-western area the Russians already stood by the side of the Rumanians. On August 29th a Berlin official message announced that Austro-German forces had had encounters with Russo-Rumanian advanced detachments in the Carpathians.

Arrival of the Russians

Apart from the fighting in and beyond the passes, nothing of very special moment took place till September. Austrian monitors shelled Varciorova, Turnu Severin, and Giurgevo on the Danube, and captured some small craft at Zimnita, while the Rumanians were reported to have bombarded Ruschuk, the chief Bulgarian port on the river. On the night of August 28th Bukarest had its first experience of an air raid, a Zeppelin and an aeroplane dropping several bombs on the city. Other raids of a most formidable character took place daily during the following month.

September opened well for Rumania. Her advance into Hungary still continued, with much the same extraordinary rapidity, the enemy retiring with some precipitancy, and nowhere offering a really serious resistance. On the first of the month the Rumanians won a striking victory in the taking of Orsova, after a bitter struggle which had gone on without cessation for five days. For the first day or two of the battle the Austrians claimed that they were entirely successful, and alleged that their opponents had been completely repulsed; but the event proved that their statements were fallacious. The Rumanians persisted in their assaults on the strong Austrian positions with the most desperate bravery, took two heights, the Allion and the Drenek, each over a thousand feet, respectively east and north of the town, and finally drove the defeated enemy across the River Cserna, a northern tributary of the Danube. The way seemed to lie open for that offensive movement of the Allies across the south of Hungary which should cut the railway from Vienna to Sofia and separate Germany and Austria from Bulgaria and Turkey. In the Entente countries the most sanguine expectations were aroused, but the chief enemy was fully alive to his danger, and had taken steps to obviate it.

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST INFECTION.

Rumania, so alert in other branches of progress, was equally to the fore in the care bestowed on her soldiers before they were sent to the front, as evidenced by the above photograph of a scene at an inoculation station.

Hungary was calling loudly on Germany for help, and at the same time was spurred on to renewed efforts. Brussiloff's great campaign in Galicia and Bukovina, in which many Hungarian regiments had suffered most heavily, had depressed her spirit, and there had been much talk of the probability of her making a separate peace with the Allies; but the Rumanian invasion, which filled the Magyars with furious rage, put new life into her. Profiting by Rumania's illusions with respect to Bulgaria, Germany was ready to strike in the quarter where a blow had been least anticipated, and on September 2nd the strong composite force of Bulgars, Turks, and Germans, which had been quietly concentrated behind the Bulgarian frontier, crossed the Dobruja line, and, driving on the weak Rumanian guards, achieved instant success. Presently it appeared that this army was commanded by the redoubtable Marshal Mackensen.

Lying to the east of the Danube, and between it and the Black Sea, the Dobruja formed a four-sided tract, about a hundred miles long by sixty broad, and comprised an area of about 6,000 square miles. A considerable portion of it consisted of lagoon, marsh, and sandy plains, the central part being similar to the Russian steppes. Its most important feature was the delta of the Danube on the north—an immense triangular, reed-covered flat, with many lakelets and morasses, through which flowed the three streams into which the great river divided as it neared the sea. Only one of these branches, that known as the Sulina, was easily navigable. Roads were not numerous, and few were good in the Dobruja; but here were two railways, one from Bukarest to Constantsa, and another running from this line, south of Medgidia to Dobric, and then into Bulgaria. The former line was of great importance, as it gave access to Rumania's chief port. The Dobrujan part of it had been constructed by a British company in 1860, but was purchased by the

German drive into Dobruja

Rumanian Government in 1882. The line crossed the Danube by a bridge over eleven miles in length, its western end being at Feteşti and its eastern at Cerna Voda.

Costing a million and a half sterling, the bridge was a wonderful engineering achievement; the only other bridge across the Danube for many hundreds of miles was at Belgrade, and that was much smaller. The Rumanian bridge consisted first of a bridge of three spans, five hundred yards in length, then of a viaduct eight miles long, on piers built on islands, and finally of a bridge eight hundred and fifty yards in length, of five spans, over the main channel of the river, which reached a depth there of a hundred feet. At its highest point

QUEENLY SOLICITUDE FOR RUMANIAN SOLDIERS.
Another illustration of Queen Marie, taken during a visit to a Red Cross hospital. She was accompanied by Prince Nicholas, in the uniform of a Boy Scout.

A ROYAL RED CROSS NURSE.
Queen Marie of Rumania devoted herself to tending the wounded from the beginning of Rumanian hostilities. Her Majesty is seen about to enter the hospital of the Armenian colony at Bukarest.

the Cerna Voda Bridge was a hundred and twenty feet above the low-water level of the Danube. It was to gain possession of the railway, and capture the bridge-head if possible, that Mackensen directed his offensive.

Without any natural line of defence, and having no fortified positions to guard it, the Dobruja frontier was easily penetrated. On September 3rd a Rumanian despatch announced that the enemy had attacked along its whole front south of Dobric, but had been repulsed. Next day, however, it was clear that the enemy was still advancing, as he had reached by then a point eight miles north-west of Dobric, and everywhere was some distance within the frontier. On the 4th the Bulgarians captured the town just named, and German and Bulgarian forces stormed the fortified advanced positions of the Rumanians at the bridge-head of Tutrakan (Turtukai) on the Danube. Severe fighting developed at both of these places. Reinforced by the Russians, the Rumanians held up the Bulgarians for some time in the neighbourhood of Dobric, but eventually were pushed back, though without much loss, while at Tutrakan they suffered a serious defeat. The enemy was in greatly superior strength both in men and artillery at Tutrakan, and his heavy guns battered to pieces its fortifications. Ten times did the Rumanians repel his assaults with the most heroic courage, but in the issue were unable to achieve victory, and the place fell into Mackensen's hands on September 6th.

An attempt at assistance by the garrison at Silistra failed. Both the German and the Bulgarian communiqués spoke boastfully of the fall of Tutrakan, and claimed the capture of upwards of 20,000 Rumanians, but the figure was grossly exaggerated. Yet the Rumanian loss was heavy, being not far short of 20,000 men, half of whom perished in the struggle, the number of dead demonstrating how strenuous had been the defence. Consequent on the fall of Tutrakan the allied forces, which were commanded by General Aslan, retired northward, evacuating Silistra on September 8th. The news of these reverses and of the withdrawal was received with calm in Bukarest, where it was declared that the capture of Orsova from the Austrians completely offset it, and it was pointed out that meanwhile the invasion of Transylvania was pursuing its victorious course.

Bukarest remains calm

On the northern frontier the Rumanians made farther advances in the face of increasing opposition in the early part of September. They entirely occupied Czekely, in the Haromszek, the district lying north-east of Brasso, captured Sepsiszentgyorgy, a town thirty miles within the Transylvanian south-eastern frontier, forced the Austrians to retreat west of Csikszereda, and on the eighth were in possession, according to their communiqué of that date, of Toplicza, San Milai, Delne, and Gyergyoszentmiklos. They were pressing the Austrians heavily in the Petroseny-Hatszeg sector. They had taken over 4,000 prisoners, some guns, and a great quantity of miscellaneous booty, including railway rolling-stock, cattle, and large convoys of provisions. But while they were meeting with a growing

resistance, it still was not very energetic, as the Austrians were in weak force. The policy of the latter was to withdraw, under cover of rearguard actions, in the general direction of the Maros and Oltu valleys. They announced that they expected to return shortly, when expected reinforcements would appear on the scene, and it certainly was the case that they destroyed hardly anything in the shape of railways, bridges, tunnels, or roads.

Hungarian refugees at Budapest

On the other hand, the Hungarian Szeklers, panic stricken, burned their homes, killed their cattle and pigs, and fled from the country they themselves had devastated to Budapest, which soon was filled with thousands of refugees. The Rumanians continued to progress in all sectors, especially towards Hermannstadt, capturing several places on the way, among them being Schellenberg, where Michael the Brave defeated a Hungarian army in 1599. But now the reinforcements for which the Austrians had looked began to arrive. On September 13th Berlin announced that German troops were in contact with the Rumanians south-east of Hatszeg, near Hermannstadt. Within a few days the contest in the whole area north of the passes began to undergo fluctuations, the advantage continuing generally with the Rumanians for some time longer.

In the meantime a bitter struggle had been proceeding in the Dobruja. On September 12th the Bulgarians attacked Lipnitsa, fifteen miles east of Silistra, but were vigorously counter-attacked, and after an engagement lasting all night were heavily defeated by the Rumanians, who captured eight German guns. Fighting went on on this whole front on the line to which the allied troops had retired, but it was regarded as unimportant, though the Bulgarians, whose veracity was not above suspicion, said they were advancing triumphantly. Then, suddenly, the world was astonished by hearing it officially stated that the German Kaiser had sent a telegram to his consort, in which he said that Mackensen had informed him that the Bulgarian, Turkish, and German forces had won a decisive victory in the Dobruja. The victory turned out to be by no means as decisive as the Emperor had hoped, but it led to a further withdrawal northward of the allied line. According to a German journal, it had been gained by a series of strategic moves, which threw the Rumanian division operating on the Danube upon the Russians in the centre of the front, while at the same time the Rumanian left wing was also driven in on the Russians, the result being a disorderly retreat attended with heavy losses.

Kaiser's premature jubilation

All such reports were discounted by the peoples of the Allies at the time, because it was strongly suspected that inflated accounts of enemy successes were being published with a view to influencing subscriptions to a new German loan which was then being floated. But there could no longer be any doubt of the advance of Mackensen when Bukarest announced on September 17th that the Russo-Rumanian troops had fallen back to strong positions on the line Rasova, ten miles south of Cerna Voda, to Tuzla,

QUEEN MARIE TENDING THE FIRST WOUNDED FROM TRANSYLVANIAN FIELDS.

The Royal Palace at Bukarest was converted into a military hospital, and Queen Marie, together with her two beautiful daughters, Princess Marie and Princess Elisabeth, tended her wounded soldier-subjects. This charming illustration shows her Majesty in the act of cutting up the dinner of a Rumanian soldier whose wounds prevented him from using his hands.

AFTER THE BATTLE OF HERMANNSTADT: AN ENEMY'S IMPRESSION OF THE RUMANIAN RETREAT.

Illustration, reproduced from a Leipzig journal, purporting to depict the retreat of Rumanian forces after their defeat by General von Falkenhayn at Hermannstadt on September 30th, 1916. According to the enemy report three thousand Rumanian prisoners, thirteen guns, one aeroplane hangar, two aeroplanes, ten locomotives, and about seven hundred waggons of munitions and equipment were captured by the Austro-Hungarian troops. The Rumanians admitted their retirement before greatly superior forces, but two days later they were winning ground again in this region.

twelve miles south of Constantsa. As the last-named was not fortified, the menace to it appeared to be serious.

Some days earlier the situation in the Dobruja had seemed sufficiently grave for Rumania to transfer General Avarescu from the Transylvanian theatre, where he had been conducting highly successful operations, to this threatened area. He arrived at this front on September 16th, and made a thorough review of the position. Rumanian forces had been brought from the north-west, and further Russian reinforcements had come marching from across the Danube into this district. On the very same day a great battle began between the rival armies. Large numbers of Bulgarians, Turks, and Germans, supported by powerful artillery, made the most desperate efforts to break through the allied line, but it stood firm, and all the violent assaults of the enemy were foiled. His attack was most persistent and determined on the right near Rasova, on the Danube, his intention, no doubt, being to pierce the line in this sector and capture Cerna Voda, thereby cutting the allied communications with the rest of Rumania. On the 18th the issue of the battle was still uncertain, but next day Avarescu received fresh reinforcements, and then being in a position to take the offensive, succeeded in driving the hostile forces back in confusion and with heavy losses. Severe fighting raged through the night, but developed into a complete triumph for the Allies. In the morning Mackensen began a general retreat, his troops setting fire to all the villages en route, and wreaking their spite and rage on their unfortunate inhabitants if Rumanian.

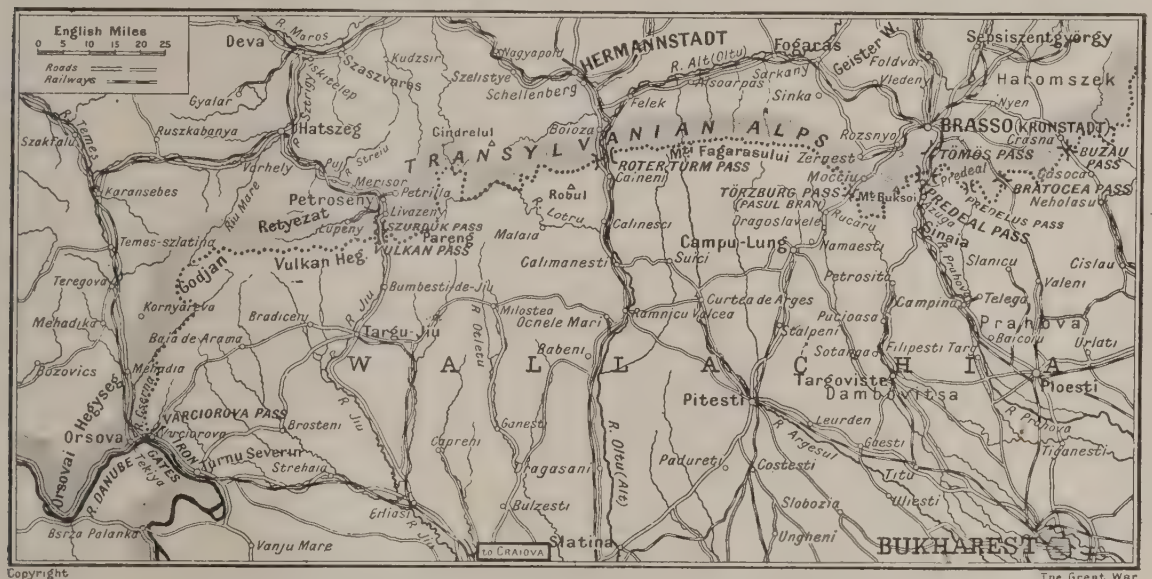
A splendid victory

It had been a heavy ordeal for the unseasoned Rumanian soldiers, who were opposed by picked enemy battalions, but they passed through it with the utmost credit, proving themselves to be first-class fighting men. An official message from Bukarest noted that this splendid victory was "due to the supreme courage and devotion of both officers and men," and that several Rumanian and Serbian colonels fell at the head of their regiments. Another official bulletin said that General Sarrail's strong offensive in the south of the Balkans at this critical time had exercised a beneficial effect on the situation in the Dobruja by distracting Mackensen's attention and holding up Bulgarians, who otherwise might have been rushed up to that area. The Germans admitted the tenacity of the Rumanian resistance, but disguised their defeat. Mackensen retreated for some miles, organised a strong line of defence from the Danube about Oltina to a point south west of Toprosari and thence to the Black Sea, south of Tuzla.

Dobruja situation improved

As a natural outcome of their success, the Rumanians were in much better heart and more confident with regard to the military position in the Dobruja. They also set to work with energy to strengthen their front, and made it so powerful that they believed it could resist any attack; but in this, unhappily, they were destined to be undeceived.

Interest now passed again from the Dobruja to Transylvania, where the struggle was beginning to assume an appearance that was less exclusively favourable to the invaders. In the third week of September the Rumanians continued to progress westward, occupying, after brief engagements, Homorod Almas, south-east of Szekely-udvarhely, Köhalom, north-east of Fogaras, and Fogaras itself, a town of some note situated midway between Brasso and Hermannstadt. In these affairs the enemy



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GATES OF RUMANIA: STERNLY-DEFENDED PASSES IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN ALPS.

Map showing the positions of the Transylvanian passes, whence the Germans under General von Falkenhayn sought to invade Rumanian territory. The most important passes are the Predeal and Roter Turm, the former carrying the railway from Kronstadt to Bukarest, the latter carrying a return line from the capital to Hermannstadt.

Germany, however, had now come in some force to the assistance of the Austro-Hungarians; her soldiers were fighting fiercely in the valley of the Streiu near Hatszeg, and the Rumanians were holding the conquered ground only with difficulty. On the 14th and 15th a two-days' battle took place in the defile of Merisor with Hungarian forces, which, after bitter fighting, were defeated. Merisor, from which the defile got its name, was a little town about a dozen miles west of Petroseny, in the same region as Hatszeg, all being north of the Vulkan Pass. On the 18th, German troops, under General von Staabs, thrust back the Rumanians in the Hatszeg sector after a very stubborn resistance, while in the north, in the Gyergyoi Havasok and Kelemen Hegyseg ranges of the Carpathians, enemy forces, predominantly German, commenced to oppose the invaders with much more resolution than before.

lost over nine hundred prisoners. At Barot, an important strategic point dominating the railway from Brasso to Foeldvar, the Rumanians registered on the 16th the farthest reach of their advance in that district up to that date—they were thirty miles across the frontier.

GENERAL HERESCU.
Commandant of the 1st Division of Rumanian Cavalry.

An Austrian communiqué of the 20th announced the complete repulse of the Rumanians south of Hatszeg, and the reoccupation of Petroseny, while a Berlin telegram of the following day stated that both sides of the Vulkan Pass had been carried. But on the 22nd the Rumanians renewed the contest for this pass, and by a successful encircling movement forced the enemy three days later to evacuate it and the contiguous Szurduk Pass. By the 28th they had progressed ten miles beyond the frontier, encountering and overcoming a formidable opposition on the part of the Germans, but they were not able to regain Petroseny.

A month had elapsed since their swift surprise attacks had resulted in the capture of the passes, and during that period the Rumanian Army had succeeded in occupying nearly one-third of Transylvania, or rather more than 7,000 square miles of territory. Four out of the fifteen departments—or counties, as they might be called—into which the country was divided for administrative purposes, were in its possession—Czik, Haromszek, Brasso, and Fogaras, and considerable portions of five others were also in its hands, including the larger part of the department of Hermannstadt. Most of the population of the area which had been conquered was of Rumanian blood, the remainder being Szeklers, with a mixture of people of German origin, as in Brasso, Fogaras, and Hermannstadt. It need not to be said that the people of their own kin hailed the Rumanian soldiers as deliverers, and no idea seemed to enter their minds that the new condition of things might not be permanent.

Rumania's large territorial gain

The "Transylvanian Gazette," the organ of the Rumanes, issued at Brasso, published an article, shortly after the occupation of the town, in which it said: "Awake, Rumanians! The glorious Army of the great King Ferdinand is among us. Our brothers, our liberators, have arrived, for the hour has struck. You carry on the points of your bayonets the future of Rumania from the Theiss to the Black Sea." There was much to encourage such glowing and confident language—but the near future held deep disappointment. On the one hand, the territory occupied by the Rumanian Army stretched from Orsova north-easterly to a little south of Hermannstadt, went on a few miles to the north of Fogaras, thence passed west of Szekelyudvarhely, which had been captured on September 16th, and then ran on north in the Kelemen Hegyseg Mountains, and up towards Dorna Watra to join the Russian line in that neighbourhood. It was an impressive extent of territory won from the hated oppressors of the land, and though there was an offset in the Dobruja, where the enemy was still in possession of Rumanian soil, there was the outstanding fact that he had been defeated in his main effort in that district. Over 7,000 prisoners had been captured in Transylvania by the Rumanians up to this time. All this was splendid. But, on the other hand, there was the ever-increasing pressure of Germany, who, in spite of her heavy pre-occupations both west and east, had been able, in conjunction with her allies, to concentrate great forces with abundant artillery against Rumania. And she had placed them under the leadership of General von Falkenhayn, the former Chief of her General Staff, and a good soldier.

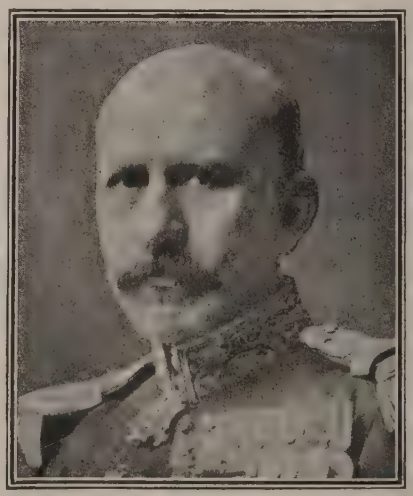
Germany's heavy pressure

Already this pressure by Germany had been experienced in Transylvania in the Vulkan Pass, and in the last week of September it made itself felt severely in the vicinity of Hermannstadt, some fifty miles north-east of that pass, and on the north side of the Roter Turm, from which the Rumanians had advanced from fifteen to twenty miles. Near Hermannstadt the Germans began a formidable attack on the Rumanian positions on September 26th-27th, which was held up for a while by brave and determined counter-attacks, but the enemy was in vastly superior numerical force and supported by heavier guns.

The fighting lasted three days, and ended in a somewhat serious reverse for the Rumanians, who were enveloped on all sides, and lost, according to the German account, over 3,000 men, thirteen guns, ten locomotives, and much

GENERAL AVARESCU.
In command of the First Rumanian Army Corps.

GENERAL COTTESCU.
In command of the Second Rumanian Army Corps.



GENERAL PRESAN.
In command of the 7th Division, Fourth Army Corps.

RUMANIAN GENERALS IN THE FIELD.

other material. Their retreat through the Roter Turm had been cut off by a column of Bavarian Alpine troops, who had made a daring march across the mountain heights and occupied the pass well in their rear. The surrounded Rumanians defended themselves with desperate courage, and tried to break through the ring that encircled them, but only a comparatively small number succeeded in escaping towards Fogaras, from which town another force of their own had tried to make a diversion. This battle, called by the Germans the Battle of Hermannstadt, resulted in the re-occupation of the Roter Turm by the enemy, and on October 1st he was attacking a Rumanian force south of it near Caineni, thus having for the second time got a foothold within Rumania.

Battle of Hermannstadt

As October came in the struggle was renewed in the Dobruja, a Turkish and Bulgarian division being repulsed near Toprosari, south of Tuzla, by Russo-Rumanian troops. The Allies made an assault on the whole of the line to which Mackensen had retreated after his defeat of September 16th-20th, but though they inflicted heavy losses on him and captured thirteen of his guns, they did not succeed in causing him to retire farther. It was probably to assist this offensive movement that a Rumanian force, several battalions strong, crossed the Danube, and landed at Rjahovo on October 2nd, a village on the south side of the river about midway between Ruschuk and Tutrakan, and in rear of Mackensen's defences. A pontoon bridge of boats had been cleverly got into position under cover of night, and the landing was made without any trouble, as the Bulgarian guards on the bank were taken completely by surprise and killed or captured. The Rumanians seized the neighbouring villages, but on October 3rd retired across the river again. A Bukarest communiqué announced that the demonstration had accomplished its purpose. The Bulgarians magnified this withdrawal into a great victory for them, asserting that soldiers of theirs from Ruschuk and Tutrakan assaulted and defeated the Rumanians, who had the utmost difficulty in escaping to the other side of the river, as the pontoon bridge had been destroyed by the fire of Austrian monitors, and that the "battlefield was covered with Rumanian dead."

The Rumanians did not admit any such loss as this statement alleged, and in any case their crossing of the river was in itself a remarkable feat. In recent times the two historic crossings of the Danube under hostile conditions were those of the Russians in 1811 and 1877, the Turks being the enemy on both occasions. The Rumanians demonstrated, at all events, what they could achieve in this direction.

While this indecisive fighting was continuing on the southern front of the Rumanian Army, Falkenhayn's offensive on the northern showed augmenting power and momentum. It was now extending farther east in Transylvania, his chief objective being Brasso and the passes leading south from it into Rumania; but it also pressed with increasing severity on the Rumanian forces in the whole north-west of the country. In the district of Brasso, the most distinctively Rumanian town in all Transylvania, which the Austrians had evacuated and the Rumanians had occupied in the first days of the campaign, the German concentration in superior strength had the same effect as at Hermannstadt. Whereas Falkenhayn had gathered together a large army, probably of from twelve to fourteen divisions—or about a quarter of a million of men—for his offensive, the Rumanians had reduced the number of their effectives in all this area in order to counter Mackensen in the Dobruja. Their mobilisation was still incomplete, they were fighting hard at this time in and about the Vulkan and Roter Turm Passes, in which they were regaining some of the ground they had lost, and also were meeting fresh attacks farther north in the mountains. Unable to offer a successful resistance to Falkenhayn's main movement, they put up a stubborn fight in the sector of Sinka, north-west of Brasso; but he was too strong for them, and forced them to withdraw from their trenches. Driven back on both wings, the main body retreated through the Geister Wald, and Brasso fell to the enemy on October 8th. There was

Stubborn fight at Sinka

GENERAL POPOVICI.
Inspector-General of Rumanian Cavalry.

GENERAL GEORGESCU.
Attached to Staff of British Army.

GENERAL IANCOVESCU.
Secretary to the Ministry of War.

GENERAL LUPESCU.
Of the Rumanian Army.

MORE LEADERS OF RUMANIA'S ARMY

no question of the fine military stuff of the Rumanian soldiers; it was simply that the odds were far too heavy.

On October 7th a semi-official statement, issued in Bukarest, thus described the situation which had been brought about by the German general's advance: "In the valley of the Oltu, in the Transylvanian plain, and in the region of Hermannstadt-Fogaras-Brasso the Rumanian troops, faced by much superior enemy forces, mostly Germans, have been skilfully withdrawn to strategic positions on the Carpathian (Transylvanian Alps) frontier in order to ensure a strong defence of the four passes from Brasso into Rumania." It added that the Austro-Germans were plainly endeavouring to strike a desperate blow, and were bringing up troops from all the other fronts for this purpose. The retirement of the Rumanians in this district had been well organised, as was evidenced by the fact that the enemy claimed the capture of not more than a few hundred prisoners, in addition to over a thousand taken at Brasso, while it was the fact that he himself had lost six hundred prisoners at Henndorf, fifty miles from Brasso, and eight hundred at another point. Fogaras, between Brasso and Hermannstadt, had been evacuated on October 6th. North and east of Brasso the Rumanians also were in retreat, Szekelyudvarhely being abandoned on the 8th, when it was occupied by Hungarian Landsturm hussars. On the same day Berlin announced that the Rumanians were withdrawing "on the entire eastern front."

Well-organised retirement

They were in truth retiring everywhere in Central Transylvania, but in the valley of the Maros still held their positions for some time longer. Besides being in superior force, Falkenhayn enjoyed a distinct advantage over the Rumanians in having a lateral railway close to the frontier, for by means of it he was enabled to transfer troops very rapidly from point to point, and to send reinforcements where most required. By October 11th the retirement of the Rumanians from all their advanced lines in the country was general. Next day Falkenhayn was making a strong bid for the passes, the heaviest fighting going on in the Törzburg, Predeal, and Busau Passes. At last the Rumanians had to withdraw towards Crasna, a customs station on the frontier. The situation was now becoming dangerous, and falling back on her greatest soldier, Rumania sent General Avarescu from the Dobruja, where he had done so magnificently, to the north, to take command of the Second Army, which was defending the passes after its withdrawal from Brasso.

It was an anxious time. Bukarest, usually a city of pleasure, had become serious, but its citizens were full of hope. Events had taken on an unpleasant appearance, but they trusted that their trials would not last long. One thing did really give them great concern. From the beginning of the campaign they had suffered much from air raids, in the course of which many hundreds of innocent people, mostly women and children, had been killed and injured. The frequency and persistence of these attacks by Zeppelins and aeroplanes excited feelings in them of intense hostility to Germany, who was the chief author of them, but this was further heightened by sensational discoveries of disease germs and explosives made in the garden of the German Legation. The question was asked for whom and what these were intended, and the answer was easy. Another example of characteristic German "frightfulness" was seen in the throwing of packets of poisoned sweetmeats from the aircraft that swept over the city and the surrounding country. Bukarest—all Rumania—was roused to furious indignation by these horrible instances of German Kultur.

Bukarest was hopeful about the campaign, although the enemy progressed in the northern area, and was known to be increasing his strength in the southern area by bringing up large contingents of Bulgarian and Turkish troops. The situation was not really such as to make for cheerfulness. By the middle of the second week of October, Falkenhayn's offensive, which had dislodged the Rumanians from nearly the whole of the ground they had occupied in Transylvania except in the north-east, was becoming more and more formidable. In the main it was directed on two areas—the region of the passes leading south from Brasso to Bukarest, and the region of the Gyimes Pass in the north-east. In the latter district the Rumanians, about October 11th, had withdrawn from Csikszcreda and adjacent positions, as well as those higher up on the circular strategic railway in the valley of the Maros, because they were threatened with envelopment in all this quarter.

GENERAL BELAYEFF: AVARESCU'S RUSSIAN COLLEAGUE.

General Belayeff commanded the Russian army which co-operated with the Rumanian forces under General Avarescu in resisting the first onslaught of the Central Empires.

Near the Oitoz Pass there was fighting of an intense kind in which the Rumanians barely held their own, and this reflected on the stability of the defence higher up at the Gyimes. Falkenhayn's weight fell most heavily on the vital passes from Brasso to Bukarest, and that it was telling was evident from an official Rumanian communiqué of October 12th, which stated that "from Mount Buksoi as far as Bran," or the entire frontier crossed by the four chief roads, several enemy attacks had been repulsed—the mention of Bran implying that Falkenhayn had carried Mocciu, the point in the Bran or Törzburg Pass that he had been assaulting on the previous day.

Avarescu and the Second Rumanian Army fought with desperate valour to hold Falkenhayn, and on October 13th their magnificent efforts were crowned with success at the Buzau and the Predeal Passes, the Germans being checked and thrown back. The victory of the Rumanians in the Predeal was important, as this pass was nearest to Bukarest, had a railway and a good road, crossing the mountains almost due south of Brasso at a height of a little over 3,000 feet. But on the following day the Rumanians were driven out of the Törzburg Pass and had to withdraw to Rucaru, a small town six or seven miles within their own territory. It was against this pass that Falkenhayn had first flung his forces after the capture of Brasso, and after a bitter struggle had gained an entrance to it a week before. At Rucaru he was in the foot-hills, well below the top of the Törzburg.

Victory in the Predeal

Rumanian infantrymen helping one another to fasten their knapsacks at Bukarest railway station while waiting to entrain for the front.

[Photographs taken by special permission of the Rumanian Government.

King Ferdinand's ardent warriors undergoing preliminary training before being sent to the area of hostilities.

MOBILISATION SCENES AT BUKAREST AFTER THE RUMANIAN DECLARATION OF WAR.

From Rucaru the road went over high, rolling ground to Campu Lung, ten miles farther south, where was the terminus of a railway running south-eastward to Bukarest, some ninety miles away. On the other passes he made no advance that day, and was defeated on his flanks, on his left in the Oitoz Pass, and on his right in the Vulkan Pass. The fight for the passes raged all through the 15th and 16th, the struggle being most violent and obstinate at Rucaru, while about the same time the Russians in the Dorna Watra district, where the troops of the two Allies met, began a strong offensive, with a view to taking off the pressure on the Rumanians lower down, but were countered by "great forces," as the Petrograd official message stated. On the 17th Falkenhayn forced his way across the Gyimes Pass, and reached Agas, seven miles beyond the frontier. On that day no change was noted in the region of the passes south of Brasso, but fresh fighting was reported near the Roter Turm.

Violent struggle at Rucaru

On the whole Carpathian and Transylvanian Alps' frontier the enemy was attacking with great determination, and it had become still plainer that Germany was resolved to deliver with all her strength that desperate blow which Bukarest earlier had announced was impending. The success, so far, of Falkenhayn had created anxiety and apprehension in the west. In the House of Commons, Mr. John Dillon, an Irish Nationalist member, introduced the subject, and asked the Government to give an assurance to Rumania that the utmost resources of the British Empire would be used to rescue her from the danger of sharing the fate of Belgium and Serbia. Mr. Lloyd George, as Minister of War, said in reply that the Government had not the least doubt that Germany had concentrated her strength with a view to attempting to crush Rumania, being urged thereto not only by her own interests, but from a spirit of resentment and hatred because the brave people of that country had dared to challenge her power near her own home. But, he

WHERE THE RUMANIANS FOUGHT A COMBINED GERMAN, BULGARIAN, AND TURKISH ARMY: In the foreground is seen the Feteshti Bridge, carrying the line from Bukarest across the marshes of Baltu Island, over the Cerna Voda Bridge and along the stretch of upland to Babadagh. On the extreme left, in the background, is seen the

continued, the Allies were fully alive to the situation, and would make every effort to protect the Rumanian Army. About a fortnight later, when the whole position in Rumania had become worse on account of the success of Mackensen's renewed offensive in the Dobruja, he made a similar statement in Parliament.

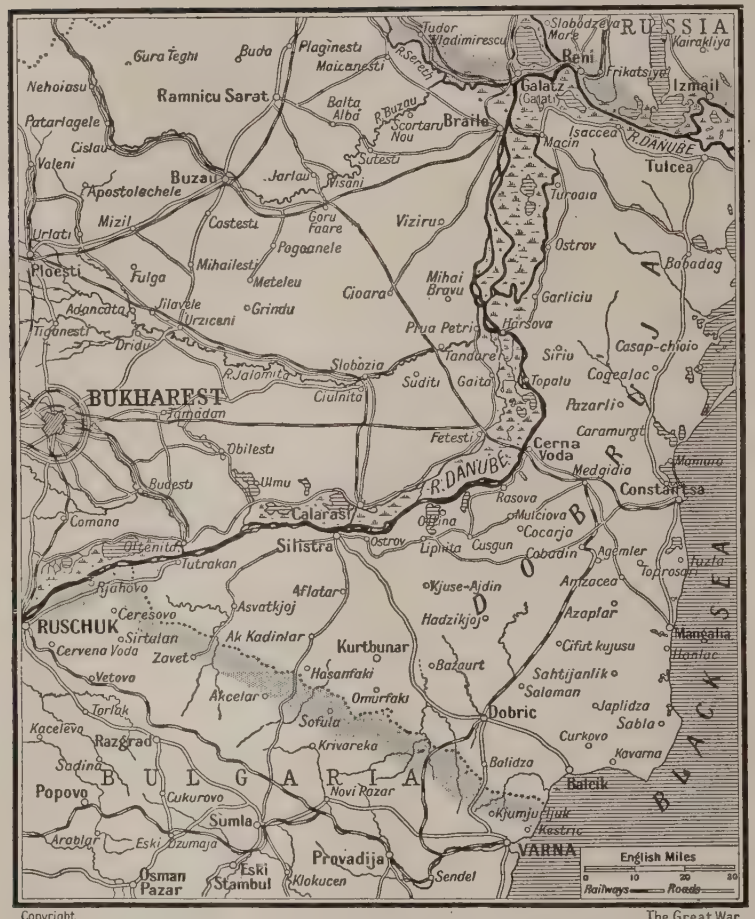
In order to assist and counsel the Rumanians, France sent a Military Mission, headed by General Berthelot, and it arrived in Bukarest in the third week of October. It was known that France was sending huge quantities of munitions, that Britain also was doing a great deal in the same way, and that Russia was strongly supporting Rumania. And as the Rumanians under Avarescu continued to resist with persistence Falkenhayn's attacks, even inflicting heavy defeats on him in some of the passes, confidence in the ability of the Rumanian Army to hold him off was to some extent restored. On October 18th, in the Gyimes Pass, the Rumanians won a victory that cost him nine hundred prisoners and twelve guns, and at Agas, in the Oitoz region, surprised one of his detachments, capturing three hundred prisoners and some machine-guns, while their strenuous opposition in the Brasso passes prevented him from advancing. Yet the general situation on the northern front was still very serious; nor was it rendered less serious by Mackensen's fresh offensive in the Dobruja, which started on October 19th and within a few days resulted in grave loss to the Allies.

Indecisive Dobruja fighting

As has been seen, the Russo-Rumanian forces in the Dobruja, now commanded by General Christescu—who had been Avarescu's Chief of Staff before that general's transference to the northern front—had been unable to make any real impression on the line to which Mackensen had retreated after his defeat on September 20th. During the second and part of the third week of October there were encounters between the respective combatants, and an artillery duel was maintained most of the time, but nothing of vital importance happened. Judging, perhaps,

THE MARSHY UPLANDS OF DOBRUJA, LOOKING ACROSS THE DANUBE TOWARDS THE BLACK SEA.

the Dobruja to Constantsa, which was evacuated by the Rumanians on October 22nd, 1916, after its oil stores had been fired, our ally retreating position of the River Pruth, which marks the political boundary between Rumania and Russia.



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THEATRE OF THE DOBRUJA CAMPAIGN.

Map of the Dobruja front from the Danube to the Black Sea, showing the principal battle-fields along the river line from Ruschuk to Cerna Voda.

that the enemy's menace in this quarter had passed away, or if renewed could be thwarted, the Rumanian High Command probably had sent Rumanian regiments across the Danube to the assistance of Avarescu in the fight for the passes; but whether this were so or not, Mackensen undoubtedly had taken advantage of the opportunity to accumulate an army much more powerful than that with which he had opened his campaign in the beginning of September, and was merely biding his time to resume it.

According to one report, the Russo-Rumanian army began an offensive against Mackensen about October 17th. A great battle was joined two days later, and the German commander launched his superior forces in waves of assault on the allied positions, after an intense artillery preparation which destroyed the Russo-Rumanian lines of trenches at several points from south of Rasova on the Danube, through Agemler, near the Bulgaro-Rumanian railway, south of Cobadin, to Tuzla on the Black Sea. On October 21st it was announced from Bukarest that the allied troops had been compelled to retire in the centre and on the right wing, and a Russian official telegram of the same date stated that the enemy had taken Cokarja, a village lying north-west of Cobadin. The Germans claimed to have captured, after stubborn fighting, Tuzla and the heights north-west of Toprosari and west of the former, as well as the heights near Mulciova, south-east of Rasova, and declared that they had taken many prisoners, including 3,000 Russians, and some machine-guns, but no mention was made of artillery gains. This success of Mackensen now threatened in a very direct manner the railway from Cerna Voda to Constantsa.

Mackensen's main objective

This railway had been Mackensen's objective from the outset, but his first attempt to seize it had failed; that he was succeeding was clear on October 23rd, when it was announced from the Rumanian headquarters that the Allies had retired immediately to the south of the track. Having taken Toprosari and Cobadin, the Bulgarians pushed on to attack Constantsa, which fell into their hands on October 22nd after a fierce struggle. Under cover of rearguard actions and the fire of the Russian Black Sea Fleet, the authorities of the town contrived to get away most of the stores, burning what they were unable to remove. The Russian ships did not leave the port until everything that might have been of use to the enemy was destroyed or in flames. By far the greater part of the population made good their escape; the Bulgarians found that the place had been very thoroughly evacuated and that no booty worth speaking of was to be got. The allied troops retired in good order to Caramurat.

On October 23rd Mackensen stormed Medgidia, on the railway about twenty-five miles west of Constantsa, and also captured Rasova, in spite of the bravest efforts of the Russo-Rumanians to hold them. The German report affirmed that in these and other operations on this line the Allies lost 7,000 men in prisoners, besides twelve guns, and the capture of Constantsa was in itself a heavy blow to them. The Rumanians made a splendid attempt to hold the eastern end of the railway at Cerna Voda, where the great bridge crossed the Danube; but the pressure of Mackensen was too overwhelming, and early in the morning of the 25th they had to abandon the bridge-head and withdraw by the bridge, which they afterwards blew up. The railway was in the possession of the enemy, who thereby achieved an uncommonly important success.

The fall of Constantsa

Mackensen had taken the railway, but he was still on the wrong side of the Danube, and its crossing had to be made if he was to co-operate effectively with the Germans in their efforts to penetrate into Rumania from the north. In that theatre the position fluctuated from hour to hour. The north-eastern passes showed some improvement for the Rumanians, but in the northern passes—from Hatszeg, Hermannstadt, and Brasso—where the fiercest fighting continued and the enemy struck with far heavier weight, he was able to report progress, capturing the Vulkan Pass on October 25th, and advancing farther south by the exits of the Roter Turm, the Törzburg, and the Predeal Passes. The situation had an ominous look for the Rumanians, but they faced it with undiminished courage and resolution.

TRENCH-DOG AND BELL TO SOUND AN ALARM.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

HOW THE ALLIES PREPARED FOR THEIR GREAT OFFENSIVE ON THE SOMME.

By Edward Wright.

New German Battle Tactics at Verdun Adapted by the Allies for Use on the Somme and the Ancre—The Enemy's Positions on the Somme: Bapaume, Péronne, and Chaulnes—Vast Preparation for the Offensive Movement—General Fayolle's "Workshop"—French Naval Ordnance in Land Warfare—Allies Secure the Mastery of the Air—Simultaneous Co-operation of Guns and Infantry Essential to Success—Problem of Reversing the Comparative Losses of Attacking and Defending Troops—Infantry Airmen the Supreme Weapon of the French Offensive—The Somme Valley the Crux of the Allies' Position—General Foch's Subtle Design upon the Promontory of Santerre—Enfeeblement of the Forces of the German Empire the Primary Design of the Allied Staffs—Successes of the Bretons and French Colonials—General Fayolle's New Method of Deploying Troops—Achievements of the Foreign Legion, the French Colonials, and the Moroccan Division—Biaches Fort Captured by French Bluff—French Colonials Carry La Maisonette—Defeat of all German Counter-Attacks—End of the First Phase of the Battle of the Somme.

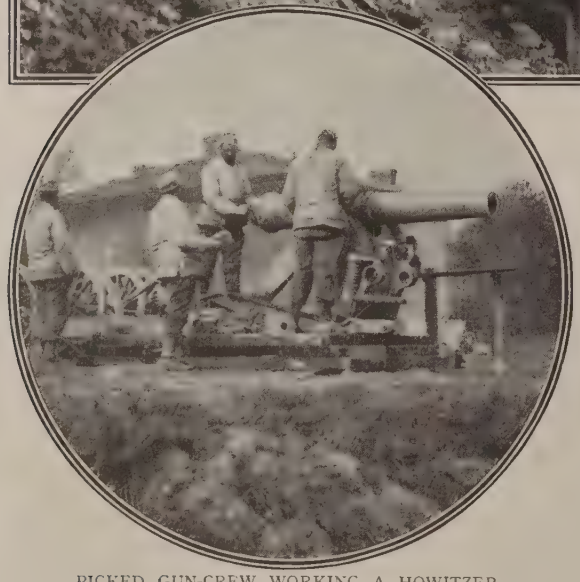
IN preparing the Somme offensive the French and British Staffs profited by all the lessons of Verdun. The Germans, throughout the war, had done the chief work in inventing new methods of attack and also of defence. Their position of advantage was largely due to the superiority they enjoyed in regard to heavy weapons. At Ypres, in October, 1914, they originated the intensive system of attack on a narrow front, owing to the chance that the siege-guns, which they had employed in the Siege of Antwerp, were then close to their hand for battering-ram operations against our shallow, hastily-made trenches. At that time the French lines near Verdun offered the enemy most opportunity for a decisive thrust, as the younger Moltke pointed out. But Falkenhayn, the new Chief of Staff, thought it would be better to use the great German and Austrian siege train against the British sector to which the monster guns could quickly be hauled. And so our little Regular Army, which was equipped only for mobile warfare and relied upon the French Army to carry out siege operations, found itself overwhelmed by monster artillery to which it had no means of replying. Later, at Neuve Chapelle, we improvised a siege train out of heavy naval guns manned by our superb Marines. But our naval shells, available for army use, were mainly shrapnel and common shell; our armament firms and our official high-explosive works produced altogether only a few thousand high-explosive shells a day, and even after months of attempted speeding-up, our average daily production of the kind of shell needed in the new trench warfare remained terribly inadequate to the needs of our troops.

FRENCH LEADERS ON THE SOMME.

General Fayolle (left), who was mainly responsible for the preparations for the great French offensive, in conversation with General Berdoullat.

At Neuve Chapelle our Staff showed a remarkable power of invention, but it was the enemy who profited by our fine scheme of attack. Falkenhayn and his Staff merely substituted high-explosive shell for the shrapnel we had been using, and, by means of an arc of heavy guns, they accomplished at Gorlice against Radko Dimitrieff's army the work they had vainly attempted the previous autumn against our Expeditionary Force. Then at Loos the British Staff once more tried to improve upon the lesson it had learnt in its victorious stand at Ypres. We improved the method of a rush attack, heralded by the hurricane fire of parks of artillery all connected to a controlling telephone exchange. But the German Staff had worked out a magnificent system of defence against heavy-gun fire. It constructed shelter chambers beyond the reach of the heaviest shell, connected its lines with tunnels

INCOMPARABLE FRENCH ORDNANCE IN ACTION.
French 4·8 in. gun in a battery. Technically heavy artillery, these were like toys in comparison with much of the ordnance employed.



PICKED GUN-CREW WORKING A HOWITZER.
General Fayolle's concentration of artillery for the offensive of July, 1916, was unprecedented and—as the event proved—irresistible.

to enable reinforcing troops to escape our curtains of shrapnel fire, and excavated mazes of well-organised machine-gun redoubts that enabled a hundred tenacious men to check the advance of ten thousand charging infantry. We failed to shatter the improved German defences because of our continued lack of high-explosive shell and heavy howitzers.

In the meantime our French comrades, who possessed a fine high-explosive shell and the plant needed for making the delicate fuses, did not fare much better than ourselves, in spite of the advantages they enjoyed as a nation equipped for warfare on the Continental scale. Large though their private and public armament works were, they were utterly inadequate to the needs of the new system of trench warfare. The French Staff had called to the Colours tens of thousands of men used to machine-tool work and ordinary steel-making. The feeling of the military professional class throughout Europe had been against allowing valuable mechanics to go on with the work of war for which they were best fitted. Even company and battalion commanders in the spring of 1915 were averse to allowing the mechanics in their ranks who had become experienced veteran soldiers to withdraw into munition factories. Few officers cared to see their company or battalion weakened by untried recruits, and it was not until the clamour caused by our crisis in munitions rang through the world that France became generally convinced that men who could use a machine-tool skilfully were of more use in a factory than in a trench. In Champagne and in Artois brilliant French commanders had, in the spring and autumn of 1915, tried to break through the German lines by the same swift battering-ram attack as the British Staff had employed. In fact, our Chief of Staff, Sir William Robertson, and the French assistant to General Joffre, General Castelnau, had shared each other's ideas and arrived at approximately the same methods of attack.

Franco-British co-ordination

Then these methods were again employed, with various improvements, by Field-Marshal von Haeseler in the attack on Verdun in February, 1916. Haeseler still aimed to break through the French lines by swift attack lasting only three or four days. His design was to place his heaviest and longest-ranged guns close enough to dominate the first, second, and third lines of defence. Having carried the high ground near the French second line, he brought a considerable part of his lighter artillery near it, to assist with close-range fire a great infantry thrust which was designed to break right through the French front. This advance, however, was defeated at Douaumont by the famous Iron Division, and after trying to advance again by means of a hundred thousand troops the German Staff worked out another new form of siege warfare.

It no longer attempted to make an abrupt and decisive break. It increased the number of guns on both sides of the Meuse and began a slow, terrible, see-sawing, grinding movement against Dead Man Hill on the

left and the Vaux promontory on the right. German official statements explained to the world that a new form of battle tactics was in operation, and though the Allies' Press tended to ridicule the enemy's proclamation, there was an uncommon amount of truth in it. The Germans, after their great defeat on April 9th, 1916, had invented another and a more formidable form of attack, which aimed only indirectly at winning the ruins of the sixteenth-century fortress of Verdun. The grand object of the new kind of attack was to wear out the French Army by a continuous system of small, intense, alternating assaults on selected points of the thirty-mile front around Verdun. It may be contended that the new method employed by the Germans was imposed upon them by the remarkable victory won by General Pétain. True enough. Nevertheless, the method which the enemy was compelled to adopt was both sound and novel. The French Staff studied it with admiring care, and tested it by their magnificent defence until they discovered all its possibilities. Then they worked out certain improvements which the enemy had not foreseen, and, in collaboration with the British Staff, planned a great offensive in the new style on the Somme and Ancre Rivers.

German methods adapted

The principal idea in this new form of operations had been fairly stated by the German Staff. It was necessary for an attacking army to begin with no attempt to make an abrupt break-through. There was to be neither a Neuve Chapelle nor a Gorlice, but only a slow and patient movement of artillery and infantry against the enemy's line. The attacking army was to be supplied with thousands of guns and millions of shells as for an old-fashioned, whirlwind operation. But the larger part of this enormous strength was to be held in reserve and only brought forward gradually as the guns were hauled forward. This meant that the Germans would always be allowed time to construct new lines in their rear. Thus the piercing of their front was scarcely contemplated. When the attack was being planned by the French and British Staffs the enemy's lines by the Somme extended backward in three main zones for a depth of about six miles. He had a comparatively small number of light guns between his first and second lines, and a considerable number of moderately heavy guns

[*French official photographs.*

GIANT FRENCH GUNS THAT PULVERISED THE GERMAN POSITIONS ON THE SOMME.

A 16 in. gun in position. In circle: Another piece of heavy ordnance. The construction of hundreds of miles of railway enabled the French to use heavy naval ordnance and monster army howitzers of a new pattern in their Somme offensive, moving them rapidly to any point.

RE-ENTRY OF CAVALRY INTO THE WAR.
The expulsion of the enemy from the positions he had occupied for nearly two years enabled the superb French cavalry to resume their proper duty as horsemen.

between his second and third lines, while most of his heavy and long-range batteries were placed among the hills in the rear of his third line. Three rail-heads fed his positions with men, munitions, and food. On the north was the station of Bapaume, in the centre by the bend of the Somme was the railway town of Péronne, and in the south was the railway town of Chaulnes. Of these three towns Péronne was in many respects the most important, for about eight miles eastward of it was the railway junction of Roisel, the capture of which would cut the line through St. Quentin, which fed a vital sector of the German front.

Enemy's underground preparations

None of these towns in the German rear was, however, easy of attack, and none of them had any great economic or political significance, such as Lille and the coal-fields near Lille had. A very difficult country of chalk heights extended for miles from the German fire-trenches to the German rail-heads. The undulations of chalk, which were easy to excavate, had been transformed by the industrious German sappers into deep and intricate earth-works that seemed impregnable. All the old farmhouses were provided with an extraordinary system of cellarage, dating from the sixteenth century, when German troops used to sweep on this part of France from the Netherlands and force the people to go underground for shelter until the French king could bring up forces to retrieve his northern dominions. The Virgin of Péronne, who saved her country in one of these invasions, was almost as famous in France as Joan of Arc, and her town is still known as Péronne the Virgin. An allied offensive movement on Péronne was therefore calculated to stir the historic memories of the French troops and the French people; but, unfortunately, the well-known underground refuges of this former frontier province of France were of great use to the enemy. By tunnels and communication saps he had transformed every hamlet into a profound subterranean fortress, and in many places he had constructed steel-domed works, screened with trees and containing quick-firers.

Since the fierce conflicts during the race to the sea, in which the armies of General Castelnau and General Maud'huy held back the heavier gun forces of General von Einem, there had been no action of importance in the Somme area. So comparatively quiet was the lovely pastoral region near the allied base of Albert that, when our troops extended southward in order to assist the French, our force on the Somme was given the nickname of the "Deathless Army." Hard-fighting brigades, withdrawn from the ghastly fen-land around Ypres, regarded a turn in the Somme district as a comparative holiday. Only around the German salient by the slopes of Fricourt did any continuous activity occur. This activity was mainly confined to incessant mining that churned the woods into a desert of leprous, tumbled earth and chalk, on the acid-stained surface of which scarcely a tree-trunk was visible.

The French forces south of the Somme had a similar point of unprogressive local mining activity

FRENCH CAVALRY ON PATROL.
Romantic impression of the chivalry of France mounted once more and patrolling the bushy slopes of a valley in Picardy.

near Lihons. But, generally speaking, the Germans were allowed an unusual stretch of repose amid their fortified heights north and south of the Somme. It seems, indeed, to have been a matter of subtle policy on the part of General Joffre, General Castelnau, and General Foch to allow the enemy to think that his Somme defences were too strong to be assailed.

The result was that he was lulled into a false sense of security when in the last week of June signs of an impending movement in force were violently visible along the north-western front. First of all the British front flamed and thundered for ninety miles from the north of Ypres to the south of Albert. Day and night our terrific bombardment continued, and then the French guns from the Somme to the Aisne lengthened the hurricane of fire, until it extended at times to a distance of nearly a hundred and eighty miles along the German lines.

180 miles of flame

The German Staff clearly foresaw that a great British attack was preparing. For amid our day and night bombardment parties of our men raided the enemy trenches with astonishing vigour in order to test the strength of the forces holding the first hostile zone. The French bombardment, on the other hand, seemed to be only a feint, intended to divert German forces from the sectors which Sir Douglas Haig had planned to attack, though the great line of flaming thunder was sometimes

[French official photograph.

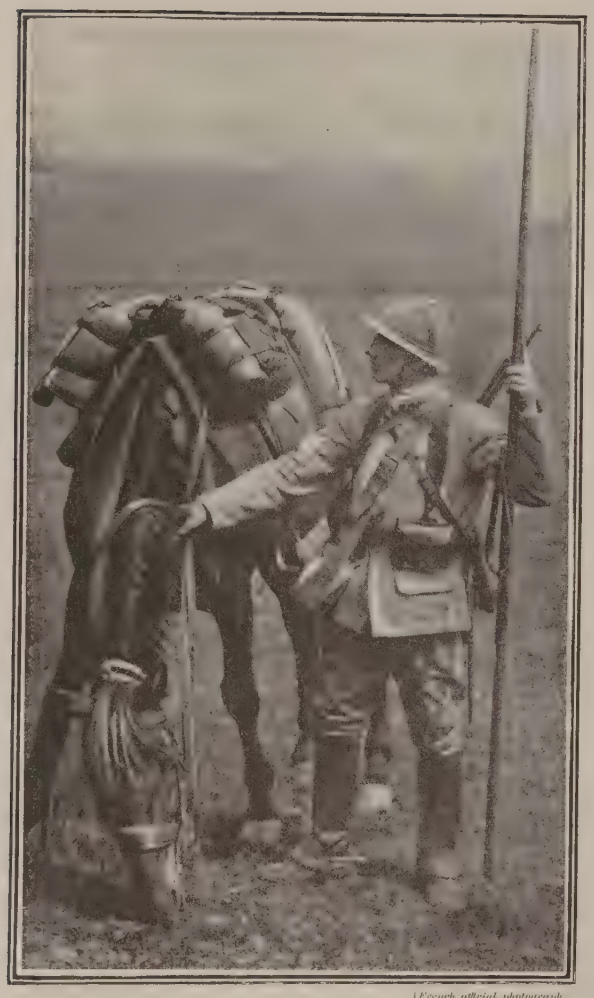
GALLOPING THE GUNS INTO ACTION ON THE CREST OF THE MOOR.

Rushing up the "75's" during the Somme advance. Their wonderful mobility was one of the most valuable qualities of these famous guns. General Fayolle, indeed, regarded them almost as machine-guns and used them in incredible numbers.

[French official photograph.

EXHILARATING CHARGE OF CAVALRY DOWN THE HILL AND THROUGH THE STREAM.

French cavalry in full gallop saddle-deep through a stream. The camera is seldom so successful in conveying the sense of exhilaration which fires the actors in a thrilling situation as in this animated and picturesque impression from the Somme front.



[French official photograph.

A KNIGHT OF FRANCE.
French dragoon in the new uniform evolved to suit the new conditions of active service, though lance and helmet recall the Middle Ages.

extended by the French almost to Rheims. General von Falkenhayn and his Staff did not think that the French Army was in the position to make a grand and prolonged attack. By overestimating the French losses in the long and arduous Verdun battles the German Staff had arrived at the mistaken conclusion that the French reserves were so thoroughly wasted that France could do little more than make a demonstration to help the British attack. A French attack was expected, but it was supposed it would not last long, and would only be employed to assist the British operation.

Subtle French strategy

This enemy view of the practical impotence of France was exactly that which General Joffre and General Castelnau had been trying to establish. The chief difficulty of the French commanders during the ordeal of Verdun had been that they did not want to cheer their people at the price of fully informing the enemy that the striking force of France was unimpaired. They had to let the German Staff think that Verdun had almost bled France white, and at the same time keep their own nation from growing too despondent over the apparent growing enfeeblement of France and the apparent weakness of the new British armies. The moral atmosphere was in some respects rather similar to that obtaining before the victory of the Marne, and the French people must have suffered from deep anxiety while General Joffre and General Castelnau played their masterly trick of deluding the German by his own weapon of over-confidence.

As a matter of fact, preparations for a long and great French offensive on the Somme had begun in March, 1916. Veiled by the increasing activity of the French airmen, hosts of working troops gradually transformed the countryside. There had only been one poor branch railway line feeding the front after the German guns had destroyed the fragment of main track running to Albert. But the French troops increased the ten miles of railway running from Bray to Rosières to hundreds of miles of track. At the same time the British troops doubled the lines running to their bases and created numerous branch lines until more than six hundred and ten miles of new lines were constructed, with more than a hundred new stations.

Just before the battle the work was pushed on with extraordinary intensity. One railway-station, with first-rate platforms for handling heavy shells, was built by French soldiers in five days—by French infantry troops, not by the engineering corps. Another station, formed where the regular railway joined the narrow-gauge lines, extended over a square mile of what had been wheat-fields. General Fayolle, commanding on the Somme under General Foch, remarked that he no longer controlled an army but a workshop. "Before the infantryman," he said, "comes the shell; before the shell comes the gun, and before the gun comes the wheelbarrow. A trainload of wheelbarrows is a glorious reinforcement. And next in value to a ton of shells is a ton of wood."

Lumbermen's great part

Our Staff culled expert lumbermen from the Dominion forces and set them working in speed competitions with French axemen among the woods near the Somme to get timber for the great offensive movement. Huge quarries were blasted in the nearest hard rock to obtain macadam for new motor roads and stone for the new railway lines. Great new waterworks were constructed as for a city of millions of inhabitants. For every army corps needed 15,000 gallons of water a day. The French had thousands of motor-lorries, liberated from Verdun by the completion of General Pétain's large light-railway system. Our army also had an enormous fleet of motor-vehicles, and the Allies used their new and old roads for bringing up troops and light material in order to relieve the pressure upon their six or seven hundred miles of railways.

This relief was especially necessary towards June 26th, 1916, when General Foch began to join in our extraordinary bombardment of the German lines. Sir Douglas Haig opened his hurricane fire a week before his troops advanced, and instead of massing his guns and storing most of his shell on the Somme sector, he first concentrated his fire around Arras and around Lille. An extremely flexible and smoothly working system of shell transport and gun transport was needed in order to deceive and perplex the enemy by continually shifting the terrible stress of heavy-gun fire. But both the British and the French had constructed, in their huge new railways of ordinary and narrow gauge and in their maze of new motor roads, the means of quickly changing their points of terrific gun fire. General Foch seems to have thrown his greatest weight of metal on the Chaulnes and Roye sectors, leaving the Somme front comparatively quiet. On June 29th the Sixth German Army made a strong raid between Chaulnes and Roye in an endeavour to test the French strength there, but its attacking infantry was broken by gun fire before it reached the opposite trenches. The German commander, who is said to have been General von Einem, was completely misled by the tremendous force of General Foch's artillery demonstration in the south, and removed regiments from the neighbourhood of Péronne towards Chaulnes. While the Germans were marching away from the real point of attack many of the

great French guns came back to the Somme and started firing in an appalling manner.

General Foch did not regard the famous French 3 in. quick-firer as a piece of artillery. He called it a machine-gun, and used it practically as such. His main weapon of attack was the heavy piece of very large calibre. In addition to the big howitzers employed in the Champagne offensive in the autumn of 1915, several still more powerful types of siege-guns had been transformed into mobile artillery. Most of the great pieces mounted along the coasts of France had been taken out of the forts for use in the Army. Before the war the French Navy had 13·6 in. guns and numerous 11 in. and 12 in. guns, some employed in coast batteries and some stored in larger number for replacing the worn-out guns of the Battle Fleet. The actual mastery of the seas exercised by the British, French, and Italian Fleets permitted the French Navy to hand to the French Army a very large and powerful armament, including some 15 in. guns, throwing a shell nearly a ton in weight. In this connection it may be remarked that the British Fleet repaid the debt it owed to the French Army. As we have pointed out in a previous chapter, the French Army, which had always held from two-thirds to three-quarters of the entire military forces of Germany, compelled the German steel-makers and steel-workers to devote most of their energies to military weapons, with the result that German naval construction fell far behind British naval construction. But now we see that the mighty striking power thus developed in our Fleet enabled the French to weaken their great system of coastal fortification and turn over heavy guns by the hundred for service in the French Army during the most important of allied offensive movements. We regard this matter as an illuminating and inspiring example of the alternations of strength gained by the Allies through generous and far-reaching co-operation.

British Navy helps French Army

The huge pieces of French naval ordnance were adapted to the needs of land warfare, and built into a kind of land gunboat running on rails, capable of rapid transport, facile gun-laying, and progress behind every strong infantry advance. Some special new army howitzers of 16 in. calibre were mounted in the same manner. Some of the pieces had a range of twenty miles, which, when their massed fire was directed by aeroplane, caused terrible disturbance to the enemy's centres of communication. The 16 in. guns, rolling on eight-wheeled bogies, looked like gigantic telescopes as they lifted their barrels above the arch of their steel bridges. Each piece, with its mounting and waggon, weighed a hundred and seventy tons, yet two men, turning a crank like that of an ordinary garden-pump, could move the gigantic tube easily, while another man squatting on the breech sufficed to tip it up. A little crane worked by one man lifted up from an armoured tender a monster shell and placed it in a set of guides from which the projectile travelled automatically into the breech.

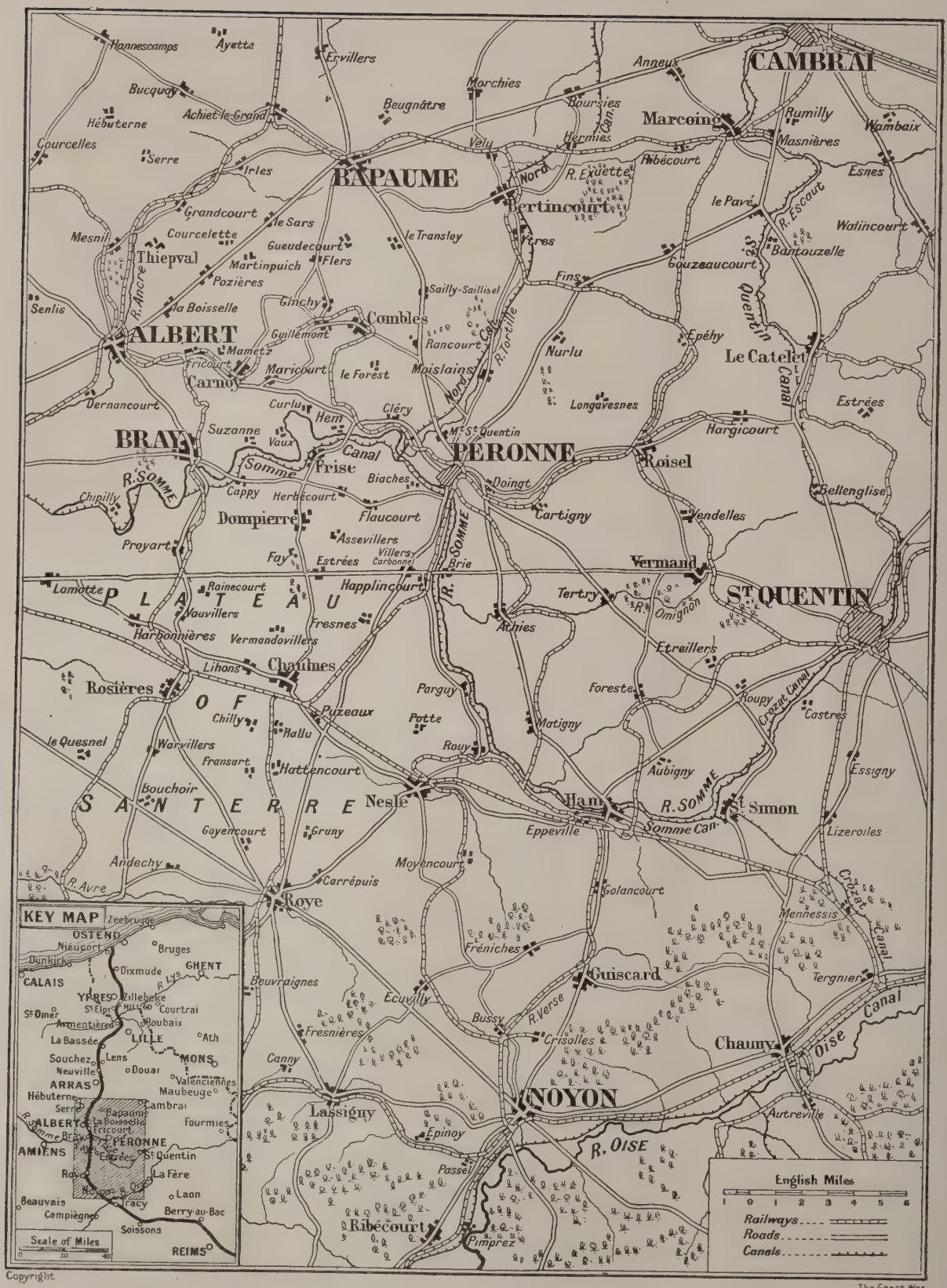
Adapting naval guns

Such is the description given by a French writer, and it will be seen that all the mechanism was practically that of a 15 in. gun-turret of a battleship. The new French and British mobile howitzers and cannon of very large calibre were turned into mobile pieces owing to the skilled experience of naval engineers. Our naval engineers, having special practical experience of the successful mounting of 15 in. guns, were able to help their brilliant French

[*French official photograph*

BUILDING AN OFFICER'S POST OF SAND-BAGS IN A QUARRY.

Trench architecture attained extraordinary developments in the prolonged period of trench warfare that ensued after the Battle of the Aisne. This photograph shows a commander's post in process of construction in the extreme northern lines of the French front.


CAMBRAI
BAPAUME
Bertincourt
ALBERT
Thiepval
Combles
Le Catelet
BRAY
PÉRONNE
Roisel
Marcoing
Rumilly
Masnières
Wambaix
Esnes
Walincourt
Bantouzelle
Gouzeaucourt
Fins
Sailly-Saillisel
Nurlu
Epéhy
Hargicourt
Estrées
Bellenglise
Vendelles
Cartigny
Doingt
Biaches
Frise
Suzanne
Curlu
Hem
Cléry
Longavesnes
Rancourt
Maricourt
Carnoy
Fricourt
Mametz
Guillemont
Martinpuich
Pozières
Courcelette
Mesnil
Grandcourt
Hébuterne
Courcelles
Serre
Irles
Bucquoy
Achiet-le-Grand
Beugnâtre
Morchies
Velu
Hermies
Ribécourt
Le Pavé
Senlis
Chipilly
Cappy
Hérbécourt
Dompierre
Flaucourt
Assevillers
Proyart
Fay
Estrées
Villers-Carbonnel
Brie
Vermand
Tertry
ST QUENTIN
Athies
Etreillers
Roupy
Castres
Essigny
Aubigny
Ham
St Simon
Eppeville
Lizerolles
Golancourt
Mennessis
Tergnier
Chauny
Oise Canal
Guiscard
Crisolles
Bussy
Ecuvilly
Fresnières
Beuvraignes
Fréniches
Roye
Carrépuis
Moyencourt
Andechy
Nesle
Hattencourt
Rouy
Potte
Parguy
Puzeaux
Chilly
Hallu
Warvillers
Fransart
Bouchoir
Goyencourt
Gruny
Lihons
Chaulnes
Rosières
Harbonnières
Vermandovillers
Fresnes
Vauvillers
Lamotte
Rainecourt
Happlincourt
Foreste
Matigny
Omignon
Canal du Nord
Canal de la Somme
Canal de la Sensée
Canal de la Haute Deûle
Canal de la Deûle
Canal de la Lys
Canal de la Haute Lys
Canal de la Basse Lys
Canal de la Basse Deûle
Canal de la Scarpe

comrades. On June 28th parks of these monster guns steamed suddenly into action along the Somme, and tremendously reinforced the large ordinary mass of fixed heavy howitzers which were pounding the German lines from their concealed gun-pits. When the railway artillery arrived and each piece went to the place marked out for it, the reason for the construction of hundreds of new railway-stations became apparent to every infantryman. The infantry, that for four months had dug and built and carted, had a final intense spell of navvy work imposed upon it. The troops had to help the gunners in transporting the lighter kind of shell from rail and motor trucks to the underground storing places in the hillside. They had to collect their own stores of hand-grenades, aerial torpedoes, and other ammunition close to the front, for transport into the enemy's lines when these were captured; and when all the immense and varied work of porterage was going on the face of the countryside had to be changed at once. Every object of a destructible character which had served or had seemed to serve the enemy as a ranging mark for his guns was destroyed throughout the area in which the Eleventh French Army was operating. Big tree-trunks, ruined houses, and other noticeable small features were removed with unexpected suddenness, so that German forward observing officers and German aerial observers would find their firing maps almost useless in the morning. They could no longer tell their gunners to train a few points away from some small object that had marked the landscape since the beginning of trench warfare. New and emptier firing maps had to be made by the enemy, but he was given no time in which to make them.

SOUL-STIRRING SCENE JUST BEHIND THE LINE.

French Colonial soldiers on their way to billets after a spell of duty in the first line. The cherished standard is carried at the head of the regiment, and each seasoned warrior bears an expression of determination to do his utmost for the cause of France.

Blinding enemy observers

When morning came and his kite-balloons ascended in the rear of his lines for their usual work of gunnery control, squadrons of allied aviators soared up and over the front. Then above these squadrons circled the flower of French Fokker fighters and the picked fighting pilots of the British Flying Corps. General Foch had collected the best airmen from Verdun and Champagne, and led by Lieutenant Guynemer, with his long list of victories, and by a young British officer from Nottingham—who surpassed even the famous Frenchman in the number of German machines he had brought down—the struggle for the mastery of the air began.

On this struggle depended everything. If the Allies could not blind the German guns their own artillery would have to work at a disadvantage, and the movements of troops and supplies would be seriously impeded. But the mastery of the air was won with surprising rapidity. The lower attacking squadrons swooped upon the German kite-balloons through a tempest of shrapnel from enemy anti-aircraft batteries. Each pilot planed down in a steep curve and fired into the envelope of the German balloon a special missile, causing the gas to explode in a sheet of flame. All that the Germans could do, with the air dominated for thirteen thousand feet above them by layers of allied machines, was to haul down their balloons in frenzied haste. One French airman made his usual swoop on a balloon, but, as he was about to fire, his right thumb was broken by a shrapnel bullet, and the pain caused him to shoot wide and miss. Usually, after making the downward swoop and loosing his explosive missile, a pilot turns his machine upward to avoid the attentions of "Archibald," the anti-aircraft gun. The wounded French pilot was climbing up quickly when he saw that he had failed. He looped over and made for the balloon again as it was being hauled down, and at a distance of only a hundred yards from the earth he swept through a hail of fire, was wounded again in the thigh, but held on, exploded the balloon, and managed to get back to his aerodrome. In all, fifteen German observing balloons were brought down by the new missile, which seems to have been the invention of a French naval officer, and first used at Verdun two months before. Although the Germans at times sent one of their remaining balloons up for a few minutes and hauled it down quickly before an allied pilot could approach, the German guns and the German Staff were practically blinded. Their machines could not attempt to cross the allied lines, singly or in fighting squadrons, without being assailed by a superior number of French and British machines of remarkable power, handled by men of consummate skill. The weather was bright and sunny, but the sky was dark from the enemy's point of view.

General Fayolle had an entire fleet of photographic machines operating all day over the enemy's lines. Each piece of destruction wrought by the French guns was photographed immediately afterwards, and in a short time the photograph was developed and fixed, and being closely studied by French Staff officers. If the picture was not entirely satisfactory the observing machines again went up, followed by photographic machines. The gunners fired some ranging shots, and received messages from the observing machines, under whose direction they again poured an intense fire on the half-destroyed works, when more photographs were taken for the use of the Staff.

Work of aerial camera-men

There seems to have been little counter-battery firing from the German side. Especially in and around the ravined plateau of Santerre, looped by the Somme and overlooking Péronne, did the German artillery seem very weak. It was indeed reported that the enemy began withdrawing his heavy guns from Santerre when the enormous increase of French fire showed the German commander he had been mistaken by General Foch's demonstration at Chaulnes and Roye. But he could

WAR-TIME WAITERS ON THEIR WAY TO THE SOMME FRONT WITH THE FIRST COURSE.
Staff of a field-kitchen carrying soup to their comrades in the trenches. Cheery scene on any French road in the vicinity of the battle-line.

not retire many guns, and he could not withdraw or reinforce his troops, for when the huge French parks of artillery were definitely set to their work their action was like that of a titanic and ineluctable piece of mechanism. The longest ranged cannon kept up their fire on the distant German rail-heads; other batteries of naval guns maintained an incessant tempest of explosive shell and shrapnel on the roads and railway tracks along which munitions, supplies and men were usually moved towards the communication-trenches. Then these trenches, often beginning six miles in the rear of the enemy's fire-trench, were incessantly battered by high-explosive shell. The German front line was destroyed by great aerial torpedoes, of a new model, launched from new mortars of an improved quick-firing kind. The destruction of the enemy's barbed-wire was undertaken by the "75's." All this went on in daylight and darkness, with the effect that the German infantry, artillery, engineers and army service corps, who occupied three zones of defensive lines, were cut off. Meanwhile, upon every trench, every system of works, and every sap there rained the great shells from the French "heavies" and mortars. General Fayolle blasted a way for his troops with deadly precision and appalling scope. He was on the retired list when the war opened, but having obtained the command of a regiment when General Joffre reorganised the officering of the armies, he won distinction under General Foch during the underground battles in Artois, and then rose, like General Pétain, to an army command during the arduous autumn struggle in the German lines in Champagne. In fact, Fayolle and Pétain emerged from the slippery, muddy slopes of Champagne as the proved leaders in the next French offensive movement. General Foch welcomed his old comrade back to Picardy, and with him planned in minutest detail all the new technique necessary in a slow, progressive advance. The later methods used by the Germans at Verdun were carefully studied, as we have already pointed out, but General Fayolle had many important new matters of organisation to introduce into the general scheme.

German front line destroyed

In particular, his experiences in Champagne, where by a rapid thrust he had almost broken right through the German lines, convinced him that success critically depended upon a closer, simultaneous co-operation of guns and infantry. The problem was to connect an advanced victorious wave of troops a mile or more in the enemy's lines with the motionless heavy batteries four, five, or six miles behind them, so that the distant monster guns should act continually with the infantry like a row of giant machine-guns. Every ordinary means of signalling was developed by long practice. The infantry carried small white flags with which they marked each position they conquered, and in each position they also lighted Bengal fires and signalled with rockets. Likewise they flag-signalled, as the British armies had done from the beginning; they heliographed; they used telephones, rapidly laid behind them by observing artillery parties, and also portable wireless instruments. But all this expansion of ordinary means of communication did not content General Fayolle. His grand aim was to kill Germans without losing Frenchmen. He intended to work almost entirely with his guns, and use his infantry chiefly to occupy and consolidate the positions that had been won by his artillery. In order that France might emerge from the Great War not only victorious, but with her stock of virile strength large enough to engender and maintain a strong, great, new generation, it was necessary to save the men from disablement and death.

General Fayolle looks ahead

In other words, the French commander and his Staff had to discover means of reversing the comparative losses of attacking and defending troops. All that the Germans had accomplished in defence, by combining machine-gun fire and curtains of shell fire with deep bomb-proof shelters

and sunken zones of barbed-wire, had to be answered by some new and efficient method of pushing an attack. The fine genius of the French nation was equal to the occasion, and under the fostering care of General Fayolle and General Foch an idea that General Pétain had adumbrated at Verdun was worked out into an eventful, permanent addition to modern methods of warfare.

During the month of preparation the personnel and the matériel of the French Flying Corps were greatly increased. Instead of relying on officer pilots, as did the British Army with its class traditions, the French Flying Corps recruited its personnel largely from young non-commissioned officers of proved merit. The young men of the new school were encouraged in a frank, democratic way by official bulletins that gave the names and the list of victories of the best fighters, so that the sporting spirit of the French public was largely concentrated upon the achievements of men like Guynemer. This system of competitive publicity, which the Germans also used in rather a braggart way, seems to have been regarded as vulgar by the directors of the British Flying Corps. But the thoughtful French commanders, who adopted the method of advertising their crack pilots so that they could be listed like English batsmen according to the number of their wins, had a very serious purpose in thus popularising military aviation. They needed emulous, spirited, capable young flyers by the thousand instead of by the hundred. It was, indeed, likely that they would at last require a very large and continuous stream of flying recruits, which meant that they would need a very much larger number of candidates for testing in the aviation school.

French Flying Corps increased

For the supreme weapon of the French offensive, on which General Fayolle depended to save his troops, was the formation of a large corps of infantry airmen. It was the special work of these men to scout in advance of each French attacking force, and watch from an altitude of one to three hundred feet the progress the men made and the obstacles they encountered. It was expected that the loss in pilots and machines among the new infantry aviation squadrons would be very considerable, for they would have to move very low down in a much restricted area, expose themselves while watching their own troops and the enemy's machine-gun positions, and be further occupied in wirelessing to their batteries and to their headquarters. They were also trained to bring their machine-guns and Lewis guns into action by swooping on enemy forces. Happily, the Germans were entirely taken by surprise by this well-organised system of aerial direction in the attack.

Triumph of infantry airmen

The fire of the French and British guns increased in fury on June 20th, which was the date that seems first to have been fixed for the assault. But no order was given to the troops, either because the bombardment was not thought to be sufficient, or more probably because the rumour as to the date of the movement had been deliberately allowed to reach the enemy and induce him

A MOMENTARY HALT IN THE STEADY VICTORIOUS ADVANCE.
Rifles stacked and heavy packs laid down, these dogged French soldiers were resting in the grateful shade of one more orchard-surrounded, old-timbered homestead saved for France.

[*French official photograph.*

A MESSENGER OF MARS CROSSING NO MAN'S LAND.
French "runner" carrying a brigade message across a Somme battlefield, every foot of which was ranged by German artillery and snipers.

to pack his reserve trenches. During the last two days of the bombardment these reserve trenches were subjected to an especially terrific fire, and several zones of shrapnel were maintained over all the enemy's routes of supply and reinforcement. According to a German statement, every place within ten miles of the firing-line was smitten with heavy shell and incendiary projectiles. Then in the morning of Saturday, July 1st, 1916, the British and French infantry forces climbed out of their trenches and advanced into the German lines.

General Fayolle's army connected with the British Army north of the Somme at the village of Maricourt. Here, General Balfourier, the army corps commander of the Twentieth Corps, had his troops of the 29th Division—the incomparable Iron Division—stretched down to the river at Vaux. Then by the canal-locks in the river valley, at Eclusier, another famous French African force, the Colonial Division, with which General Pétain had conquered the Hand of Massiges in Champagne, extended southward towards Fontaine-les-Cappy, where a fine Breton force was arrayed against the enemy.

The crux of the position was the dividing line of the Somme Valley, separating the Ironsides from the Colonials. The small split stream of the Somme ran through marshes from one to two miles broad, the marshes being cut by a canal as well as by the river. Above the wide, winding zone of the marshes rose on either side a rampart of chalk. The river cliffs were in turn dominated by ridges, from three hundred to four hundred and fifty feet high, occupied by the Germans north-west and south. All the hamlets, woods, and fields in the large southern angle of the Somme running to Péronne were dominated by the main German heavy batteries on the slopes of Mont St. Quentin north of Péronne; and at Villers Carbonnel, four miles south of the town, there was another important mass of long-range German siege-guns. The consequence was that, although Péronne was only about six miles from the trenches of the French Colonial Division, there was no chance of storming into the town by a direct frontal attack. For the great, curving, marshy river valley turned sharply south by the old, grey, lovely walled city, and if the French troops had there crossed the stream, canal, and marsh they would have had to work through a large stretch of low ground westward, which was surrounded by an amphitheatre of downs, on the farther slopes of which the Germans had placed guns by the hundred. In other words, the wedge of lowish, seamed tableland extending from the southern French sector to the enemy's railhead at Péronne, was a great natural trap. Troops who stormed into it from the west would be held up by the river and exposed to a cross-fire of artillery. This was no doubt the reason why General von Einem thought that the allied bombardment on the southern side of the Somme was merely a distracting demonstration, and that General Foch and his able Staff intended to launch their real assault at Roye and Chaulnes.

Somme ridges and marshes

General Foch, however, had worked out a brilliant and subtle method of turning the marsh-moated and hill-ringed wedge of chalk south of the Somme into the main leverage point of the allied advance. About four miles north of the river was the town of Combles, around which ran a branch railway which the enemy had enlarged and connected with a network of field railways. This railway, nicknamed the "Tortillard," or "Wriggler," by the allied troops, twisted down ravines screened from direct fire. But General Foch calculated that if the wedge of the Santerre plateau, south of the river, could be won, tunnelled, and excavated, it would become a superb base for heavy howitzer fire against all the German positions northward around Combles. The fact that the southern wedge of chalk was a hundred and fifty feet or more lower than the northern main German artillery positions did not militate against howitzer fire effects so long as the Allies held the mastery of the air and possessed a stronger force of monster mobile siege-guns. General von Einem and his Staff were relying upon ideas about hill positions which had been rendered obsolete by the rapid progress of airmanship and by the transformation of even 3 in. field-guns into semi-howitzers.

Value of Santerre Plateau

So the principal operation of General Fayolle's army consisted in making a rapid seizure of the low river promontory of Santerre, on a six-mile front from the village of Curlu on the northern bank to the hamlet of Fay in the south. It was known that the fighting would be hardest among the northern downs and ravines around Combles, and that when the enemy was thoroughly alarmed and able to concentrate men by the half million against the Allies he would strike his hardest blows by the river, at the delicate junction-point of the French and British Armies. It was for this reason that the Iron Division was placed north of the river, alongside veteran British regiments commanded by our great thruster, Sir Henry Rawlinson. For practical purposes the men of the Iron Division and their comrades of the Twentieth Army Corps formed part of the British Army. They worked slowly forward with our troops in a slow, half-circling, and very wide sweep directed through Bapaume and Combles, towards the rear of Péronne. The task of capturing Péronne, after grinding down the larger part of the entire forces of the German Empire, was to be performed by the British Army and the French corps connecting with it.

Bayonet charge of French infantry over shell-swept open ground.

Uninvited guests: Frenchmen taking cover in a captured German ammunition depot.

French artillery observation post in a tree among the hills.

But this apparently very roundabout and gradual operation pivoted upon General Fayolle's remarkable plan for conquering quickly and at little cost the low promontory of Santerre south of the river. As we shall afterwards see, the French and British Staffs had only a remote interest in the capture of Péronne. They chiefly designed to bring about a tremendous, long conflict with the main forces of the German Empire, and wear those forces gradually down until all the fronts held by German troops were permanently enfeebled. When the work of enfeeblement begun at Verdun was completed on the Somme the general allied offensive would take place. In other words, the Battle of the Somme was not—to use the new, expressive, cant phrase—the "great push." It was only the western factor in the combined allied movements of great pressure which the army of General Brussiloff in the east, the Rumanian Army, the army of Salonika in the south-east, and the army of General Cadorna in the south of Europe were planning to conduct against the Central Empires and Bulgaria.

EAGER HANDS AND EFFICIENT MACHINE.

Some idea of the size and power to which French ordnance attained in the third year of the war may be gauged from this illustration showing four Frenchmen charging a heavy howitzer.

At half-past nine on Saturday morning the French Colonial and Breton troops advanced to the attack. The Bretons were middle-aged reservists, who had distinguished themselves in some fine defensive work at Quennevières alongside the Zouaves. Quiet, settled, steady married men, they had borne themselves calmly under bombardments and rush attacks in the sedentary life of the trenches, but only their own commander seems to have been strongly convinced that they would show great driving power in attack. Nearly all the other attacking French and Colonial regiments were led by battalions of fresh young troops, directed by old, experienced officers and supported by battalions of the finest veterans. The extraordinary reservists of Brittany, however, equalled the best active troops in endurance, skill and charging power.

Marvellous Breton reservists

Kinsmen of the Welsh who emigrated from Britain in the days of King Arthur, these middle-aged Celts were transformed by the fury of battle. Half an hour before the advance they asked permission to sing, and, chanting the "Marseillaise," they went forward in platoons with their lines straighter and steadier than they would have been at manœuvres in peace time. They captured the hamlet of Fay, and, between Fay and Soyécourt, they advanced to the outskirts of Estrées, which was a vast subterranean fortress the approaches of which were drenched with shells by a park of heavy German guns at Villers Carbonnel, four miles directly in front of Estrées. Villers Carbonnel, south of Péronne, and Mont St. Quentin north of the town, were the two grand artillery positions of the enemy, each comprising hundreds of siege-guns that swept all the Santerre promontory. Months had to pass before Villers Carbonnel was even remotely threatened by the French troops. It was the main rallying-point for all the German forces south of the Somme, and though seldom mentioned in communiqués, was one of the most important places in the European War. Many of its guns were destroyed by the terrible plunging shells from the new monster French artillery. But the Germans managed to transport new howitzers at night across the river valley and maintain the strength of the position. The gallant Bretons dug themselves in near Estrées and swung their northern wing forward towards Belloy and Assevillers Behind them were some regiments of the famous Foreign Legion, who afterwards relieved them when they had gallantly won and held the most difficult and most critical position in the allied line of advance.

Meanwhile, the Colonial Division, with its coloured troops, renowned for their terrific ardour in attack, enjoyed itself in an amazing fashion. On this point of the front, between Frise and Dompierre, the Germans had not expected to be attacked, and were completely taken by surprise. This was the chief reason why the French Colonial Division, forming the centre of General Fayolle's army, had an astonishingly easy task in the morning of July 1st.

Neglecting the village of Frise, in a marshy loop of the river on their right, the Colonial troops marched into the ruins of Dompierre and Becquincourt, which formed together a large mass of shattered buildings the size of a town. The cellars in the chalk plateau were originally deep, and for nearly two years the Germans had burrowed deeper and linked up their caverns with tunnels until the two connected villages were transformed into a subterranean Gibraltar. But the new French monster siege-guns had smashed in many of the thick vaults, choked the entrances, broken the armour that had protected machine-guns and artillery, and destroyed practically every wall above ground. Among the French gunners were men picked from other sectors because they were natives of the places on which their guns were trained. In particular, there was one young farmer of Becquincourt who took a savage pleasure in destroying his own fine old farm buildings and getting his huge shells well down into his own cellars. When the village was won, and he contemplated the unrecognisable heap of stones representing the house of his birth, he said, with the professional pride of an artilleryman, "What splendid shooting!" After so extraordinarily devastating a bombardment as this there was no infantry battle, but merely a walk-over. The remnant of the garrison of Dompierre, consisting of two hundred men and

How Becquincourt was won

[French official photograph.

EFFECT OF FRENCH ARTILLERY FIRE ON A GERMAN POSITION IN CHAMPAGNE.

The original trench was blown out of recognition, dug-outs were obliterated, and great mounds of earth were piled high on the parapet, through which the stakes supporting the barbed-wire defences are protruding.

officers, was captured by the French Colonials at the cost of only one man killed on their side. The hamlet of Bussus, south of Dompierre, was also carried with little loss. The casualties of the entire Colonial Division numbered only six hundred and forty, after breaking through the entire system of the first German zone of defences and reaching the second zone, between Herbécourt and Assevillers, in the evening of July 1st.

Great gains at small cost

Yet the hostile organisations were extremely elaborate. At Dompierre, for instance, the attacking troops had to cross in the first place the German fire-trench; in the second place two twin trenches, a hundred yards behind, protected by fields of barbed-wire; in the third place the Wolff trench, with another zone of wire entanglements a hundred yards farther; and in the fourth place the village itself and the connected ruins of Becquincourt, with their underground maze of fortified works. One large cavern, west of Dompierre, was equipped with two great vats for the manufacture of poison gas. From the vats pipes ran into the fire-trenches. But the heavy French shells had broken the gas system before a favourable wind could be used by the enemy. It was creditably reported that the two Colonial regiments engaged in surrounding all this German system of works had five men killed and sixteen wounded while working through the first four rows of trenches, losing afterwards, as we have already stated, one man in Dompierre itself.

At Estrées, farther south, the Breton reservists avoided a frontal attack, and rapidly working round the village on both sides, enveloped it and stormed it from the rear. Their casualties, though somewhat larger than those of the skilled attackers of the Colonial Division, yet remained exceedingly small when compared with the former allied average of losses in conquering intensively fortified trench systems. The miraculously insignificant number of casualties among the French south of the Somme was not entirely due to the fact that the enemy in this sector was taken unawares. His routine system of artillery defences was very formidable. After the terrific bombardment he was still able to bring into action hundreds of guns which he had kept silent and concealed during the hurricane French fire.

There were batteries in the Bois de Mereaucourt, north-east of Dompierre, batteries in the folds of ground behind the village, and a mighty collection of guns south-east of the village. And when the French gunners lifted on the German rear, indicating that their infantry was about to advance, hundreds of German guns put a great curtain of shrapnel over the French fire-trenches and the neutral zone between the opposing hedges of barbed-wire. At the same time the French communication-trenches were also shelled and shrapnelled, with a view to stopping supports and reinforcements and supplies. In the ordinary way, therefore, shrapnel wounds should have been inflicted in severe proportion upon the charging French forces.

French advance in single file

But among other things, such as aerial infantry, General Fayolle had thought out during his experiences in Champagne a new method of deploying troops. Each assaulting regiment advanced in single file through the zone of hostile shell fire. The target they thus presented was scarcely more than three feet wide. Near the enemy's fire-trench the thin stream of blue-clad figures changed formation, and went forward in slow, long waves of attack in very open order. If any machine-gun that had escaped destruction then opened fire upon them, all the men fell down and

sought for cover in the shell-holes. Their officers would not allow them to charge, and often prevented them from trying to creep cautiously round an active centre of resistance. There was, indeed, some trouble at first, especially with some of the French Colonial troops, accustomed to swift, fierce, hand-to-hand bomb and bayonet conflicts in former offensive movements. But the strangely loud drone of propellers at once confirmed the orders violently shouted by the French officers, and the troops understood why they had to tumble into cover at the slightest sign of hostile resistance. The novel aerial infantry of France was operating just in advance of each attacking wave, at a height varying from three hundred to a hundred feet. Some of the pilots came low and shot down, from the rear of the enemy machine-gun positions, the German crews, and then signalled their own infantry to advance. Other pilots, who could not bring their guns to bear on some deadly knot of resisting Germans, dropped smoke-bombs upon them, or wirelessed their position to the French artillery.

Vanguard of aircraft

Then above the heads of the sheltering attacking troops screamed a shower of well-aimed shells, which blasted away all opposition. The troops then arose and walked onward, preceded by their aerial scouts, enskied machine-gunners and celestial bomb-throwers. Naturally, the French Staff work was of almost superhuman perfection, for each regimental brigade, divisional army corps, and Headquarters Staff had alert and finely-trained eyes aloft and in advance of its troops, and wireless messages told the chiefs in the rear more about the state of affairs in the breaking German line than was known to the men who were actually breaking the line.

There is only one criticism that can be passed upon General Fayolle's and General Foch's handling of the situation south of the Somme on July 1st. This criticism was made by the military expert of the "Temps," himself an officer of high rank. He pointed out that the attack between Dompierre and Estrées was so perfectly conceived and executed that the relatively small number of German troops in front of Péronne was completely surprised and overpowered. It would have been quite easy for General Fayolle to have smashed right through the hostile organisations and won all the promontory in the great angle of the Somme Valley. This rushing conquest might have been completed in twenty-four hours. As it was, the Colonials and the Bretons only occupied the centre of the German first line on Saturday. Then on Sunday the Colonial Division drove into Bois de Mereaucourt behind Frise, bombed two battalions of Germans out of their shelters, which had been dug to a depth of sixty feet, and a French infantry division, working along the river, then enveloped Frise and its reed-grown peninsula of marsh. At the same time the main fortresses in the German second zone of defence from the river bank to Assevillers were crumbled into a wilderness of broken, yellowed chalk, powdered brick, and splintered wood by the incessant fire of the French heavy guns. The rails on which these guns moved were extended into the German line, so that the steaming monsters of battle obtained a wide dominion over the German system of defence. By the evening of Sunday, July 2nd, Assevillers was reached and all Herbécourt taken, and many heavy German siege-guns captured.

French expert criticism

The next morning the Foreign Legion, that ranks in

SHATTERED BY A SHELL CYCLONE: GERMAN TRENCHES BEFORE DOMPIERRE.

Utterly barren appearance of the war landscape before Dompierre, on the French front. The country for miles around was comparable to some tropical desert, the broken barbed-wire and scorched shrubs looking from a distance like cactus undergrowth. On the horizon is the shattered village.

fury of driving power and tenacity of hold with the Iron Division, was deployed between Estrées and Assevillers. It will be remembered that the Foreign Legion had been badly shattered near Vimy Ridge in the spring of 1915, and practically destroyed in a terrible yet victorious charge in Champagne the following autumn. But sufficient officers survived to transmit the great spirit of the Legion to the thousands of new foreign recruits, attracted to the service of the most glorious torch-bearers of democracy.

Foreign Legion's fine work

France was unique in her radiant power of alluring to her banner the fine fighting men of neutral Europe. Reborn from its triumphant grave in Champagne, the Foreign Legion charged again on the German works by Estrées which the Bretons had been unable to conquer, captured five hundred prisoners, and then swept onward, by their left, to Belloy, a hamlet beyond the second German line. Belloy was stormed on July 4th, with the ravine west of Assevillers. As Belloy was scarcely two miles west of the grand German artillery centre of Villers Carbonnel, the work of the Foreign Legion was carried out in circumstances of extreme difficulty. The German commander brought back the troops he had vainly sent to Chaulnes and Roye, and collected reinforcements from the Aisne front and poured them continually against the Estrées-Belloy sector. That is to say, he tried to stop the French advance south of the Somme by taking it in the right flank. He seems to have possessed new railway communications running towards Villers Carbonnel, enabling him to keep a stream of munitions flowing to that point, while his fresh troops struggled forward on the shell-swept roads and the shrapnel-drenched communication-trenches.

[French official photograph.

RUSSIA IN THE WESTERN CONFLICT.

Russia, despite her great obligations on the eastern and Caucasian fronts, was able to send several thousand sturdy fighting men to operate in Champagne. This illustration shows Russian soldiers digging communication-trenches.

The Foreign Legion, like its predecessors of the Breton Division, was soon forced to stand on the defensive, and search for cover in ground that the French guns had already rendered untenable. The Legion thus succeeded to the most desperate job on all the allied line of advance. Elsewhere troops could withdraw a few hundred yards without seriously upsetting the design of the great progressive attack. But the point held by the Legion was the supreme pivot on which all the French and British troops northward were slowly wheeling. The Legionaries had to hold fast, and fast they held, until by a gigantic artillery duel the massed French siege-guns beat down the German ordnance at Villers, and made it necessary for the enemy to reconstruct the lines of traffic in his rear. Thereupon, there was a pause, during which the forces on each side slaved at navvy work and stupendous engineering operations.

Meanwhile, the Colonial Division and the Moroccan Division, reinforced by young French infantry, continued their promenade along the southern cliffs of the Somme, that rose in places two hundred feet above the canal, stream, and marsh. In the morning of July 3rd the village of Feuilleres was conquered, together with Bois du Chapitre, more than two miles behind the first enemy line. In the afternoon the third zone of German defences was penetrated by the canal at Buscourt, and pierced again two and a half miles southward at the village of Flaucourt. At Flaucourt the magnificent fighting men from French Africa were more than three miles inside the hostile front, after only fifty-five hours of fairly light combat and remarkably small losses. A force of about 20,000 German troops had been put out of action—nearly a third of it had been captured, more than a third of it had been killed, and the larger part of the remainder seriously disabled. Then a force of Guards and divisions formed of a medley of battalions, had been caught by shell fire as they marched up to strengthen the breaking lines. When, greatly reduced in number, they came into action in the valleys and stripped woods, ruined farmhouses and obliterated hamlets, they were hammered into impotence by the heavy French howitzers.

After the Colonial troops had captured Flaucourt, which with its caverned ways was the principal rallying-point for all the German forces in front of Péronne, the division was informed it was to be sent to rest quarters. The men were much offended. They had only been fighting night and day for fifty-five hours, going on short rations, and suffering from thirst on the sun-smitten plateau. "Why should we hand over our victories to other men?" they said. "We are not tired. We took Flaucourt, and we want to keep it." This deplorable example of lack of discipline in the coloured contingent of a military democracy was telephoned to General Fayolle, who smiled, and allowed the Colonials to have their own way. On the left wing by the river a French infantry brigade, on the night of July 4th, captured the farm buildings of Sormont, and the Moroccan Division and the Colonial troops pushed onward from the French centre, while on the right wing a great leap forward was made towards the village of Barleux. Barleux was scarcely more than a mile north of the mass of German guns at Villers Carbonnel.

Spirit of French Colonials

The German commander answered this move by a violent bombardment of the exposed French flank at Estrées and Belloy. It was costly work for the German gunners to fire in the darkness, against which every tongue of flame from their pieces could be seen, either by direct observation from the French lines or by aerial observers in kite-balloons and night-flying aeroplanes. The long-range railway batteries in the rear of the French forces fired at the targets of flame and wrought great havoc. Nevertheless, the enemy gunners stood to their dangerous work, as it

[French official photograph.

PIONEERS LAYING NEW LINES OF COMMUNICATION.

French pioneers worked incessantly to establish complete lines of communication throughout the entire length and breadth of the western front. Many of the lines they laid were of sufficiently solid construction to remain permanent after their immediate purpose should have been fulfilled.

[French official photograph.

CARRYING ROADS FOR HEAVY TRAFFIC OVER THE SWAMPY GROUND.

French engineers making a road for the passage of troops and heavy artillery over swampy ground. The foundation of these roads was made with trunks of trees, and for this purpose whole forests were cleared of all their timber.

was absolutely necessary for the grand counter-attack their commander had at last prepared.

Among the troops collected for the answering German thrust was a Bavarian division, which displayed a fine gallantry. Some companies of the Foreign Legion were hard pressed in Estrées, and the eastern part of Belloy was captured. But the Legionaries and their comrades had only retired in accordance with the disconcerting tactics of the men who handled the 3 in. quick-firers. A storm of little melinite shells fell on the lost portions of the two villages; a brief message along the telephone wires brought a tornado of bigger shells from the French rear. Then abruptly both the light and heavy pieces lifted, and the resilient French troops returned with bombs and recovered all the villages. Having thus staggered the enemy, they attacked him on both flanks along the system of trenches running between Estrées and Belloy, which were entirely captured by July 5th, completing the conquest of all the second German positions south of the Somme on a front of six miles.

Estrées and Belloy captured

The tireless Colonial Division advanced from Flaucourt to Hill 63 on the road to the village of Barleux. The German commander again launched a furious flank attack on the Estrées-Belloy line, but the Foreign Legion had organised its quick-firing batteries and shattered every wave of assault well before their trenches were reached. This defeat exhausted the hastily gathered German reinforcements on the Péronne sector. According to an officer of the Prussian Guard captured in front of Péronne, the reinforcements had been sent up without direction, without connecting Staff work, and entirely wasted in a criminally ineffective manner. There was another pause during which the French extended their railways, enabling their heavy mobile guns to steam close to the enemy. On July 8th the left wing of French infantry operating by the river seized some of the farm buildings of Bazincourt —a victory which brought the French line at this point five miles into the enemy lines. Then the enormous parks of heavy French guns that had been brought up behind the French infantry division and the Colonial Division swept the end of the Santerre plateau with a tornado of shells quite as terrific as the bombardment of June 30th.

Under the arc of roaring projectiles the French infantry advanced on the fortified village of Biaches, which was a German divisional headquarters, while a Colonial regiment moved out more to the south towards the dominating point of the Santerre plateau, known as La Maisonette. The eminence by the chateau of La Maisonette was known as Hill 97 (318 feet high), and surrounded with woods, affording magnificent cover. The height was only a mile away from Péronne, with the canal and river gleaming at its foot and miles of lower country stretching eastward. Across these low tracts ran the main German railway line of communication to Roisel, nine miles distant, and Cambrai, Mons, and Cologne. Then, in the same low exposed country, a second important railway line of communication ran south-eastward towards Ham and Noyon, while a third line ran south to Chaulnes and Roye. The hill of La Maisonette was, therefore, a position of extreme strategic importance. In the Franco-Prussian War, when a French army under Faidherbe held Péronne, and a German army under Manteuffel attacked from the west across the Somme as the army of General Fayolle was doing, the fight for the dominating point of La

Strategic value of La Maisonette

[*French official photograph.*

THE ENDLESS CHAIN OF AMMUNITION SUPPLY IN FRANCE.

French artillery batteries on the way to the front passing through a village on the Somme. The convoy coming in the opposite direction consisted of ammunition-waggons returning empty after lodging their delivery at various batteries during the night.

Maisonette decided the day, and the victorious Germans captured the town of Péronne and swept on towards Laon.

The Germans were therefore precisely aware of the strategical value of La Maisonette, upon which their Staff officers had published many studies in connection with the war of 1870. Modern artillery had greatly increased the importance of La Maisonette, especially in the conditions of the new trench warfare. In 1870 Manteuffel could not rely entirely upon a direct driving thrust from La Maisonette into Péronne, and he combined this thrust with a turning movement through Bapaume, exactly as Sir Douglas Haig and General Foch were

SOUP TRAINS IN THE TRENCHES.
Soup was taken up to the first-line trench in tanks, and run on a little railway laid along the communication-trenches.

doing. There was a height across the river about a mile north of the town, the famous Mont St. Quentin, which was forty-two feet higher than La Maisonette and also backed by downs of much greater altitude. The enveloping movement by Bapaume was therefore more necessary, under modern artillery conditions which favour the defence, than it had been in Faidherbe's and Manteuffel's days.

On the other hand, the extraordinary range, the enormous fighting power, and rapid rate of fire of the latest type of heavy pieces of ordnance gave La Maisonette a curious, independent value of its own. No infantry advance could be made from it across the river valley into the wide stretch of low country beyond, because the German guns on Mont St. Quentin and the greater northern height near Bouchavesnes would have annihilated the attacking troops in the great hollow around Péronne. But, though any infantry movement was impracticable from La Maisonette, a gigantic artillery operation against three railway lines of communication at Péronne was easy. Railways, roads, and the Somme Canal, with its valuable barge transport of munitions and supplies, could be permanently cut by the French from La Maisonette.

Great communications threatened

WATER RESERVOIRS ON THE FRENCH FRONT.
In some places reservoirs of water were established for the use of men in the front trenches; the water was filtered for drinking.

There was another great strategical advantage attaching to the hill which we will discuss later.

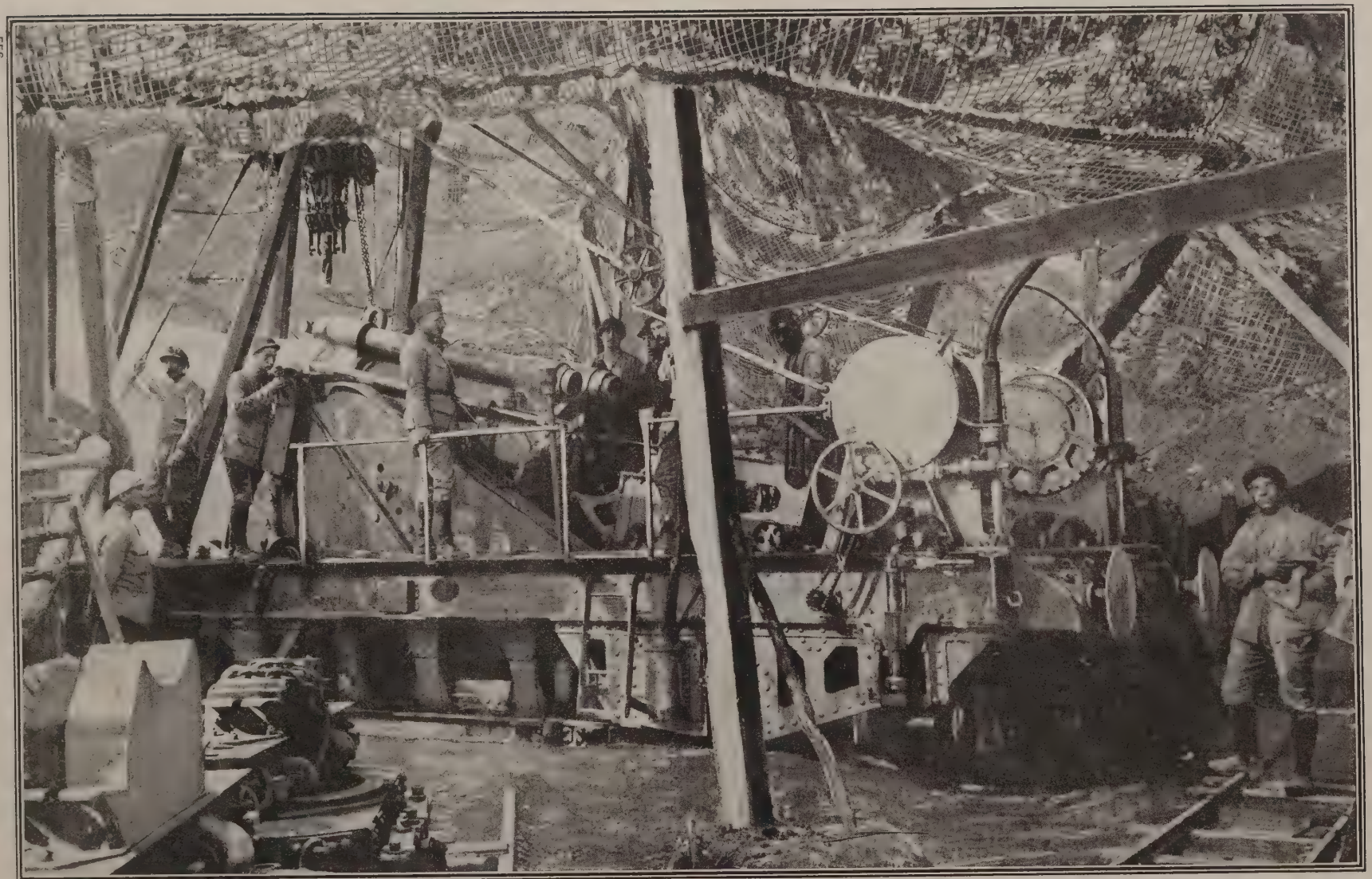
It will be seen that, even from a local point of view, the German commander had made a serious miscalculation in thinking that his Péronne sector in the last week of June, 1916, was an unimportant one, from which defending troops could safely be drawn to strengthen Chaulnes and Roye. In the first week of July he had made a further blunder, by flinging most of his reinforcements away in vain counter-attacks on the strong French left flank at Estrées, near which General Fayolle had for months been siting an overwhelming number of heavy howitzers.

German commander's blunders

La Maisonette, with its connections at the village of Biaches, was the supreme object of all General Fayolle's operations south of the Somme, and the German commander was retired in disgrace by Falkenhayn and replaced by another army chief. Several of the army corps and divisional generals on the Péronne front were also retired in disgrace.

In the morning of July 9th a reconnoitring line of French grenadiers investigated the north-west, western, and south-western trenches of Biaches. Then in the afternoon, with the bombardment working up to its supreme intensity, the main French forces of infantry walked forward, with their advanced supports of the new aerial French infantry. The battalion commanders led the way, armed with rifle and bayonet like their men, and inspiring these with their own superb determination It took only a few minutes to capture the system of trenches, and, while the cleaning-up companies stayed and completed their work, the first and second waves of assault rolled into the village. In the underground defences by the shattered houses the struggle was fierce but short, and at six o'clock in the evening only a few houses in the south-eastern corner still enclosed some living enemies. In the heart of the position the conquering troops discovered a dining cavern with a table laden with fine food, wine, and boxes of cigars, prepared for the divisional German Staff, but looking like a delicate attention to meet the needs of the victors.

When the trenches had been reached and passed and the village taken, there occurred one of those checks in the assault which are frequent in the modern war



ONE OF THE HEAVY GUNS USED BY THE ALLIES IN ITS MASSIVE SCREENED POSITION ON THE SOMME.

Heavy naval ordnance and other monster howitzers of 15 in. and 16 in. calibre were freely employed in the tremendous artillery bombardments that preceded the Allies' advances and reduced the enemy positions to dust. They were moved from point to point on specially constructed railways, along which also the great weight of the necessary ammunition was conveyed easily and rapidly.

of position. Despite the greatly improved method of aerial reconnoitring, a strong hostile work had been left unsubdued in the rear of the new French line. Near the road to Herbécourt was an old position known as the Fort of Biaches, which formed part of the bridge-head of Péronne, and had been flanked first to the right and then to the left without being enveloped. Unseen wire entanglements hidden in the grass held up two charges. The German machine-guns continued to fire, and seriously interfered with the French operations. The French brigadier-general tried at first to destroy the redoubt by the massed fire of trench-mortars. But their shells had not sufficient penetration. So the engineers were asked to push a sap into the work and blow it up; and it was found it would take at least six days to mine the fortified caverns.

It looked as though the entire infantry operations around Biaches would have to be postponed in order to allow the heavy guns to make precise measurements of the little island of resistance from which the victorious troops were held up only thirty yards away. A few trial shots from the French monster guns might have blown up the French infantry instead of breaking into the German shelters. Then a French captain of infantry said: "I can surprise the work." And by one of those strokes of audacity that seem incredible the gallant captain succeeded. He had learnt the exact position of the trench leading to the fortress, and going ahead of his party of eight volunteers he worked at first alone into the position and found it empty. All the Germans were under shelter, as the volunteers behind the captain were throwing hand-grenades. The captain shouted, "Come out!" A group of grey figures appeared; then another group emerged with a sergeant, who seemed to be the leading spirit of the defence, for the officers continued to remain underground. The astonished Germans stared at the French captain, and then made a movement of fight. But the captain shot the first man down with his revolver, crying "Forward!" His own eight supporting men arrived, and the two German groups surrendered. Searching in the shelters, the Frenchmen found two officers and many more men, and returned at last down the communication-trench with a hundred and fourteen prisoners—all that remained of a company. For twenty-four hours the Germans in Biaches Fort had stopped every assault made upon them, only to be captured at last by a magnificent bluff.

Biaches Fort surprised

[*French official photograph.*

TENDING THE WOUNDS OF AN ENEMY.

French Red Cross doctor applying his skill to a German prisoner's wounded leg. On the right, three generations of French women regard the operation with interest not unmixed with sympathy.

While the attack on the Biaches positions was thus drawing to a successful close, a regiment of the Colonial Division advanced on La Maisonette. Here the first defences were carried in one fierce leap, and on the left the triangular wood south-east of Biaches was conquered as far as the cemetery. Then an orchard on the right, where machine-guns had been concealed between the trees, was swept by a terrible bayonet charge. The two flanking forces closed around the chateau on the hill, and after suffering in an ambush formed by a party of Germans who pretended to surrender and fusilladed the men who came forward to receive them, the Colonial regiment took La Maisonette. The German commanding officer, a colonel, was found in his shelter with six other officers, and two hundred survivors of the garrison were made prisoners. The number would have been larger but for the infamous trick played upon the Colonials. These were men from Northern Africa and Senegal, representing the famous "Black Force" of France which, owing to its superb framework of officers, won an uncommonly high place in the European War. An amazing frenzy of attack, like that of a Dervish or Ghazi charge to the death, had been the chief characteristic of the Colonial troops, who often worked side by side with a Moorish division. But in the Somme operations the African troops acquired a cautious patience equal to anything shown by the best white troops. And as their long periods of waiting under terrific shell fire in the shattered hostile positions they conquered did not in any way lessen their lightning violence in attack, they were the terror of the Teutons. "The black friends of France," Erich von Falkenhayn sneeringly called them in an official communication. What was intended as a jibe became a fine compliment. True friends of France, the coloured troops were repaying her for her civilising, educative work in Africa. They fought for ten days from Dompierre to Biaches, and won the chief honours in the first phase of the Battle of the Somme.

Colonials conquer La Maisonette

The Colonials took only seventy-five minutes to conquer La Maisonette. They gave General Fayolle, at Hill 97, the culminating point of the battlefield, with an observation-post overlooking the German lines on the right bank of the river from Mont St. Quentin to Mons-en-Chaussée. The Germans had organised the position with great care, especially in the northern tract of woodland, Bois de Bias. Caverns thirty feet below the ground were connected by tunnelling with the positions in the valley near the canal, and in the marshes hidden batteries of machine-guns were trained on the northern slopes. It was difficult to attack the Germans in the marshes, and General Fayolle made no attempt to do so. He was very well content with his extraordinary conquest of all the northern and north-eastern part of the plateau of Santerre.

He did not want Péronne. The general situation was

such that Péronne was for the time more useful to the Allies as an enemy position than it would have been if captured by the Colonials. At this stage it is necessary to refer to the map of the theatre of all the Somme operations in order to understand that point in the strategy of General Foch which the German commander had overlooked. It will be seen that the French infantry division and the French Colonial Division had, by July 9th, done more than interrupt the railway, road, and canal communications of Péronne. They enfiladed the German positions north of the river from Guillemont and Ginchy to Combles and Rancourt. All the main defensive positions of the enemy in the vital sector where the army of General Balfourier and the army of Sir Henry Rawlinson were co-operating in attack became subjected to a terrible cross-fire of heavy shells from French guns placed in the large wedge of newly-won territory south of the river. Cléry, Feuillaucourt, and Mont St. Quentin in the first line; Hardecourt, Maurepas, and Bouchavesnes in the second line; Guillemont and Ginchy, Combles and Morval, Rancourt and Saillisel in the third line—all these main northern hostile positions of decisive importance were outflanked by the southern French advance into La Maisonette. Around Bray and around Albert were some thousands of British and French guns firing straight against the German front north of the River Somme, and it was more than the German gunners on this sector could do to reply to this frontal artillery attack. But a day or two after La Maisonette was won a considerable part of the French artillery south of the Somme was brought up and concealed in the woods and ravines in front of Péronne, and the muzzles were swung northward towards Bapaume.

Hostile positions outflanked

In the circumstances, it did not much matter that the southern heights from Feuilleres and Dompierre to Biaches and La Maisonette were considerably lower than the northern heights occupied by the Germans. Howitzers never aim directly at a target. They fling their shells miles into the sky, in such a way that they can pitch on distant, unexposed slopes and invisible ravines. There was no need to place a howitzer on a hill, and, in fact, the best position for such a piece is a lower slope or a valley that enemy guns cannot reach by direct fire, and enemy observers cannot see except from kite-balloons or aeroplanes. As the Allies held the complete mastery of the air the Germans could not discover the positions of the French howitzers on the Santerre plateau.

All that the German commander could do was to endeavour to mass guns on the southern line of the new French wedge south of the river, and especially to increase his artillery at Villers Carbonnel. But here again General Fayolle had a marked advantage in cross-fire against his opponent. In the first place he could continue to concentrate heavy artillery from Estrées to Soyécourt, directly in front of Villers Carbonnel. In the second place he could abruptly turn all his guns in the La Maisonette wedge southward against Villers Carbonnel, while he also hammered this position with frontal fire.

New German commanders

From the German point of view, therefore, the loss of La Maisonette was exceedingly alarming. No point won by the Allies, from Neuve Chapelle to Loos and from the attack on the Labyrinth to the storming of Tahure, was so critically important as La Maisonette. The new German commanders, General von Gallwitz, who had been one of the principal assistants of Hindenburg on the eastern front, with General von Stein, a former Minister of War and assistant Chief of Staff, came to Péronne and Combles with new armies to retrieve the endangered situation. In addition to these new army chiefs, some of the most brilliant of German army corps generals of the new school were sent to the Somme.

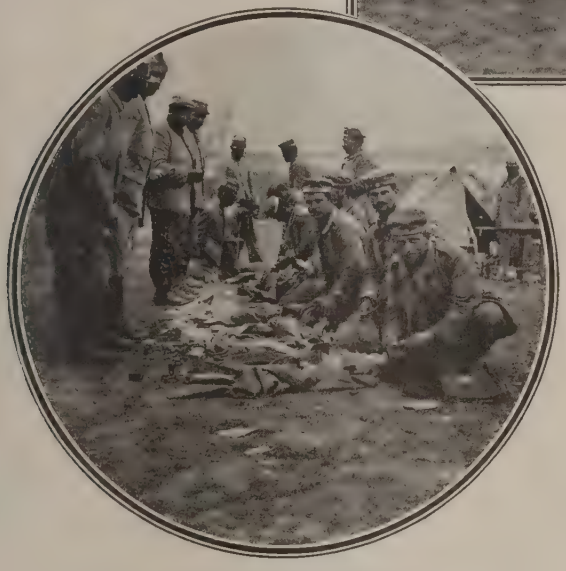
AN OFFICIAL CONVERSATION.
Officer of the Prussian Guard undergoing cross-examination by the official French interpreter.

ENEMY FIRST LINE TROOPS IN CAPTIVITY.
Types of German prisoners, who came through the terrible ordeal of the Franco-British bombardment on the Somme front. The men were temporarily confined in barbed-wire compounds.

General von Falkenhayn was nearing the end of his extraordinary reign. He retained sufficient power to rob Hindenburg of his best remaining man—Gallwitz, who had forced the Narew, capturing Warsaw and its great neighbouring fortress when Leopold of Bavaria was unable

to effect anything. There was further a rumour that Falkenhayn also brought to the Somme another leading man of Hindenburg's school—General von Below, the conqueror of Lithuania and Courland. Mackensen, who emerged into fame under Hindenburg in the Kutno battle, was removed to Bulgaria, after having been vainly proposed to the German people as a better popular idol than the old Field-Marshal. Ludendorff had resigned, and his chief—with a disorganised Staff and army commanders of commonplace ability and a record of failures, such as Linsingen and Bothmer—was struggling to check General Brussiloff's advance in Galicia and prevent Rumania from entering the field.

GERMANS CAPTURED AT MAISON ROUGE.
An entire company of Germans, with their officers and equipment, captured by the French at Maison Rouge, July 20th, 1916.



SEARCHING THE GERMAN PRISONERS OF WAR.
On July 20th the French captured 2,900 Germans, including many officers, with three guns, thirty machine-guns, and much material.

Men of the stamp of Gallwitz were desperately required on the eastern front. Gallwitz was experienced only in meeting the former conditions of Russian warfare, where his guns and shell supply had always enormously preponderated over the small, starved Russian artillery. Under the new and disconcerting conditions of the western front, where for the first time he was faced by an organisation of heavy artillery, shell supply, air power, and rail and motor traffic superior to that which he hastily took over, Gallwitz was ineffective. He did not know the country; he did not know the character of the allied troops; he could not safely make the slightest guess at the play of mind of men of such genius as General Foch and General Fayolle. It is hard to see why such a man as Gallwitz was brought west by General von Falkenhayn, except as a final and vain act of spite against Hindenburg. If Gallwitz was a man of any intrinsic value that value was wasted at Péronne.

The failure of Gallwitz

All that the new German commander could do was to launch, under cover of heavy mist in the evening of July 15th, a strong infantry attack on Biaches and La Maisonette. The French troops in the village and around the hill acted in their usual manner, which should have contained no surprise for a German tactician accustomed to their ways. When the hostile batteries on Mont St. Quentin and around Villers Carbonnel opened a hurricane fire the French infantry retired by underground ways, leaving only a few machine-gunners to impede the coming advance. Meanwhile, the French batteries divided their work; some guns put a curtain over the approaches by which an assault could be made; other guns went in for counter-battery firing, and wrought great damage among the flame-tongued pieces of ordnance that were drenching Biaches and La Maisonette with shell.

Enemy trapped and shattered

At heavy cost the German infantry entered the village and stormed the hill. The French infantry retired before its losses were severe, and calmly waited until the apparent victors were massed on the edge of the plateau. Then the stupendous weight of every French gun within range fell upon Biaches and La Maisonette, and upon the main German artillery positions and communications. When the French gunners lifted from the hill and the village the French infantry charged, and the enemy was broken and trapped. Fierce, terrible hand-to-hand fighting went on amid the woods in the darkness, and in the morning the ground was again firmly in the possession of our magnificent allies.

Up to this date the loss of La Maisonette had not been admitted by the German Staff, and the attack launched in great force across the river was designed to recapture the hill and make it appear as though it had not been in French possession. According to a statement issued in Berlin, the Kaiser came to the Somme to watch the fighting. But the Nero of Germany had ever been the herald of defeat when he came to any hotly-contested field in the west. After the anxious Emperor had his anxieties increased and his belief in Falkenhayn finally destroyed by witnessing the first vain and costly counter-attack across the river, the new German commander on July 18th made another prolonged and violent attempt to recover La Maisonette. But each wave of assault was smashed by French fire. General Fayolle's master-gunners had got hundreds of additional guns into position during the nine days since the Colonial troops stormed the hill. On the left at Biaches some small German parties managed to

creep along the canal into a few houses, but they were bombed out of the ruins in a few hours.

For all practical purposes La Maisonette had become impregnable. The time which the French had won enabled them to tunnel, excavate, build, and fortify, so that light railways, new roads, and railway-stations were constructed in the rear of La Maisonette, together with great underground storing-places, dormitories, and dining-places.

The definite consolidation of the great French conquest of La Maisonette marks the end of the first phase of the allied operations on the Somme. The flanking fire from numerous heavy howitzers, which the French were able to train for a radius of many miles over the Bapaume sector, was largely responsible for the succeeding victories of the French and British troops north of the river. In the second phase of the allied operations the main interest shifts across the Somme to the army of General Balfourier and the armies of Sir Douglas Haig. General Fayolle's main forces then stood fast at La Maisonette, and formed the handle of a great and terrible sickle that quickly cut down half a million Germans. The southern army, however, did not remain entirely on the defensive in regard to infantry actions, while its mighty guns were striking

But in turn General Foch suddenly extended his line of attack southward, and by storming into Vermandovillers, he compelled Gallwitz again to move guns and troops back to Chaulnes and relieve the pressure on General Fayolle's forces in the southern angle of the Somme. During August, 1916, there was a tremendous artillery duel around Chaulnes, and in the first week of September General Micheler launched his series of magnificent attacks, All the first zone of German positions from Barleux to Chilly, south of Chaulnes, was stormed and occupied. The communications of Chaulnes were cut, so that General von Gallwitz and the new German Chief of Staff, Hindenburg, had another very critical and imperilled sector, needing continually troops by the hundred thousand, guns by hundreds, and shells by the half-million.

The direct, immediate, and local effect of this stroke was to lighten the labour and free the striking power of the French forces in the angle of the Somme. The Germans had to weaken their artillery concentrations around Villers Carbonnel and Mont St. Quentin in order to make a stand about Chaulnes. But by weakening their artillery around Péronne, Gallwitz and his Staff brought more trouble on their heads. The French guns

[*French official photograph.*

NOVEL USE FOR DONKEYS IN WAR TIME.

On the Somme front the ancient and much ridiculed quadruped was used to convey food to the first-line trenches. Their small proportions enabled them to pass through narrow communication trenches and tunnels.

the enemy sideways and cutting his Péronne communications. The infantry, including the African troops and many French regiments, moved across the river to join the British forces, and a new French battering-ram, the Tenth Army under General Micheler, came into action on a new, long northern front. On Thursday afternoon, July 20th, all the first German zone of defences from Estrées southward to the hill of Vermandovillers, two miles north of Chaulnes, was stormed and held, and a strong German counter-attack easily broken with machine-gun fire and shell fire.

In the war of positions Chaulnes was linked with Cologne and Metz and transformed into one of the vital points of the great German salient. The German commander had long been anxious about Chaulnes, and it will be recollected that he drew troops away from the Somme in order to prepare against a blow that General Foch did not deliver. When, however, the Colonial troops stormed La Maisonette, General von Gallwitz reversed the policy of his predecessor and weakened his lines around Chaulnes in order to strengthen the artillery and infantry south of Péronne. in the southern angle of the Somme again turned north towards the Combles and Bapaume area, and there co-operated in another terrific day and night cross-fire with the French and British guns north of the river. So far as could be seen at the time, General Foch and Sir Douglas Haig possessed a series of extraordinary advantages over the enemy, which they were developing with terrible mathematical precision to a gradual close. And because the movement was gradual it was extraordinarily deadly.

South of the Somme the Germans were half enveloped and disastrously enfiladed. From the middle of July their sound and saving course was clearly to retreat to the next strong line beyond Péronne, and thus avoid the great and draining waste of life and expense of munitions. But no withdrawal took place. Did Hindenburg find that Falkenhayn had left things in such disorder on both sides of the Somme that the local German commanders could not extricate their troops? We may find some light on this problem in the story of the Franco-British operations north of the river.

END OF VOLUME 7.

STRONGHOLD
SPLIT CASE